

of family strategy is a much discussed subject because it may enable the historian to relate family dynamics on the one hand to changing labour-market conditions and working-class politics on the other. Szepter shows how family-building strategies are influenced by the development of community cultures and of gendered roles on both the work floor and within the family. *Fertility, class and gender* will therefore play an essential role in subsequent discussions.

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GALLISSOT, RENÉ, NADIR BOUMAZA [et] GHISLAINE CLÉMENT. *Ces migrants qui font le proletariat*. [Reponses sociologiques.] Meridiens Klincksieck, Paris 1994. iv, 257 pp. F.fr. 130.00.

Over the last two decades European sociologists and historians have turned their attention to the issue of immigration; in doing so they have merely followed the headlines and news reports that have made migration a major issue of social policy in most European countries. French historical studies of migration have proven a particularly rich field of study. Part of the reason is that, unlike most other European nations, France itself has a long history of receiving migrants. During the nineteenth century when the German states, Italy, the Russian Empire, Scandinavia and the United Kingdom were sending millions across the sea, France was already receiving immigrants from nearby countries. French historiography and sociology have especially concentrated on locating the great wave of post-World War II immigrants with respect to the experiences and lessons of earlier waves. While mainly concerned with the plight of working-class immigrants in modern-day France or in the recent past, Gallissot, Boumaza and Clément have a lot to say about migration and its contribution to class formation in France over the last hundred years.

Gallissot, Boumaza and Clément indict the policies of French socialists, Communists and trade unionists, attacking facile historical generalizations about migration and class that have established a tenacious hold on the French Left. Particular targets of this study are the view that migrants can be divided between permanent migrants, destined for ready assimilation into the French working class, and returning migrants, tied culturally, economically and politically to the sending country. They remind us that the passage from immigrants to Frenchmen and women has never been easy. They stress that, from the point of view of even left-wing migrants, the Popular Front brought a new nationalism to socialist and Communist parties and trade unions. This nationalism culminated in the Resistance claim to have saved French national honor from right-wing betrayal and a series of post-war compromises with colonialism that created enduring tensions between native workers and colonial newcomers. Gallissot, Boumaza and Clément also condemn the "economism" of a class analysis that has focused on the workplace while ignoring questions of migrant unemployment, equal housing, lack of voting rights and cultural concerns. Too often, the failure to consider the plight of the unemployed migrant has been justified by the assumption (or hope) that they would simply return to their country of origin. And far from simply leaving aside issues of equal housing, French Communist municipalities have been notably unwelcome to the presence, in their territory, of government housing projects with large numbers of immigrants. Even in the

early 1970s, most French trade unionists were unsympathetic to the migrant organizations that carried out the strikes that they cheered on in heavy industry.

The key problem in modern France, Gallissot, Boumaza and Clément conclude, is the “confusion of nationalism and citizenship”. Indeed, it is ironic that in the late twentieth century, a nation, renowned for secular nationalism, has rediscovered a national identity rooted in Western Christendom; Belgians, Italians, Portuguese and Spaniards may be the stuff of which French citizens can be made but not North Africans. In the climate of modern French politics, their resolute and encompassing internationalism demands respect.

While Gallissot, Boumaza and Clément are effective on the attack, their own analysis is only a first, though important, step in rethinking the relationship between immigration and class. Their lamentations over the inadequacies of Marxism offers little but an only too familiar *ad hoc* listing of its deficiencies: for example, it does not pay attention to gender, ethnicity, etc. A claim repeated in the book that “migration makes the working class” is never really demonstrated and is inherently implausible; evidence suggests that, for more than a century now, class formation in most industrialized nations in Western and Central Europe, including France, has depended on the demographic behavior of urban and rural proletarians. But it is this kind of assumption that enables them to dismiss the modern welfare state as a kind of special privilege for workers with citizenship. Gallissot, Boumaza and Clément want to extend welfare coverage in France to immigrants, but the political basis for this extension is never really clarified. At times they distinguish between a “nationalism” which today takes the form of cultural chauvinism and racism and a “citizenship” that entails political and social rights. In other places, however, they rightly fear that demanding citizenship rights involves recognizing the legitimacy of states and incline towards a larger conception of “human rights”.

The authors exhibit a lingering nostalgia for the “internationalism” of the early Marx and, like him, they conceive of the state as an “ideology” and forget that it is also an historical institution. As institutions, modern Western states have generally favored the rich over the poor, males over females, and whites over non-whites. But identification with states is not entirely a kind of “white skin privilege”, a false consciousness reinforced by a few meager privileges. The state’s hold on workers is based on far more powerful forces than hegemony, manipulation or the cultural chauvinism that occasionally leads in France to the purging of English words wholesale from public discourse. At the cost of immense sacrifice, over the last century and a half, workers have democratized the state, won recognition for their trade unions and political parties, and extracted guarantees for their personal survival and that of their families.

Workers cannot exult in the threat to states posed by globalization and transnational economic development because these trends offer no political/institutional framework for preserving the trade unions, elections and welfare entitlements that anchor modern-day proletarian life. Labor has been far slower than capital to develop organizations to represent them adequately in existing international or transnational organizations. Gallissot, Boumaza and Clément advocate an internationalist strategy for the labor movement and go some way toward articulating an internationalist ideology for it, but they give no attention to the transnational and international institutions required to provide a basis for such movements. The collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe has created new

opportunities for the reconstruction of a truly international organization of trade unions and for the refashioning of the trade union presence within the European Union. In the end, they fall victim to the national orientation they so denounce. No mere tactical reorientation of the French labor movement can produce internationalism but only international organizations and the strategies for building them; no such proposals emerge in this book.

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ZIELINSKI, BERND. *Staatskollaboration. Vichy und der Arbeitskräfteeinsatz im Dritten Reich*. Westfälisches Dampfboot, Münster 1995. 292 pp. DM 72.00.

Until recently German-language studies of the Vichy regime and the German occupation of France in World War II were far fewer in number than relevant French, British and American studies. But this situation has been changing. Bernd Zielinski's book (based on his doctoral dissertation) on the cooperation between Vichy and occupation authorities in the sphere of forced labour fits into this new research trend. It must be stressed that this owes a considerable debt to earlier work done on the other side of the Rhine, and also, in this specific case, to Ulrich Herbert's studies on foreign workers.

Zielinski provides a chronology of the various phases of the forced-labour policy in occupied France between 1940 and 1944 on the basis of the relevant French literature, which is introduced in detail and relied on extensively, and by evaluating a large number of documents mostly from the Archives Nationales in Paris and the Militärarchiv in Freiburg. He concentrates on the inherent conflict, clearly evident by the end of the occupation, between the parallel strategies of exploiting French workers locally or transferring production to France on the one hand and deploying French workers in Germany on the other. He details the various pressures and justifications for French-based employment (economic revival, army construction sites, the Todt organization, later the relocation of production from bomb-damaged Germany in "S-firms", *S-Betriebe*). With regard to the use of French workers in Germany he highlights in particular the smooth transition from the initially "guided voluntary nature" of recruitment to the agreed exchange of workers against prisoners of war (known as the *relève*) and the rounding up and deportation of French workers during the so-called "Sauckel actions" of 1942/1943.

Zielinski concludes that, despite all the different options and methods used, the guiding principle remained the optimal exploitation of the occupied country's labour for the benefit of the German war economy. Against this background the frequently highlighted conflicts between the German military administration, the plenipotentiary-general for the allocation of labour and his representative in France, and the armaments ministry (under Albert Speer) appear to be of secondary importance.

It is also worth noting that both strategies paved the way for a restructuring of the French labour market and for a strong concentration and rationalization of French industry. Zielinski does not examine this issue systematically, as it is outside the scope of his study, but this is surely among the most important consequences of Franco-German economic cooperation during World War II.