

khamsin

Journal of revolutionary socialists of the Middle East

Published for Khamsin by
Ithaca Press

Khamsin 1-4 were published in French by Editions Francois Maspero
Khamsin 5 and 6 were published in English by Pluto Press Limited

Editorial Board: Avishai Ehrlich, Dina Hecht, Mohammad Ja'far,
Leila Kadi, Eli Lobel, Moshe Machover, Khalil To'ama — who are
responsible for editorial policy.

Article and editorial correspondence should be sent to: Khamsin,
c/o D. Hecht, 118B Northchurch Road, London N1. Authors are asked to
send in two copies of their typescript, typed on A4 sheets (197mm x
210mm) with broad margins and not more than thirty lines per page.

Subscriptions: individuals £6.50, institutions £10.00, postfree, for four
issues. If paying by cheque draw on a bank outside the United Kingdom,
add £1.00 for handling charges. All cheques, postal orders etc for
subscriptions should be made payable to Khamsin and sent c/o D. Hecht,
118B Northchurch Road, London N1.

Khamsin 5, Oriental Jewry, £1.50 each.

Khamsin 6, Women in the Arab World, £1.50 each.

Khamsin 7, Communist Parties of the Middle East, £2.50 each.

Single copies to individuals available from bookshops and direct from
Ithaca Press. Mail, add 30p post and packing.

USA cover price \$4.00. For single copies, bulk orders and special US
subscription rates write to Khamsin, PO Box 3277, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

All bookshop orders and sales enquiries to Ithaca Press, 13 Southwark
Street, London SE1 1RQ.
Telephone 01-407-0393.

Khamsin 7 first published 1980 by Ithaca Press
Copyright Khamsin 1980 ISSN 0338 0181

Typeset by Little @ Limited
Printed in Great Britain

Contents

	Editorial	2
	Eli Lobel	5
Central theme	The early history of Lebanese Communism reconsidered	7
	<i>Alexander Flores</i>	
	The Arab CPs and the Palestine Problem	21
	<i>Alexander Flores</i>	
	Recent studies on the history of the PCP	41
	<i>Alexander Flores</i>	
	Revolution in Iran: was it possible in 1921?	53
	<i>Fred Halliday</i>	
	Selected bibliography in the history of the CPs in the Arab East	65
<hr/>		
	The Arab ruling classes in the 1970s	73
	<i>Mohammad Ja'far</i>	
	Zionism, demography and women's work	87
	<i>Avishai Ehrlich</i>	
	Palestinian workers in Israel— a reserve army of labour	107
	<i>Emanuel Farjoun</i>	
Review	Sociology of the Palestinians in Israel	145
	<i>Nira Yuval Davis</i>	
	Books received	149
Discussion forum	Reaching beyond Palestinian Nationalism— Reply to Salim Tamari	150
	<i>Mohammad Ja'far</i>	

contributions by our readers.

The publication of this issue was delayed by the change of publisher and we wish to apologise to our readers. By way of compensation, this issue is somewhat larger than usual.

CRITIQUE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Volume IV, No. 13-14

FRENCH ISSUE

MEILLASSOUX, C.	Historical Modalities of Exploitation
GODELIER, M.	The Appropriation of Nature
TERRAY, E.	On Exploitation: Elements of an Autocritique
REY, P.P.	Class Contradiction in Lineage Societies
AUGE, M.	Towards a Rejection of the Meaning-Function Alternative
BOURDIEU, P.	Symbolic Power
LACROIX, B.	The Elementary Forms of Religious Life as a Reflection on Power
COULON, C.	Occitan Ethnicity and Politics
FOUCAULT, M.	The Place of Cuvier in the History of Biology Truth and Power: An Interview with Foucault
LLOBERA, J.R.	M. Foucault: A Bibliography

Review Articles

BONTE, P.	M. Bloch, <i>Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology</i>
ABRAMSON, A.	D. Seddon, <i>Relations of Production</i>
SANTAMARIA, U.	On Baudrillard: Critique of a Critique
JOSEPH, D.	J. Baudrillard, <i>Mirror of Production</i>
BIDET, J.	Questions to P. Bourdieu
LIENARD, G. & SERVAIS, E.	Practical Sense: On Bourdieu
BESTARD, J. & BIDON-CHANAL, C.	Power and War in Primitive Societies: The Work of P. Clastres
GAUKROGER, S.	Adonis and Metis: Spice and Cunning

Subscriptions for numbers 13-14,15,16 (Volume IV):

Individuals	UK£3.00	Overseas surface \$ 6.00 (3.20)	Air \$ 11.00 (£5.00)
Institutions	UK 6.00	Overseas surface \$ 12.00 (6.40)	Air \$ 22.00 (£11.80)
Price of single issues: (6,8,11,12)			
Individuals	UK£1.00	Overseas surface \$ 2.50	Air \$ 4.00
Institutions	UK£2.00	Overseas surface \$ 5.00	Air \$ 8.00
Double issues (9-10)			
Individuals	UK£1.50	Overseas surface \$ 4.00	Air \$ 6.50
Institutions	UK£3.00	Overseas surface \$ 8.00	Air \$ 11.00

Make cheques payable to Critique of Anthropology
Subscription forms and requests for back issues to:
Critique of Anthropology, PO Box 178, London WC1 6BU, G.B.

Eli Lobel

Khamsin is bereaved. Eli Lobel, editor and founder of our journal, has died tragically on Thursday, October 4th 1979.

The life-story of this outstanding revolutionary socialist and great internationalist is, in more than one way, the story of a whole generation, the tragedies and noble struggles of a whole epoch.

Born in Berlin in 1926 to a family of Polish-Jewish refugees, Eli spent his early childhood in the Germany of the late Weimar Republic and the early years of Nazi power. Then the family was forced to flee back to Poland. But Poland too was unsafe; and in 1939, just in the nick of time, the family managed to leave for Palestine. There Eli soon joined the left-zionist youth movement Hashomer Hatzair, and in 1946 was one of the founders of kibbutz Nirim in the northern Negev.

A few years later, he went to Paris as a journalist for the daily paper '*Al Hamishmar*', organ of MAPAM, the political party of Hashomer Hatzair. There, in Paris, he studied statistics and economics; one of his teachers was the socialist economist Charles Bettelheim. There too the seeds of his political radicalisation had germinated.

Hashomer Hatzair — like all left-wing zionists — was a living contradiction: it claimed to combine zionism with marxism. Throughout the history of that movement there were always individuals and small groups within it who took marxism more seriously than the left-zionist leaders had intended, and who resolved the contradiction by jettisoning zionism. Just as, in the years immediately after the Russian Revolution, it was dissidents from the older left-zionist Po'alei Zion who founded the Palestinian Communist Party and helped to spread marxism in the Arab East, so from the 1930s onwards the revolutionary marxist movement — in Europe and Latin America as well as in Palestine and later in Israel — was drawing to itself a continual if small stream of dissidents from Hashomer Hatzair. (One of the most notable figures among them was Abran Leon, author of the brilliant marxist analysis of the Jewish Question, who was murdered by the Nazis in 1944.)

Back in Israel, Eli joined the left opposition inside MAPAM. In 1953 the opposition was expelled from that party and formed itself into the Socialist Left Party which developed in an anti-zionist direction. Like other adherents of this new party, Eli was expelled from his kibbutz, Nirim.

At the end of 1954 the Socialist Left Party joined the Israeli CP. Eli would most probably have done the same, but by that time he had left Israel again: at the invitation of Charles Bettelheim he joined a team of

economists in India (including Bettelheim himself and Joan Robinson) who were working on that country's problems of under-development. From then on, Eli was passionately involved in the economic and social problems of the third world and eventually became an authority in his own right on the economics of colonialism and under-development.

Returning to Paris, he devoted much of his energy to work in support of the Algerian revolution of national liberation. As a result of this activity, it was necessary for him to leave France, and he joined a team of economic advisers in Mali, which, under Modibo Keita, was then one of the more progressive states of black Africa. In Mali Eli fulfilled tasks of great responsibility and represented that country at the World Bank.

During all this time he kept up his interest in Israeli politics and established contacts with the Socialist Organisation in Israel (Matzpen) which had been formed in 1962.

After a brief stay back in France, Eli left for Cuba as a member of a team of left-wing economic experts. Not long after his return from Cuba, the Paris events of May 1968 broke out. Eli was passionately involved in these events, which marked the happiest period of his life. At the same time, as a member of Matzpen, he developed an intensive activity in France (as well as in other countries) against zionism and in support of the rights of the Palestinian people. It is in large measure due to his internationalist activity as a speaker, journalist and writer that the revolutionary left in France and in many other countries has been able to understand the true nature of zionism and adopt a revolutionary socialist attitude towards the problems of the Middle East.

Eli was profoundly committed to the struggle against zionism. But he was not a simplistic anti-zionist: he did not reject zionism merely to exchange it for support for some other nationalism, no matter how 'progressive', but in order to transcend all nationalism in the struggle for a united socialist Middle East and a socialist world. In particular, while being wholly committed to supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people against social and national oppression and for emancipation and self-determination, he was highly critical of, and deeply grieved by, recent regressive developments within the Palestinian movement.

His great and fruitful political activity is widely known to the revolutionary left in many countries. But his personal friends and close comrades also knew his purity of heart, his noble simplicity. Socialism for him was not a mere abstraction or an alienated 'purely political' activity. It was a deeply felt moral commitment of a man who hated all privilege and oppression and identified with the deprived and oppressed.

With his death, the socialist movement in the Middle East and elsewhere has lost an outstanding torch-bearer, and we who knew him have lost a dear and beloved comrade. His memory will illuminate our struggle for the ideals in which he believed.

The early history of Lebanese Communism reconsidered

Alexander Flores

Yusuf Ibrahim Yazbek, *Hikayat awal nuwwar fi al-'alam fi lubnan (The Story of May Day in the World and in Lebanon)*, Dar al-Farabi, Beirut 1974.

Muhammad Dakrub, *Judhur al-sindiyyana al-hamra'; hikayat nushu' al-hizb al-shuyu'i al-lubnani 1924-1931 (The Roots of the Red Holm Oak; the Story of the Rise of the Lebanese Communist Party)*, Dar al-Farabi, Beirut 1974.

Khalil al-Dibs (Introduction), *Sawt al-sha'b aqua: safahat min al-sihafa al-shuyu'iyya wa al-'ummaliyya wa al-dimuqratiyya fi 50 'amam (The People's Voice is Stronger; Pages from the Communist, Workers' and Democratic Press in 50 Years)*, Dar al-Farabi, Beirut 1974.

Dahir al-'Akkari (ed.), *Al-sihafa al-thawriyya fi lubnan 1925-1975 (The Revolutionary Press in Lebanon 1925-1975)*, Dar al-Farabi, Beirut 1975.

In dealing with the problems facing any socialist endeavour in the Arab East, we have to study the history of the socialist movement in this part of the world, beginning with the emergence of a socialist trend within the modern 'Arab awakening'. Why did such a trend evolve at all? What were its origins and motive forces? How did it come into being? What were the reasons for the slow pace of its development and for the difficulties that it encountered?

Early beginnings

More than in other national liberation movements, in the national awakening movement of the Arab East there was — and to a certain extent there still is — a dissociation between two principal elements of national awareness and emancipation: the *conservative* element of defence against foreign aggression and domination, which is rooted in a domestic tradition; and an *innovative* element, which questions this very tradition and adopts foreign methods when this seems necessary for enhancing its own fighting capability.

In the Arab East the conservative-defensive element was largely confined to the Sunni Muslim majority of the population. It was based on a Muslim, rather than Arab, identity which before the first world war was accompanied by a degree of loyalty to the Ottoman Empire. This led to a rejection of virually all European values and achievements. The innovative