

("stalinist communists versus anarchists") is to miss the substantial point of what each represented in the wider historical picture. The confrontation which exploded in Barcelona saw sectors of the urban poor, at the sharp end of wartime shortages and food price rises, being mobilized by radical, middle-level CNT cadres against the reconstructed power of the state – in the direct form of the police. The fact that many members of the police force now belonged to the Catalan Communist Party (PSUC) (whereas those with previous political affiliations had tended to have clientelistic connections to the establishment parties (pre-1931) or to the more conservative of the republican formations) is hardly surprising in a wartime emergency where the communist parties offered by far the most robust defence of bourgeois order in the zone. May 1937 was then, in its origins, an episode in the multifaceted social war between the liberal state and the dispossessed which had been waged for decades in Spain. Continuities such as this which broaden our historical understanding can only be made visible through the wide-angled lens of comparative social history. This is now fortunately in increasing use in civil war studies, although the decontextualizing zoom lens of Cold War times is still to be found distorting the picture.

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LOCKMAN, ZACHARY. *Comrades and Enemies. Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906–1948.* University of California Press, Berkeley [etc.] 1996. xvi, 440 pp. \$60.00; £48.00. (Paper: \$25.00; £19.95.)

Zachary Lockman's perceptive, meticulously-researched and well-written study of the interactions among Arab and Jewish workers and workers' organizations during British rule over Palestine is long overdue. Since the beginning of research of the history of modern Palestine, and the evolution of the national conflict between Arabs and Jews, only a few scholars paid attention to the social bases of politics. To this day the social history of Palestine and of the Arab and Jewish communities is still in its initial stages. We know much more about Palestine's Christian, Muslim and Jewish political elites than about urban society, the rank-and-file, women and the experiences of class, gender and race. The paucity of research and of scientific discussion of workers' lives has always been the most problematic because of the centrality of workers to the social, political and cultural processes besetting modern Palestine. Lockman's book is thus a real historiographical breakthrough: both for beginning to fill in these lacuna, and for his theoretical and methodological approach. The book focuses on a system of relations between Jewish and Arab workers within the context of an evolving national struggle. But instead of focusing on one workers' national community, a natural tendency of both Israeli and Palestinian historians and sociologists, Lockman approaches his topic from an integrated perspective and treats the working classes by freely crossing the national divide. This approach, underlined by the basic assumption of the existence of a workers' experience which was not only a national one, has much to commend to it as it allows a challenge to a nationally subjective world-view.

The theoretical starting-point of the book is a ten-year-old historiographic tradition established by writers such as Gershon Shafir and Michael Shalev. According

to this tradition, which itself started as a critique of earlier ideological- and political-oriented approaches, Zionist labor and national segregative practices cannot be understood without the structural and material inferiority of Jewish workers *vis-à-vis* their Arab counterparts. It was the experience of labor-market inferiority that led Labor-Zionist elites to formulate an ideology of economic and political autonomy, and to base nation- and state-making on Jewish segregation from the Arabs. Lockman aims to widen the scope of this historiographical revolution beyond its material ingredients. Pay, income, standards of living, labor disputes and workers' organization are considered important enough, but, Lockman argues, in themselves are not enough to explain the translation of labor-market experience to national practices. In emphasizing that Arab and Jewish workers' relational experiences were also discursive, Lockman's book is thus an attempt to explore the cultural systems through which Arab and Jewish workers conceived and made sense of their labor and political experiences, thus methodologically developing a critical stance toward the categories of historical analysis deployed by traditional literature. The main crux of this methodological novelty in Palestine's historiography is what Lockman defined as a relational approach: in contradistinction to the traditional emphasis on the self-contained evolution of the Arab and Jewish entities (the dual society model or paradigm) he posits a relational mutually-formative approach. Moreover, a strong methodological emphasis is laid on discourse, on the discursive articulation and construction of national conflict and communal segregation. The discursive dimension of the relations between the two nationally defined strata of workers consisted of images about one another, assumptions regarding each site's economic, political and organizational intentions, and mutual ideological attempts to define the chaotic economic and-political environment and consequent actions.

The important implication of this discursive dimension is both in its role in social and political formation, but, in particular, in the pointing to the existence of an, albeit subdued, alternative option for the historical development of conflict. This is the reason why the book's title is telling: it does not pose an opposition – comrades or enemies – but emphasizes the “and” which obfuscates the “or”. Presented as either an ambivalence or even a contradiction in terms, this choice of the conjunctive claims a new approach to the historical understanding of the relations between Arab and Jew in Palestine in the first half of the twentieth century. In this approach the lost opportunities for bi-national cooperation and of potential solidarity between workers of rival national movements, are considered no less important than national politics and the political course of conflict. This is why political language, images, perception and conceptual understanding become key historiographical and sociological tools, as they do not only explain the mental and ideological background for the failure of workers' comradeship, but also decipher the bases for the victory of political enmity over class cooperation and workers' coexistence. In this failure Labor Zionism, through its multifaceted interactions with Arab workers, played a central role. As a national and a state-making project it set national boundaries; but because it perceived itself also as a socialist project it managed the inherent tensions between its nationalism and socialism by discursively coloring these national boundaries with class ideology and a half-hearted practical cooperation with some willing leaders of Arab workers.

This argument is developed thematically and chronologically in eight chapters with particular emphasis placed on urban workers, on Labor-Zionist organizational activities, and on the politics of identity particularly in Zionist society. The author divides the period under discussion into three. During the first period, namely before the establishment of the Mandate, an ideological formation was taking place in which Labor Zionism set the stage for further social and political segregative practices. During the second period, 1920s and 1930s, the segregative discourse matured, and despite certain attempts for cooperation, mostly in the form of manipulative cooptation by Labor Zionism, the latter became a key tool in the national enclave-making of Jewish Palestine. It was only during the third period under discussion that some intra-workers' cooperation succeeded, only to be curtailed by the outbreak of the 1948 war.

In demonstrating the importance of the perspective of social history to the history of Palestine the book contributes immensely to the understanding of the origins of Zionist Labor's and Palestinian perceptions of the conflict. However, it is precisely the high quality of this book that allows one to see what is left still to do in the creation of a new social and cultural history of conflict-ridden Palestine. In the first place Lockman does not made clear enough how class formation came about. While the mutual constitutive impact of the two communities on each other, and their mutual formative interactions, are well illustrated, the discussion of the social origins of the workers of each national sector is weak, and the analysis of the relational experience of workers and employers, in each sector and as a country-wide system of power-relations between classes, leaves much to be desired. Secondly, while the author acknowledges the imbalance of available sources, favouring a deeper analysis of the Zionist side of the story, his discussion of the differences of relations between political elites and rank-and-file in each society leaves open important comparative political and cultural questions. The relative centrality of Labor and the culture of work in the status system of the Jewish sector, and the capacity of Jewish workers' political elites to bring about political changes in local Zionist politics, compared with a completely different social and power-political make-up of the Arab sector is a significant case in point. Finally, while the politically-oriented historiographical approach is criticized, most of the material in the book is based on political sources which are not dealt with critically. More specifically, despite the impressive research of archives and the excellent bibliography we get hardly acquainted with cultural sources. These sources reveal, for instance, the extent to which the labor-market inferiority of Jewish workers in Palestine was grounded in a variety of cultural and moral perceptions constructed by the workers themselves and not only by their organic intellectuals and Labor's elites. In an analysis of discourses and perceptions the absence of the cultural grounding of political language and imagery is significant as it allows only a partial understanding of workers' class and political identities.

However, these criticisms should only point to the importance and quality of Lockman's book as a whole. In effectively demonstrating the interplay between politics and discourse the book offers necessary correctives to earlier historiographical traditions and valuable suggestions of avenues for further research.

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