

utopian vision of a Jewish society built on social justice and a new Jewish culture, but that was the extent of it. A peaceful society that included other peoples who were characterized as a group that was self-conscious, with its own language and culture, was the ideal of the Bund; Poalei Zion's goal was to build a strong national identity, albeit that of a socialist Jewish state in the historic fatherland. However hard the author tries to see agreements and convergences between these visions, he does not succeed in convincing the readers. All the more because he has restricted his readers to the initiated who are familiar with the history and the Hebrew and Yiddish terminology of the two movements.

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VAN GOETHEM, GEERT. *The Amsterdam International. The World of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), 1913–1945*. [Studies in labour history.] Ashgate, Aldershot [etc.] 2006. vi, 320 pp. \$99.95; £50.00; DOI: 10.1017/S0020859007042964.

This study by Flemish historian Geert van Goethem, which is based on the author's dissertation, is the first scholarly overview of the history of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), the umbrella organization closely tied to social democracy during the interwar years. The organization was known by its city of residence during the decisive stages of its existence (hence the title of the book). Previous depictions of the IFTU have appeared primarily in smaller publications written by various leading figures of the organization, such as Edo Fimmen, Johannes Sassenbach, Walter Schevenels, and after World War II, Hans Gottfurcht. These works were intended as a political and ideological defence of the IFTU against its rival organizations or as intra-trade-union political education and focused for this reason on the presentation of programmatic lines and organizational successes. In other words, they pursued more propagandistic aims and were not intended as critical or scholarly analyses.

It is perhaps surprising that until now historians have dealt only marginally with the IFTU. After all, in comparison with its communist, Christian, and anarcho-syndicalist rivals, the IFTU was by far the most influential trade-union international. It was also active in the League of Nations' International Labour Organization (ILO) as the quasi-official representative of the working classes within the international system. In this sense, the IFTU was a pioneer for NGOs during an era when the term did not yet exist.

The boom in labour history after the 1960s, however, focused primarily on national issues, despite the fact that there is perhaps no other modern movement whose self-understanding has been more shaped by the claim to be international than the labour movement. Does this tension merely reflect the fact that while capitalism was already thoroughly international, the labour movement's main field of activity remained confined to national borders during this era? Trade unions fought almost no battles on an international level. Such efforts were limited essentially to demonstrations of international solidarity for important struggles within individual nations. In a similar way the activities within the ILO did lead to numerous resolutions, most of which, however, remained declarations of intention or had only a very limited effect.

Or is this dearth of scholarship on the IFTU the result of the labyrinthine complexity of an international organization which requires a scholar to process materials written in many different languages and thus to be concerned with conditions in numerous countries as

well? A similar situation exists in regard to analyses of the IFTU's influence within the ILO. Or is this dearth perhaps the result of an entirely prosaic issue, that of the difficulty in obtaining archival materials? The IFTU archive, which was located in Paris in 1940, disappeared in the confusion surrounding the German advance. Numerous attempts to find the archive have to this day been unsuccessful. In his introduction van Goethem refers to these various investigations. Hopes that the IFTU archive might have fallen in the hands of the Nazis and been subsequently confiscated by the Soviet Union were dashed when the documents did not appear in eastern Europe after the fall of communism in 1989. Several years ago an American military file from the immediate postwar era indicating that the archive had been returned to French army was uncovered – a claim that has not yet been verified due to lack of information from the French side. For this reason we are compelled to do what van Goethem has done in his study, to return to the archives of the different member associations of the IFTU or those of friendly organizations such as international social democracy – a laborious but ultimately entirely rewarding approach. Written communication between the umbrella organization and national trade-union federations was necessarily extensive and can in large part substitute for the missing IFTU archive. A few literary estates, state archives, and the ILO archive round out van Goethem's sources.

Van Goethem structures his history of the IFTU as a combination of chronology and specific individual issues. The first longer chapter of the book is an outline of the IFTU's organizational development, including references to the general socio-political context and an introduction of important leading figures. This chapter constitutes the study's foundation, on which, so to speak, the remaining storeys of the building are then constructed, that is, the chapters examining specific issues of IFTU activities. While this approach does result in occasional repetitions and chronological leaps, it has one distinct advantage over an essentially chronological presentation: It allows the author to examine important questions for the IFTU in context. In order to avoid unnecessary complexities and to highlight connections, van Goethem has included an index at the end of the book, which unfortunately encompasses only trade-union organizations but not individual persons. This is particularly irritating as biographical annotations on important actors are located in the footnotes.¹

The issue-oriented chapters of the book document the complexity of the IFTU's development between external activities and internal organizational problems. The two, however, were frequently intertwined. For example, one influential issue for the IFTU's political identity was maintaining a distance from "Moscow", which van Goethem introduces in the first of his issue-oriented chapters. This concern went hand-in-hand with internal organizational conflicts about the communist minority in IFTU member organizations. Organized solidarity with anti-Nazi resistance in Germany, which also constitutes a separate chapter of the book, was tied to internal quarrels about who was the "correct" contact in Germany. This was not merely a political-ideological conflict. It was also tied to the recurring disputes about the IFTU's relation, as the umbrella organization of national trade-union federations, to the International Trade Secretariats (ITS), the much older international trade-union federations organized according to economic branches. ITS member organizations were also part of their respective national trade-union

1. This is not the case in the Flemish original: *De Internationale van Amsterdam. De wereld van het Internationaal Vakverbond 1913–1945* (Antwerp [etc.], 2003), which is otherwise practically identical with the English translation. The original includes an appendix with short biographies.

federations and thus indirectly became members of the IFTU as well. Competition developed between the two organizations; there were disputes about responsibilities, about subordination or partnership, and not least about finances, which were repeatedly superimposed on to general political differences and which at times greatly encumbered the IFTU. This raised the question of whether and to what extent the IFTU should be restructured so that the ITS could be incorporated within it. These frictions between the two pillars of the international labour movement consumed an enormous amount of energy.

Quarrels with the ITS also affected the IFTU's work in the ILO, since representation of a nation's working class in the ILO usually occurred through its respective member organization (i.e. a national trade-union federation). Many of the issues discussed in the ILO, however, were vocation-specific. The central problem for the IFTU was that ILO resolutions often had little or no practical consequences. IFTU member organizations focused on the national level, where they were most likely to be able to achieve improvements. In his issue-oriented chapter on "Geneva" (which is perhaps too brief given its significance for the history of the IFTU), van Goethem also makes clear how much the IFTU's relation to the ILO was determined or even dependent on the respective ILO director. Trade unions developed a real relation of trust only to the ILO's first director, the French socialist Albert Thomas, who led the organization up to his sudden death in 1932. Thomas was the only ILO leader who possessed a real understanding of his organization as an independent body – a stance that accorded well with the IFTU's own position and also influenced its expectations of the ILO, although none of Albert Thomas's successors was able to live up to these.²

Van Goethem dedicates an entire chapter to the important issue of the IFTU's relation to the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which was complicated, if unburdened by fundamental political differences. After initially participating in the refounding of the IFTU in 1919, the AFL left the organization and returned only in 1937. Another chapter of the book examines the role of women in the IFTU, focusing on the contradiction between a traditionally male-dominated organization and the necessities of obstructing the introduction of women into the work place as a means of wage reduction. Van Goethem, however, does not examine the IFTU's work with young people, which, like the issue of women, never acquired a real significance within the organization.

The study is rounded out by two chapters focusing on the IFTU during World War II. These chapters address the organizational restructuring of the "remains" of the IFTU following the German occupation of France, which led to the dissolution of the organization after the war and to the formation of a new World Federation of Trade Unions, which initially included the Soviets but resulted in a break with the AFL. The unity of this new federation, however, did not survive the outbreak of the Cold War. The second of these chapters focuses on IFTU support for the Allies during the war, which consisted especially in working with Allied intelligence organizations.

Overall van Goethem's study offers a broad and diverse portrait of the IFTU. A few points, however, are missing. For instance, van Goethem is too cursory in his treatment of IFTU history prior to 1919. While this date did represent a leap in the organization's

2. This section contains a minor inaccuracy on p. 148. At the ILO conference in 1933, the Nazi "worker-delegate" did not claim to have a mandate for the Christian trade-union movement; rather he claimed that his organization, the compulsory Nazi *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* [German Labour Front], was the most representative labour organization in Germany.

development, the new leadership's insistence on presenting something new also served to circumvent discussion of the organization's actions during World War I and to cement together the ensuing ruptures as quickly as possible. A more detailed examination of the IFTU's efforts to find a solution to the global economic crisis would also have been desirable. In part parallel to Albert Thomas's ideas, intense discussions arose about developing an international economic plan to counteract the crisis. And van Goethem, in his description of the IFTU's acts of solidarity with Spain, makes no reference to the fact that at the end of 1937 the IFTU also became the arbiter of a profound organizational conflict within the Spanish trade-union movement that paralleled divisions within the Left.

In his conclusion van Goethem examines the objective and subjective grounds for the establishment of the IFTU. The organization was clearly unable to accomplish most of the goals that it set for itself. Ultimately it was more a product of circumstances than a successful actor on the international scene. The IFTU was never able to establish an independent international terrain for its work. Nor was it able within the framework of the ILO to exercise an influence through its lobby function on international social policy regarding the world economy. In other words, it never made much progress in becoming a true *international*, remaining instead an essentially European organization, not least, as van Goethem writes, because "the IFTU had no answer to the problems of the masses in the colonial countries" (p.152). Van Goethem's study does make clear, however, that the IFTU undoubtedly formed an important umbrella for existing national trade-union federations, which certainly would have had a more difficult time without it. It would be fascinating to expand the discussion about the IFTU's historical legacy – whether it still has something to offer current international trade-union activities – to its successor organizations.³

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ROSENBERG, CLIFFORD. *Policing Paris. The Origins of Modern Immigration Control between the Wars*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York [etc.] 2006. xviii, 241 pp. \$57.50; £32.95. (Paper: \$23.95; £13.50.); DOI: 10.1017/S0020859007052960.

This book has an interesting history. Its author, Clifford Rosenberg, originally set out to undertake a historical study of the assimilation of immigrants during the interwar years in Paris on the basis of data gathered in police archives. Going through the relevant police reports, however, Rosenberg soon discovered that not much could be learned from these files about immigrants, but that much could be learned about the police and other elements of the French response to immigrants. Quite similar to the transformation other scholars in the social and behavioral sciences have undergone during their research enterprises, the scene was thus set for a study, not of those who are controlled, but of those who do the controlling. Immigration control is of great significance for our understanding of the identity assigned to immigrants and immigrant groups and which they, in response to heightened controls, adopt as their own. It also offers an important foundation for policies

3. For such a classification of the IFTU, see the edited volume by Anthony Carew *et al.*, *The International Confederations of Free Trade Unions* (Berne, 2000). While almost 400 pages are dedicated to developments after 1945, there is also a brief summary of the IFTU's history by Geert van Goethem on pp. 73–163.