Notes


19. F’ 13955.
II: State, Society, and Supplemental Labor

1. France, Statistique générale, Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population (hereafter cited as Recensement), 1, no. 5 (1936), 41.


5. Recensement, 1, no. 1 (1936), 36.

6. Ibid, 1, no. 1 (1906), 140.


8. Archives de la Préfecture de Police (hereafter cited as PP), 67, untitled report, April 17, 1907.


15. Main-d'oeuvre agricole (hereafter cited as MOA) (July 1915), p. 11.

18. Wlocevski, “*La main-d’oeuvre polonaise en France,*” p. 64.
19. Ibid., p. 68.
25. In the case of the entertainment and food industries, foreigners frequently went to France to learn the tricks of the trade in much the same way as provincial apprentices had gone to Paris to learn a skilled craft in the nineteenth century. German and Swiss hotel workers were often preferred because of their knowledge of languages. Hollande, *La défense ouvrière*, p. 208; Gemahling, *Travailleurs au rabais*, p. 219; Delevsky, *Antagonismes sociaux*, p. 257, and Confédération générale du travail (CGT), *Congrès du Bâtiment* (1914), p. 464.
26. See an interesting report on CGT construction unions’ attempts to organize unions of migratory workers in the Alpes-Maritimes, which were immigrant-dominated. CGT, *Congrès du Bâtiment* (1914), pp. 69–78.


39. At a convention of construction workers (CGT) held in 1912, a union organizer from Marseilles admitted that it was impossible to unionize Spanish and Portuguese workers because no French member could speak their languages. He complained that strikebreaking Belgian brick workers in the Nord were isolated from the union because they worked all of their non-sleeping hours. CGT, *Congrès du Bâtiment* (1912), pp. 39–40.


43. For example, see Paul Louis, *La guerre économique* (Paris: Éditions de la Revue blanche, 1900).


50. CDeb, (November 19, 1931), p. 11, 897.

51. PP 67, Interior to Prefect of Police, June 8, 1916.
55. F* 11334, CIMO, January 27, 1917, April 14, 1917.
57. PP 67, Interior Ministry to Prefect of Police, June 8, 1916; F* 11334, “Cahiers des chargés pour les travailleurs chinoises” (1916).
58. So much a problem was the “run-away” colonial that in December 1917 a bounty of 10 francs was offered police for each captured runaway. Officials were anxious to prevent their gravitation to Paris, where they could easily hide. Archives départementales, Bouches-du-Rhône (hereafter cited as BR) 6 M 1520, War Ministry Circular, December 12, 1917; *Usines de guerre*, January 8, 1918.
60. F* 11334, CIMO, May 1, 1917.
61. Ibid., July 7, 1917.
62. Ibid., May 19, 1917.
64. F* 11331, Instructions of P. Famin, Directeur général des troupes coloniales, September 26, 1916.
66. F* 11331, Correspondence between the Ministry of Public Works and the port authorities, July 1917 to December 1918.
67. Office national de la main-d'œuvre agricole (ONMA), “Placement et immigration de la main-d'œuvre agricole” (a pamphlet dated August 25, 1918). See also MOA 16 (October 10, 1919), 7; 11 (August 10, 1914), 6; and 12 (May 1915), 7.
68. MOA, 12 (June 1915), 4.
71. MOA, 13 (May 1916), 3.
73. Ibid., pp. 81, 83, and 87.
74. MOA, 15 (May 1918), 4.
75. Until the spring of 1918 militarized French workers were paid only 1.9 francs per day, while POW's received only fifty centimes. Foreigners were not
only expensive to import but cost roughly the same as free French workers (3.5 francs per day in 1916). See Office national de la main-d'oeuvre agricole, "Placement et immigration," p. 3.

76. MOA, 14 (May 14, 1917), 34.


78. A study by the ONMA found that only 100 of 215 Algerians hired in September of 1915 at the sugar beet farms of the Beauce remained more than one week. The study attributed this turnover to a combination of factors: they received the meager wages of 3.5 francs per day; they often had only pork meat to eat (religiously objectionable); and they had to sleep on beds of straw. Those who quit also had job options. They went mainly to the war factories of Lyons, St. Etienne, Rouen, and Paris where they could earn up to one franc per hour. MOA, 13 (April 1916), 4.


83. F 14 11332, Report of Service de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère to Commission interministérielle de la main-d'oeuvre, December 6, 1917.

84. Nogaro and Wiel, La main-d'oeuvre étrangère, pp. 52-55.

85. Bulletin de l'Association internationale pour la lutte contre le chômage (November 1917), p. 6; Peyerimhoff claimed turnover in the mines jumped from 25-30 per cent before the war to 200 per cent in 1916. CH 40, CIMO, May 20, 1916.


89. Ibid., June 8, 1916.

90. CH 40, Compte rendu de l'Association national d'expansion économique (November 7, 1916), and Lemonon, L'après guerre, p. 18.


92. Members of the Commission included the main government manpower chiefs (L. Wiel, F. A. Brancher, and B. Nogaro), as well as Arthur Fontaine and Charles Picquenard from the Ministry of Labor. It also included representatives from key employer groups (Robert Pinot from the Comité des
forge and G. de Peyerimhoff from the Comité des houillères). Joining them infrequently was Léon Jouhaux, chief of the CGT, and Auguste Keufer from the printers union. See F14 11334, CIMO, March 1917.

93. Ibid., February 10, 1917.
94. F14 11332, CIMO, October 22, 1917.
95. Ibid., November 1, 1917.
96. F14 11334, CIMO, April 14, 1917.
97. Ibid., January 20, 1917.
98. F14 11332, CIMO, January 26, 1918.


103. F14 11334, CIMO, June 9, 1917, and July 7, 1917.
104. CH 40, “Procès verbal, Commission administrative de l’office central de placement,” November 16, 1916. It is significant that de Peyerimhoff of the Coal Committee opposed this resolution on the ground that the offices were not competent to pass a decision on the labor needs of big industries. At this same meeting, Jouhaux proposed that foreigners not be expelled. His proposition was tabled due to the opposition of several business representatives who held that expulsion was a purely administrative matter.

105. F14 11334, CIMO, July 7, 1917.

III: Organizing Immigration after the First World War

1. Association nationale d’expansion économique (ANEE), Enquête sur la production française et la concurrente étrangère (Paris: Lib.-imp. réunies, 1917). The Agricultural Commission of the ANEE included key representatives of big farming such as Ferdand David, F. I. Brancher, Henri Hetier, and Albert Souchon. The Industrial Commission included Henri Hauser, Paul de Rousiers (Comité des armateurs), and Robert Pinot (Comité des forges).


4. See Main-d’œuvre agricole (hereafter cited as MOA), 15 (April 1918), 4–5, and 15 (June 5, 1918), 3 for reports on French fears that foreign governments would interfere in their efforts to recruit Portuguese and Irish farm workers.


6. MOA, 14 (October 9, 1917), 7.

7. Ibid., 13 (October 1916), 6 and (May 1916), 2–3.

8. Not surprisingly, when Gaston Treigner of the Agricultural Commission of the Chamber of Deputies surveyed 4,000 farm societies on the question of whether the farm placement offices should be joined to the industrial labor exchanges, only 4 per cent approved. MOA, 15 (June 5, 1918), 6.

9. Brancher claimed in 1919 that 250,000 farm workers were lost to industry during the war. Bulletin de l’Association internationale pour la lutte contre le chômage (March 1920), p. 4.


11. For Meline’s ideas on farm worker unions see MOA, 13 (August 1916), 2–3.

12. Émile Fuster, director of the Paris Placement Office, Arthur Fontaine, Director of Labor in the Ministry of Labor, and Charles Picquenard, often Minister of Labor, were active in this association. Founded in 1900 as the Association pour la protection légale des travailleurs, this organization had long strived for ameliorative labor legislation in Western European countries as well as cooperation between labor, business, and the state. See Bulletin de l’Association internationale pour la lutte contre le chômage (January 31, 1919), p. 1.


16. La vieouvrière, 4 (December 1922), 767 and CGT, Questions ouvrières, pp. 9–10.


20. French fears of job competition were well-founded. Placement offices
reported French veterans complaining that foreign workers had taken jobs which the soldiers had held before the war. In response, the foreign labor office in Paris channeled foreign workers outside the crowded Parisian labor market. See Archives nationales (hereafter cited with "F" numbers) F\textsuperscript{22} 2565, Labor Ministry report, March 8, 1919. For further information on colonial repatriation see Henri Bunle (Institut national des études économiques), 


21. F\textsuperscript{14} 11335, report from the Ministry of Public Works to the Labor Ministry, November 25, 1918. See also F\textsuperscript{14} 11334, circular from the Labor Ministry, December 20, 1918. Other sources on early postwar policy are *Bulletin du Ministère du travail*, 27 (January–February 1920), pp. 20, 23. See also Archives départementales. Meurthe-et-Moselle (hereafter cited as MM) 40 M 34, Interior Ministry circular, June 19, 1918.


23. Foreign labor continued to be recruited through placement offices at Perpignan, Hendaye, and Marignac for the Iberian migration, at Baisieux for the Belgian, and at Pontailler for the Swiss. Offices at Modane and Menton collected Italians, while the Toul office gathered in Poles, other eastern Europeans, and a few Germans. See JO (October 24, 1919), p. 11799 and (August 6, 1919), p. 8221.


25. Copies of these treaties can be found in Ibid., pp. 7–10, and for Poland in JO (February 4, 1920), p. 1844 and for Italy in Chambre des députés, *Annales, Documents parlementaires* (hereafter cited as JDoc) (annex number 1036, 1920), pp. 1607–1608.


31. Of these 135,044 immigrants involved in the reconstruction in September of 1922, 79,493 were Italian; 26,665 Belgian; 10,431 Portuguese; 64,470 Spanish; 6,202 Polish; 1,634 Czech; and 4,146 from various nationalities. William Oualid, "The Occupational Distribution and Status of


33. Between 1920 and 1924, French officials recorded 649,611 immigrants entering non-agricultural employment and 362,399 hired as farm workers. See *Bulletin du Ministère du travail*, 33 (July–September 1926), p. 267. While all of these workers entered France under a work contract, an undetermined additional number entered as tourists later finding jobs. Furthermore, the government had only a perfunctory role in recruiting 210,601 eastern Europeans. See note 52.


35. Archives départementales, Meurthe-et-Moselle, 10 M 37, Interior Ministry circular, November 13, 1919.

36. Ibid., prefect’s report to the Interior Ministry, March 15, 1920.

37. Ibid., report of J. Baches, Director of the foreign labor depot at Toul to the Labor Ministry, October 23, 1920.


40. MOA, 19 (November 1921), 9.

41. Ibid., 18 (July 1920), 2.

42. Ibid., 19 (January 1921), 708.

43. The Ministry of the Liberated Regions provided CARD a subsidy of 500,000 francs in 1920–1921. See CDeb, March 16, 1923, p. 1324.


46. *Industrial and Labour Information*, 4 (March 31, 1924), 484.


49. CH 109, SGI meeting notes, May 17, 1924. Included among the SGI’s clients were a number of metal-mechanical firms, construction materials companies, Alsatian textile mills, Lyons silk factories, hydro-electric plants in the French Alps, paper mills in the Dauphine, and glass works in the Vosges. CH 109, SGI report, May 31, 1927.

50. Ibid.


54. Ibid., 5 (April 1931), 17.
58. For a graphic description of the SGI’s recruitment practices by an author who, with the co-operation of the SGI, followed a Pole through the immigration process, see G. Le Fevre, *L’Homme travail* (Paris, 1929), pp. 43–74; *Le Peuple* (January 16, 1930).
59. The SGI usually received requests from French employers through their employers’ syndicats. These requests were sent to the Foreign Labor Services of the Labor or Agriculture Ministries and then to the departmental placement offices for summary approval. In the cases of job offers in agriculture and mining, this last step was not required. The centrality of the SGI can be seen in the accompanying diagram of how the immigration process worked. In its advertising, the SGI claimed that any effort to bypass

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1  Ag & Labor services
2  Frontier controls
3  Polish placement
4  workers
5  SGI
6  employers
7  8
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its services would result in “long delays” and “numerous contacts” with the Labor Ministry. *Revue d’immigration*, 3 (February 1929), 16.
60. *Le Tribune des mineurs*, October 10, 1933.
61. These impressions of Polish immigrants were gathered by the Institut national d’études démographiques between 1950 and 1952 in a study of long-term assimilation. The institute interviewed 94 Polish miners, as well as similar numbers of Polish farmworkers (Aisne), Italian construction workers and artisans (Seine), and Italian farmers (Lot-et-Garonne).

These interviews are limited to long-term residents (a sample biased in the Polish case because of the repatriation of leftist Poles during the depression and especially in 1946–1948); still they are one of the few sources available which present the immigrants’ viewpoint. See Alain Girard and Jean Stoetzel (Institut nationale des études démographiques) *Français et immigrés: l’attitude française, l’adaptation des italiens et des polonais, Travaux et documents*, Cahier no. 19 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de la France, 1953), pp. 456, 386–387.
62. CH 48, SGI, report, July 1, 1926, CH 109, SGI, reports, March 16, 1927, and May 15, 1927.
63. By 1932, of the 25,202,219 francs held by the SGI, this finance company represented 18.8 million francs. The SGI grew from an initial capital investment of 5 million francs in 1924. CH 109, SGI reports, May 10, 1933, March 16 and December 28, 1927, as well as September 2, 1926.
64. CH 107, SGI report, December 9, 1929.

65. As early as September 1928, de Warren noted that the Poles had just demanded more control over the immigration of farm workers, but doubted that the Polish government could “close the doors” because “Yugoslavia ought to be able to give us what we want.” CH 48, September 4, 1928. See also the archival reports of M. Paon on his complex maneuverings to limit the SGI in Poland. Paon supported a group of distillers seeking to recruit Poles outside the SGI. In response to de Warren’s complaint about this new competition, Paon noted that farmers were critical of excessive SGI profits, F10 2754, Paon to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 17, 1930.


67. Revue d’immigration, for example, was a monthly newsletter published by the SGI to advertise its ideas and to provide its customers with information on immigration. It was sponsored by the Comité des houillères, Union des industries métallurgiques et minières, Association de l’immigration des forges et mines de fer de l’Est de la France, Union des industries chimiques, Comité central des fabricants de sucre, and the Office central de la main-d’œuvre agricole.


70. See Archives départementales, Pas-de-Calais (hereafter cited as PG) M 2382, Report of Commissaire spécial de Carvin, March 8, 1920, for an account of a short strike of reconstruction workers against the hiring of immigrants.

71. For example, see Confédération général du Travail, Congrès national corporatif: compte rendu des travaux (1918), pp. 22–23.

72. For the opinions of public health officials, see the entire issue of La Revue d’hygiène, 48 (November 1926), which was devoted to the problem of immigration and public health. For police fears of Polish enclaves, see Archives départementales, Nord (hereafter cited as N) M 208–135, Report of Procureur de Douai to the Justice Ministry, May 10, 1922.


75. See Italy, Commissariato generale dell’emigrazione, L’immigrazione italiana, 1910–1923 and 1923–1925 (Rome: Edizione del commissariato generale dell’immigrazione 1924 and 1926), for the official position of the Italian government on emigration. Attilio Oblath reviews Italian policy in the late

76. Among the proponents of de Warren's bill were the Union des industries métallurgiques et minières, the Fédération national du bâtiment, and the Fédération des employeurs industriels et commerciaux. See *Industrial and Labour Information*, 4 (March 31, 1924), 486. This bill appears in the Chambre des députés, Annales, *Documents parlementaires* (hereafter cited as CDoc) (Annex number 2343, 1921), pp. 1444–1446.

77. For a discussion of the CGT's position, see Confédération général du travail, *Congrès national corporatif: compte rendu des travaux*, 19 (1923), 116–118. See also *Le Peuple* (September 9, 1924).


79. B. Nogaro was a veteran administrator from the Ministry of Labor and in charge of negotiations during the war for procuring European immigrant workers. As Deputy from Gers and a rapporteur of the Commission du travail, he inserted his proposal for an immigration office into the budget request of the Ministry of Labor for 1925. It can be found in CDoc (Annex number 517, 1924), p. 1995. Parliamentary discussion of this proposal appears in CDeb (December 17, 1924), pp. 4383–4386, 4602.


### IV: Farms, Mines, and Poles


5. Main-d’oeuvre agricole (MOA), 20 (March 1922), 5.
8. The mean daily wage in industry rose from four francs (10-hour day) in 1911 to 33.8 francs (8-hour day) in 1930; by contrast, the daily wage in agriculture rose only from 3.3 francs in 1911 to 24.7 in 1930 (high in comparison to other sources see note 25). Thus, while in 1911 farm workers earned 83.5 per cent of industrial wages, by 1930 they earned only 73 per cent of industrial wages and worked for a much longer day (often twelve or more hours). See Annuaire statistique (1966), pp. 422, 424–425. See also Michel Augé-Laribé, “Labour Conditions in French Agriculture,” International Labour Review, 12 (January 1932), 38–39, and Bulletin du Ministère du travail, 29 (April–June 1922), 177.
13. In 1931, 50 per cent of the aliens working in agriculture and fishing were employed in the 25 departments directly on the frontier. Recensement, 1, no. 5 (1931), 234, 236.
18. MOA, 20 (April 1922), 5.
19. See Bunle, Mouvements migratoires, p. 96, and Annuaire statistique (1929), pp. 54* and 84*, which show that the number of sugar beet workers increased from about 20,000 in 1922 to 29,700 in 1930.
23. Ibid. See also CGT, Congrès de travailleurs de l'agriculture (1920), pp. 180-195.


28. Recensement, 1, no. 5 (1931), 258-328.


30. MOA, 20 (October 1922), 4. Note that between 1921 and 1926, 37 percent of the Polish farm workers entering France were women (29,549). In comparison, for the immigrant population as a whole the figure was only 27 percent (1931) and for the same period as that of the Poles, only 18 percent of the Italians, 4 percent of the Belgians, and 31 percent of the Spanish were women. Huber, Population, p. 816, and Recensement, 1, no. 3 (1926), 181.


32. CDeb, November 29, 1927, p. 3258. Marcel Paon, chief of the labor service of the Agricultural Ministry, admitted that farmers paid foreign workers below the French rate because farmers had no guarantee of the immigrants' "professional value" when they were first hired. Seldom, however, did the French raise their pay. Le Peuple (February 15, 1927).


34. MOA, 20 (October 1922), 5.


36. This at least was the claim of deputy Eugen Raude, CDeb, December 21, 1931, p. 822.


40. Archives départementales, Pas-de-Calais (hereafter cited as PC) M 3210-11, passim.

41. Revue d'immigration, 6 (April 1932), 8.

42. MOA, 18 (July 1920), 3.

43. See "L'Opieka d'Amiens," Les Dossiers de l'Action populaire (September

44. For an example of this belief that rural proprietorship would instill petty bourgeois attitudes, see Le Temps (September 27, 1924). See also “La valeur de la terre et l'immigration,” Moniteur des intérêts matériels (June 23, 1926), for this notion of land acquisition as a solution to the problem of immigrant instability.

45. In 1927, there were 4,797 Belgian, 14,719 Italian, 8,045 Spanish, and 3,413 Swiss landowners. However, there were only 109 Polish, 68 Hungarian, and 27 Czech landholders. See Ministère de l'Agriculture, Enquête sur les étrangers (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1929), pp. 46–47.


48. Miners in 1922 earned about 19 francs per day while masons' assistants could earn 30 or more francs. Annuaire statistique (1938), pp. 173* and 200*.

49. CH 7, Report to the General Assembly of the Comité des houillères, March 26, 1920. On January 1, 1918, there were only 3,731 non-militarized French miners in the mining population of 145,721, a fact that helps explain the problem of reconstituting a free labor force after the war. F 143423, Report of the Ministère du travail publics, January 1, 1918.


51. Ibid., pp. 430, 438; see also Annuaire statistique (1966), p. 229.


53. The birth rate in the mining town of Bully, for example, dropped from 400 annually per 10,000 in the period of 1901–1911 to 280 per 10,000 in the decade 1921–1931. Philiipe Aries, Histoire des populations françaises (Paris: SELF, 1948), pp. 228, 249–262.


58. *Annuaire statistique* (1932), p. 62*
59. When one uses the census figures for 1911 and 1931, which include the entire mining class (no figures for coal only), 95 per cent of the growth in the mining work force is a result of immigration. *Recensement*, 1, no. 3 (1931), 19, and 1, no. 5 (1931), 122.
61. *Annuaire statistique* (1931), p. 62*
63. *Conseil général du Pas-de-Calais*, 3 (1924), Report of the Ingenieur des mines, 133. In December of 1934, foreigners comprised 42 percent of the underground miners in the Pas-de-Calais mines and 46 percent of those in the Nord. This involved 87 per cent of the foreigners employed by the mines. PC 1 Z 501 subprefect of Douai report, February 3, 1935.
65. PC M 2384, M 6679, passim.
66. *Conseil général du Pas-de-Calais*, 3 (1925), Report from Ingenieur des mines, 118. One police report claimed that the mines eliminated unmarried foreign workers “with the slightest pretense” in order to lower production costs. The operators expected no serious opposition as “no one cares about them.” PC M 382, Report of Commissaire de Police of Bruay, March 13, 1928.
68. PC M 3213, mine company correspondence with prefect, May 28, 1929. In some cases labor-hungry construction companies sent agents to the mines to hire directly at the canteens and barracks. Despite pledges not to pirate the immigrants of other mines, some operators in the Loire induced Poles to leave their jobs in the mines of the north. See PC M 6857, Labor Ministry report to the prefect, May 34, 1923, and PC M 3213, report of (Commissaire spécial) of Lens, June 22, 1929.
69. For example, Alfred Morain, the prefect of the Nord, required that the name of the importing employer be placed on the identity card of the immigrant to discourage job-hopping. Alfred Morain, *La réconstitution du Nord dévasté au 1er septembre 1923* (Lille: Martin-Marmy, 1923), p. 127.
70. PC M 3213 contains numerous examples of state aid for employers suffering contract ruptures for the years 1929–1930. However, in the case of thirty-two Poles who the mines of Ostricourt had identified as runaways in 1929, only four could be found from forwarding addresses left at the mine.
76. One could easily exaggerate the role of housing, for there were higher proportions of workers per house in the 1920s than before the war, a fact which may have contributed less to stability than to the inexpensive maintenance of the new miners. See M. Georges, “Les mines du Pas-de-Calais en 1924,” p. 346.
77. Morain, La réconstitution du Nord, p. 74, and N M 208-135, subprefect at Valenciennes to the prefect, March 16, 1927.
79. PC M 6689, Circular from the Ministry of Labor, March 16, 1930, and October 23, 1928.
80. Calculated from Recensement, 1, no. 5 (1931), 168-172, 158-161.
81. In the Commune of Lens (17 percent foreign in 1926) the birth rate was double that of Cambrai (2 percent foreign). Georges Mauco, Les étrangers en France (Paris: A. Colin, 1932), p. 185.
83. Ibid., Letter of the prefect of the Nord to the subprefects, March 2, 1923. Note also that the General Immigration Society advocated that Polish assimilation in France should be delayed for two generations. Documents du Travail (March–June 1930), p. 57.
84. Morain, La réconstitution du Nord, p. 77.
85. Archives diplomatiques, Poland, 283, (November 1924), 38.
87. The commissaire spécial (CS) of Lens noted the “precious aid in the purification of the Polish colony of the principal extremists” provided by a Polish journalist. PC 1Z 501, April 20, 1926.
89. In the period between March 1923 and January 1925, some 31,527 Westphalian Poles passed through the depot at Toul; of these, 5,260 were men (i.e., mostly miners) or 32 percent of the total; 7,540 were women or 24 percent; and 13,904 were children (under 16 years old) or 44 percent. In contrast, between April and December 1924, the Poles who migrated directly from Poland were distributed as follows: 15,121 men (47 percent), 6,677
women (21 percent), and 10,099 children (32 percent). MM 10 M 37, reports
of prefect of Meurthe-et-Moselle to the Ministry of Hygiene, April 10, 1923 to
February 15, 1923.

90. PC M 6857, reports of the Procureur of Arras, 1929; Kaczmarek,
L’émigration polonaise, p. 367; and Alain Girard and Jean Stoetzel, Français et
immigrés: l’attitude française, l’adaptation des italiens et des polonais (Cahier 19,
Institut national des études démographiques) (Paris: Presses universitaires de

91. Bunk, Mouvements migratoires, p. 100.

92. There were, of course, problems of adjustment. The Westphalian Poles
had been accustomed to German mines, which were more modern and
provided better safety and hygienic standards. Their coming to France often
resulted in a drop in status and position in the occupational hierarchy since
they were not given seniority. Kaczmarek, L’émigration polonaise, pp. 280–294.
See also E. Gogolewski, “Les polonaises en France avant la seconde guerre

93. Ibid., p. 118.

94. PC M 3231, report of the CS of Lens, February 8, 1923.

95. R. Poignant, “L’immigration polonaise dans le Pas-de-Calais,” (Arras:
unpublished MS.), pp. 18, 22.

96. PC 1Z 501, report of the CS of Lens, February 12, 1924.

97. N M 298–135, report of the CS of Douai, November 24, 1924, and PC 1Z
501, report of the CS of Lens, February 24, 1926.


99. PC M 3229, report of the CS of Bethune, September 12, 1925.

100. PC 1Z 501, report of the CS of Bethune, October 23, 1924.

101. Ibid., report of the Commissaire de police of Bethune, June 29, 1924.

102. Ibid., Report of the CS of Lens, January 17, 1926.

103. Archives nationales (hereafter cited with “F” numbers), AN F 13269,
Correspondence between the CGT and the ZRP, January 1927.

104. In the mines of Anzin (Nord), Martial reported that contract ruptures
for the entire work force dropped to 5 percent by 1925 from a prewar figure of

105. Revue d’immigration, 5 (January 1931), 17; Recensement, 1, no. 5 (1931),
57.

106. Informations sociales, 13 (June 5, 1933), 374, and AN F 14369, Interior
Ministry correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 10,
1928.

107. Recensement, 1, no. 5 (1931), 317, 299; 1, no. 3 (1931), 172–173.
108. PC M 6857, report of the CS of Bethune, September 30, 1929.
109. PC 1Z 501, Narodowiec, February 13, 1926 (French translation).
110. Ibid., report of the CS of Lens, January 4, 1925, and April 27, 1925.
111. NM 208-135, report of the CS of Douai, September 30, 1925.
113. AN F 13469, report of the prefect of the Nord, October 1, 1925.
114. NM 208-135, report of the CS of Douai, September 30, 1925.
115. Ibid., report of the CS of Lille, September 30, 1926, and translations of Wiarus Polski, November 17, 1927, and April 11, 1929.

V: The Fascist State and Italian Emigration


5. For background on international migrations in Europe in the 1920s, see John W. Brown, World Migration and Labor (Amsterdam: International Federation of Trade Unions, 1926); Donald Taft, Human Migration (New York: Ronald Press, 1936); and Louis Varlez, Les migrations internationales et leur réglementations (Paris: Recueil des cours, 1929).

6. In 1925, 34 percent of the Italian immigrants originated from Venetia, 18 percent from Piedmont, 12 percent from Lombardy, 9 percent from Tuscany, and 7 percent from Emilia—all northern provinces. The other 20 percent came from central and southern Italy. Data derived from Opera Bonomelli, Vadecum dell’emigrante (Milan), p. 100.
11. *Recensement*, 1, no. 2 (1931), 149–155 and 1, no. 1 (1931), 76.
12. Ibid., 1, no. 3 (1931), 149–155 and 1, no. 5 (1931), 76.
17. Ibid., pp. 342, 344.
28. Archives départementales, Meurthe-et-Moselle (hereafter cited as MM), 10M34, report of Commissaire spéciale (CS) of Briey, August 2, 1924.
31. Recensement, 1, no. 5 (1931), 76–78, and 1, no. 3 (1931), 96.
33. F’ 13456, undated Interior Ministry report.
34. In Le Peuple (May 10, 1921), for example, H. Cordier complained that anti-union Italians moved into the old CGE stronghold of St. Claude in Jura under the tutelage of the Opera Bonomelli. Le Peuple (September 9, 1923) reports that Italian clergy and fascists spied on those Italians at St. Claude who participated in a leftist demonstration, leading to their expulsion.
41. For the fascist demographic program, see B. Mussolini, “Il problema demografico italiano,” Bollettino dell’emigrazione, no. 6 (1927), 10, and M. Appelius, “L’emigrazione italiana e il fascismo,” Bollettino dell’emigrazione, no. 5 (1925), pp. 40–42.
42. Archives diplomatiques, Italie, Volume 185, report of the French consul at Ventimille, January 25, 1928, p. 199.
43. Corriere della sera (July 23, 1926), clipping in F’ 13458.
45. For background on Mussolini’s colonization program, see Oblath, “Italian Emigration,” pp. 831–832. For recent studies of internal colonization see A. Treves, Le migrazioni interne nell’Italia fascista (Turin: Einaudi, 1976), and E. Scarzanella, “L’emigrazione veneta nel periodo fascista,” Studi Storici, 18 (1977), 171–199. For Mussolini’s imperialist alternative to emigration, see R. Cantalupo, L’Italia Mussulmana (Rome: La Voce, 1928), Denis Mack Smith, Mussolini’s Roman Empire (New York: Longman, 1976), and Esmonde M. Robertson, Mussolini as Empire Builder (New York: Macmillian, 1977).
47. International Labour Office, Monthly Record of Migration, 3 (December
For details of the new decrees, see Ibid., 3 (September 1928), 313. See also the following articles in the Bollettino dell'emigrazione: B. Mussolini, "Spiriti e forma della nuova politica dell'emigrazione," no. 5 (1927), 10; Dino Grandi, "La soppressione dei Commissariato generale dell'emigrazione nei documenti parlamentari," no. 6 (1927), 38-40; and B. Mussolini, "La nuova politica dell'emigrazione," no. 7 (1927) 75-77. For another interpretation of fascist change of policy in 1927, see Cannistraro and Rosoli, "Fascist Emigration," pp. 686-689.


50. International Labour Office, Monthly Record of Migration, 3 (September 1928), 314.


53. International Labour Office, Monthly Record of Migration, 3 (September 1928), 314.


59. Ibid., 1 (February 1926), 47-48.


61. L'Humanité (August 6, 1926) and (January 4, 1927).


63. F7 13456, Interior Ministry reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 20, 1925, August 22, 1926.

64. F7 13458, report of the CS of Lyons, October 7 and 17, 1926.
65. F7 13458, report of the prefect of Loire-Atlantique (Nantes), November 9, 1926.


67. F7 13458, report of the CS of Toulouse, June 8, 1926.

68. F7 13454, report of the CS of Menton, December 9, 1922.

69. F7 13454, report from the prefect of the Drome, December 9, 1925.

70. Archives diplomatiques, Italie, Volume 185, internal report, December 23, 1925.

71. Archives départementales, Gard, M 130, report of the prefect to the Interior Ministry, January 19, 1939.


73. F7 13461, Interior Ministry report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 12, 1928.

74. PP 283, report of the Prefect of Police to the Interior Ministry, August 19, 1928.

75. F7 13460, report of CS of Toulouse, January 2, 1927.


77. For example, sixteen Italian organizations, eight language schools, and a vigorous fascist press functioned at Lyons in the early 1920s. Ibid., pp. 241–242.

78. For the demands of French employers for more labor see Revue d'immigration, 2 (October 1928), 24; 3 (January 16, 1929), 3; and 3 (September 8, 1929), 30–31. See also Le Nord industriel (August 10, 17, and 31, 1929) and Informations sociales, 10 (April 7, 1930), 139.

79. Revue d'immigration, 3 (February 1930), 18.

80. Ibid., 2 (October 1928), 39. This source reported that the unemployed in Poland decreased from 250,000 in 1927 to only 100,000 by mid-1928.

81. Informations sociales, 10 (January 6, 1930), 118, and 9 (July 22, 1929), 33.

82. Polish authorities complained that Polish women worked at men's jobs for “female pay” and frequently were sexually exploited by their employers. Revue d'immigration, 3 (January 6, 1929), 7.

83. Ibid.

84. The French Ambassador to Poland quoted a Mr. Stemler who, at a meeting of the “Assembly of Poles Living Abroad,” claimed that miners in France contributed to unemployment in Poland for they competed with Polish coal. Archives diplomatiques, Poland, Volume 271, report dated July 18, 1929, p. 141.

85. CH 48, report of an agent of the Société générale d'immigration, December 16, 1929.
VI: Foreign Labor in a Period of Growth

1. France, Statistique générale, Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population (hereafter cited as Recensement) 1, no. 5 (1931), 74. It is not the purpose of this work to describe in detail the various nationalities which comprised the immigration of the 1920s nor their occupational or regional distribution. For an encyclopedic treatment of these topics, see G. Maucó, Les étrangers en France (Paris: A. Colin, 1932).

2. The cartons Archives de la Préfecture de Police (hereafter cited as PP) 67 and Archives départementales Bouches-du-Rhône (hereafter cited as BR) 6M 6262 contain reports of these efforts to flush the North Africans out of Paris and Marseilles.


4. BR 14 M 23-21, Arab petition to the prefect, January 22, 1921, and prefect’s report to the Ministry of the Interior, January 20, 1921.

5. Ibid., undated (1924) departmental placement office report, pp. 21 and 24.


8. BR 14 M 25-20, undated departmental placement office report, pp. 4-5.

9. In a study (1924) of 258 metal works employing 60,000 immigrants, only 15 percent of the Arabs were considered by the employers to be “good workers,” compared to 85 percent of the Belgians, 70 percent of the Italians,


16. Moroccans and Tunisians had to place a deposit of 1,000 francs. BR 6 M 9097, report from the Résidence générale de Maroc to the prefect, October 17, 1931.

17. BR 6 M 8410, 9119, 9117, and 9097 for police reports on clandestine North African immigration.


21. For example, Marseilles, as early as 1911, had 97,057 Italian residents (110,421 total foreigners). A survey by the Italian consul claimed that Italians constituted 45 percent of the cooper (770), 80 percent of the cabinet makers (400), 40 percent of the carpenters (1,400), 40 percent of the stone masons (500), and 30 percent of the painters (660). They also comprised a large share of the employees of heavy industries such as chemicals, olive oil, and gas. See G. Selli, *Marsiligia a la sua colonia italiana* (Marseilles, 1913).


28. For the suburbs the alien workforce rose from 5 percent to 12.3 percent in the 1920s, whereas it rose in Paris from 6.5 percent to 9.5 percent. *Recensement*, 1, no. 5 (1931), 50.
29. Recensement, 1, no. 1 (1931) 62.
30. Ibid., 1, no. 5 (1931), 206-207, 59 and 1, no. 3 (1931), 174-177.
31. Ibid., 271.
32. Ibid., 324.
33. Ibid., 317.
34. Ibid., 315.
35. Between 1921 and 1931, there was a 7 per cent decrease in the proportion of the foreign population living in the border regions. Ibid., 9-10.
39. L’Humanité (November 11, 1925), and N M 595-46, trade union poster from Armentières, January 1924.
40. F 13518, report of the prefect of the Somme, March 12, 1925.
42. PP 314, internal police reports, July 7, 1927, and December 12, 1930.
44. Le Peuple (April 2, 1930).
45. Archives départementales, Pas-de-Calais (hereafter cited as PC) M 6857, Service de la main-d’œuvre étrangère (Préfecture), letter to the Ministry of Labor, June 28, 1929.
46. BR 14M 22-5 contains a file of reports from departmental labor inspectors (1928) which show numerous cases of clothing shops and tanneries employing illegal immigrants who worked in crowded and unsafe conditions.
Notes to Pages 138–144

(May 1929), 285.

50. Some of the business and trade union descriptions of these industries indicate the rudiments of a program designed to stabilize immigrant workers. There were family housing projects at the Belleviller potash works, for example. See L’Humanité (May 24, 1930). Similar projects were undertaken by several plants in the Alpine hydro-electric district (Blanchard, “L’électrométallurgie,” p. 205) and in the Lorraine steel centers (Martial, Traité de l’immigration (Cuesmes-lez-Mons: Imprimerie fédérale, 1930), p. 251). Yet reports of overcrowded barracks predominated. L’Humanité (May 28, 1930) and Blanchard, “L’électrométallurgie,” p. 205.

51. Le Peuple (December 1 and 4, 1928) for reports on government studies of the immigrant in the Moselle iron and steel industry. For additional background, see Compte de Canisy, La question ouvrière dans le bassin de Briey (Paris, 1919), pp. 55–75, and Serge Bonnet, L’Homme de fer: mineurs de fer et ouvriers sidérurgistes lorrains, 1889–1939 (Nancy: Centre lorrain des études sociologiques, 1976), p. 281.


54. Le Peuple (December 26, 1929) reported that only 10 percent of the international coal and metallurgical regions, which included French Lorraine, the German Saar, and Luxembourg, were unionized. This was partially attributed to the fact that 60 percent of the workers of this district were not citizens of the countries where they worked.


56. André Paircault, L’immigration organisée, p. 177.


59. L’Humanité (March 28, 1930).

VII: Acceptance without Integration

1. General background on CGT immigration policy is found in Leon Gani, Syndicats et travailleurs immigrés (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1972), pp. 20–24. See also CGT, Congrès confédéral, compte rendu (1919), pp. 46–47. For efforts of the construction unions of the northern region, see PC M2373 and M2382, reports of the Commissaire spécial of Lens, November 1921 to March 1924.

2. PC M2372, report of the Commissaire spécial (CS) of Lens, December 12, 1923. See also CGT, Voix du peuple, 20 (September 1938), 26–27.


7. CGT, Congrès national de la Fédération du bâtiment (1929), p. 36.

8. For example, see CGT, Congrès national de la Fédération des metaux (1921), pp. 26–27 and (1927), p. 111. See also CGT, Congrès national de la Fédération du bâtiment (1929), p. 36. These sources also reveal persistent French displeasure over the continued membership of Belgians in their unions back home, which provided them with emergency benefits unavailable from French unions.


11. One hundred construction workers struck briefly in 1921 over the hiring of foreign workers; textiles workers from the Nord also demanded priority over Belgian commuters in a meeting with employers from the Roubaix-Tourcoing region. See PC M 2382, report for the Commissaire de police of Carvin, March 8, 1921, and N M 599-43, report of the CS of Lille, January 10, 1921.

which became independent in 1924. Dominated by anarcho-syndicalists from Lyons, this group expressed a deep hostility to immigrants. A report at its congress in 1925 declared that immigrants came “to France only for a short time and accepted any working conditions. Their ambition is to get as much money as possible; their appetite for money makes them enemies of all social development and makes them go against us.” The report warned them to respect the eight-hour day, refuse to work on the piece rate, and to adhere to the French union. If they did not, they “placed themselves outside the French workers movement. Anyone who fights the proletariat with or without knowledge exposes himself to its wrath. . . .” This “friendly warning” was distributed throughout the worksites in which this union had influence. See Congrès du bâtiment (Independent) (1925), pp. 139–149.


17. CGTU, Congrès de la Fédération nationale unitaire des travailleurs du sous-sol et similaires (1926), p. 54.

18. PP 300, untitled internal report, February 21, 1929.


21. Especially construction and taxi driver unions affiliated with the CGTU resisted the policy of solidarity with foreigners. See CGTU, Congrès . . . des travailleurs du bâtiment, pp. 179–180, where a delegate admitted that there were strong nationalist sentiments against immigrants in the building trades unions of Paris and doubted that immigrants would be organized into these unions as a result.


23. Main-d’œuvre agricole, 17, no. 9 (January 25, 1920), 2.

24. For example, the subprefect of the Vienne in Isère asked textile manufacturers to lay off colonial and foreign workers before the French. Archives départementales, Isère, M 165-2, subprefect’s report, November 23, 1920.

25. Data for this figure was derived from the Bulletin du Ministère du travail, 43


28. In 1928, some 32,136 immigrants requested regularization, of which 68 percent were approved. This was 33 percent of the 97,742 immigrants who entered France in 1928 with a work permit and under the control of the Foreign Labor Service. Mauco, Les étrangers, pp. 131, 135.

29. Le Temps (February 28, 1927), and International Labor Office, Monthly Record of Migration, 2 (March 1927), 95–96. See also Archives nationales (hereafter cited with “F” numbers) F7 13423, Interior Ministry circular, January 21, 1927.

30. Le Peuple (January 7, 1927).

31. Ibid. (December 11, 1929).

32. F7 13327, Prefect of Police report to the Interior Ministry, November 7, 1927, and Prefect of Police report to the Labor Ministry, November 12, 1927. See also International Labor Office, Monthly Record of Migration, 2 (March 1927), 96, and 2 (April 1927), 114.

33. Unemployment funds were restricted to those workers who fulfilled a residence requirement (six months to a year depending on the commune or township), a qualification that many of the transient foreigners could not meet. Also, because communes were required to give aliens this aid by treaty rather than general law, only the nationals of Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium had a legal right to unemployment funds. As a general indication of how few immigrants obtained relief benefits, only 37 of the 2,942 beneficiaries of these funds in St. Etienne in 1927 were immigrants. The figure was only 18 of the 377 recipients in Meurthe-et-Moselle. F7 13423, reports of the prefects to the Labor Ministry, and return directives, September 1927.

34. F7 13427, Prefect of Police report to the Labor Ministry, November 14, 1927.

35. Le Temps (March 4, 1927).

36. See, for example, the editorial of the CGT leadership, Le Peuple (July 11, 1925).


38. In many cases, according to the CGT, these commissions met only biannually, functioning primarily as window dressing for an otherwise bureaucratic operation. See Le Peuple (November 4, 1930).

39. For example, the director of the placement office of the Isère claimed
that during the recession of 1921 he tried to prevent a flood of cheap foreign workers from affecting prevailing wage levels. Archives départementales, Isère, 169 M 1, placement office report July 21, 1921, pp. 368-369. The director of the placement office of the Bouches-du-Rhône frequently investigated whether employers seeking to hire immigrants were offering them substandard wages. BR 14M 23-24 letter from the placement office director to the Foreign Labor Service, March 28, 1926.

40. Even in 1924, a year of economic prosperity, the placement office director of the Seine declared that he treated any immigrant's request for a work permit to be an "offer of employment for a French worker." Office départemental de placement de la Seine, Rapport au Conseil général (1924), p. 147.

41. In the Gard, for example, the parity commission was composed of eight workers, five of which were identified by profession: a carpenter, rope maker, an accountant, mason, and mechanic. The employers' representatives included a candy manufacturer, two bakers, a construction contractor, a local "industrialist," and three farmers. Archives départementales, Gard 14 M 1174, report of the departmental placement office, September 4, 1922.

42. BR 14 M 23-20, report of the departmental placement office, 1920. See also Henri Sellier and Émile Deslandres, "La constitution de l'Office départemental du placement et de la statistique du travail de la Seine" (1918), p. 2.


44. See Le Peuple (May 14, 1924), and L'Humanité (April 5, 1924) for evidence of fears of immigrants flooding the construction industry of Paris.


47. The National Manpower Council included six members from each of the following groups: the CGT, employer associations (including the Comité de forges and the SGI), parliament, and the government bureaucracy. See Voix du peuple (March 27, 1927), 1, and Revue d'immigration, 1 (October 28, 1927), 2.

48. Le Peuple (June 25, 1925).

49. M. Labe, a CGT delegate to the National Manpower Council and secretary of the metal workers, had high hopes of the council's becoming a tool with which to organize the national labor market. He expected it to frame government policy, to lead to the elimination of private manpower offices, and
to more effectively control immigration. He was convinced that allies of the CGT from the chamber (e.g., B. Nogaro) that were also on the council would help to realize these goals. See CGT, Congrès de la fédération des ouvriers des metaux (1925), pp. 196–197.

50. The Agricultural Ministry, which was to control farm labor immigration, never exercised any controls in the interests of local labor, according to the CGT. The same was true of the departmental placement offices in mining regions. See Le Peuple (May 21, 1926).

51. Ibid. (August 18, 1925, May 3, 1926, and May 21, 1926). See also Revue d’immigration, 2 (May 1928), 24, and 3 (June 1929), 18.

52. For example, see Information sociale et ouvriere, 6 (July 1923), 8.

53. Le Peuple (July 11, 1925).

54. Journal officiel de la République de France, Lois et décrets, August 10, 1926, p. 9171 for the text of the law. Note that even though employers could be fined for infractions of this law, the “harmed employer” had to make a complaint. The investigative resources of the Ministries of Labor and Agriculture were inadequate; they had to rely on local police for information. For more details, see Revue d’immigration, 3 (January 7, 1929), 8.

55. Only 440 cases of violations of this law were prosecuted in 1928. Revue d’immigration, 3 (June 1929), 17.

56. See ibid., 5 (April 1931), 2–3.

57. Recensement, 1, no. 5 (1936), 58.

58. Ibid., 51.

59. Ibid., 1, no. 5 (1931), 59.

60. Ibid., 1, no. 5 (1931), 52.

61. The scales were derived from ibid., 107. Annuaire statistique de la France (1909), pp. 126–129 and (1935), pp. 188–190. The percentages were calculated from the following equation: where economically active French in each industry in 1906 equals FA 6, total economically active population in 1906 and 1931 equal TA 6 and TA 31, the expected French actives in 1931 equal FE 31 and actual French actives in 1931 equal FA 31, the rate of displacement is calculated as follows: 

\[
\frac{FA 6}{TA 6} = \frac{FE 31}{TA 31}
\]

\[
FE 31 = \frac{FA 6 \times TA 31}{TA 6}
\]

Displacement rate = \[
\frac{FA 31 - FE 31}{TA 31}
\]

These displacement rates, calculated for each industry, were then corrected to discount the effect of French war losses and population decline and to isolate the factor of occupational migration. The correction is the displacement rate for the entire French workforce in 1931 or 4.4 percent. The corrected displacement rate for each industry involved subtracting 4.4 percent from each of the rates.
VIII: Limits of Assimilation


3. Ibid., 1, no. 2 (1931), 57 and 81.


7. Archives départementales, Nord (N) M 208-135 (the entire file contains reports relating to police reaction to the influx of Poles into the mines of this department).

8. Archives diplomatiques, Italie, 185, note from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1926, p. 130.


12. N M 6857 (B), prefectural report to the Ministry of Interior.


16. Ibid. (October 24, 1924).

17. Archives de la Préfecture de Police (hereafter cited as PP) 335 police report on the CGTU, 1927.

18. PP 67; internal report entitled, "Rapport sur la main-d'oeuvre étrangère," 1923. See also Archives nationales (hereafter cited with "F" numbers) F13455, internal report entitled, "Au sujet de l'activité politique des italiens résidants en France," October 15, 1924. This report notes that Italians had twenty-four of the thirty-five comités intersyndicaux (foreign language organizations) of the CGTU.


25. Marcel Paon, L’immigration en France (Paris: Delagrave, 1928), pp. 140–157. Note also that William Oualid, head of the Immigration Committee of the conservative business study group, Redressement français, also advocated the formation of a “Commission nationale de l’immigration” with employer, worker, and philanthropic membership. It was to plan for an improved government control of immigration, to prevent the formation of autonomous ethnic concentrations, and to improve the selection process. See Redressement français, Cahier 23 (1927), pp. 34–35.


29. La Volonté (September 5, 1926) declared that the French “must choose to assimilate the foreigners or be colonized by them.” For a review of French acceptance of assimilation, see International Labour Office, Monthly Record of Migration, 2 (February 1927), 73–74.


33. Chambre des députés, Annales, Documents parlementaires (hereafter cited as CDoc), February 11, 1931, Annex Number 4311, p. 187. See also Le Foyer

34. Archives départementales, Nord (hereafter cited as N), M 484–3, undated declaration of the Comité de protection polonaise.

35. Ibid., circulars from the Central Farm Labor Service (Ministry of Agriculture), January 19, 1929, and April 4, 1929. See also prefectoral reports on the Comité de protection polonaise, December 12, 1929, May 9, 1931, June 30, 1931, and general report for 1933.


37. The CGT claimed that only 1,991 Polish families joined their working heads of families in 1927 before the protocol, but 2,808 joined them in 1928 after the protocol was signed. Ibid.

38. Recensement, 1, no. 5 (1931), 31.

39. As a result of depopulation during World War One (a loss of 126,761, or 9 percent of the population), four departments in the southwest (Gers, Haute-Garonne, Tarn-et-Garonne, and Lot-et-Garonne) suffered a farm-labor shortage. Landowners responded by attracting Italian and Spanish settlers to the region as sharecroppers and tenants. The number of Italians in the region rose from 917 in 1921 to 37,113 by 1931. Throughout the interwar period, this peasant immigration was glorified as the proper way of assimilating foreigners in contrast to the unstable and alien urban immigration. See M. Huber, La population de la France (Paris: Hachette, 1937), pp. 834–888, and Alfred Sauvy, The General Theory of Population, (New York: Basic books, 1969) p. 462. Nevertheless, this ideal immigrant to the southwest constituted only 1.3 percent of the immigrant population (1926) and immigrants in the agricultural sector remained a small part of the foreign influx. Recensement, 1, no. 2 (1931), 112–113. For more information about migration to the southwest, see Georges Marcel-Remond, L'immigration italienne dans le sud-ouest de la France (Paris: Libraire Dalloz, 1928). See also the recent local study, Rosa Dalla, “L'immigration étrangère dans le Lot-et-Garonne,” 96e Congrès de la Société des savantes, Toulouse, Section géographique (1975), pp. 217–237.


41. For a review of sentiment in favor of a revision of naturalization laws, see “Migrations,” International Labour Review, 3 (September 1923), 424, and Le Peuple (October 31, 1925, February 27, 1927).

42. Congrès de la natalité (Marseilles: Éditions de la cité chrétienne, 1926), p. 35. See also Louis Escasaut, Pour la plus grande France (Paris: A. Colin, 1932),
pp. 117–118, for the expression of similar themes.


44. *Journal officiel de la République de France, Lois et décrets* (hereafter cited as *JO*), August 14, 1927, p. 8702.

45. *Congrès de la natalité* (1926), p. 35.

46. *JO*, August 14, 1927, p. 8702 for a text of the law. See also Depoid, *Les naturalisations*, pp. 16–19, and Bonnet, *Les pouvoirs publics français*, pp. 150–170. With the revised naturalization law of 1927, children born in France to a foreign father, but who had a French mother, automatically became French at 21 years of age; formerly they had the option of adopting their father’s nationality. The new law also eliminated the need of foreign parents of children born in France to request their naturalization when they became 21 years old. Finally, the law removed the possibility of children of naturalized parents renouncing their automatic naturalization. Given the fact that there were in 1925 426,500 children of immigrant fathers, the unfeathered “francification” or automatic naturalization of this group was important for French population growth. See Depoid, *Les naturalisations*, p. 100.


48. Ibid., p. 51, and *Recensement*, 1, no. 5 (1931), 59.

49. Ibid.


53. Data derived from Archives départementales, Pas-de-Calais (hereafter cited as PC) M 2412, 6677, and 6846.
57. PC M 2412, Interior Ministry circular, October 5, 1926. See also PP 64, Interior Ministry circular, December 3, 1930.
58. JO, January 12, 1933, p. 5718. Note also that of 13,230 expulsions between July 1926 and February 1927, 11,675 followed imprisonment for criminal convictions. Only 1,565 immigrants were expelled administratively, i.e., without judicial condemnation. F’ 13230, Interior Ministry report, no date. This group of administrative expulsions was proportionally larger in the Seine: 481 compared to 880 judicial expulsions in 1927, and 398 to 427 in 1929. Of these administrative expulsions, in these two years, 152 and 172 were for political reasons. PP 65, Statistics on expulsions, 1927 and 1929.
59. Only about 20 percent of the immigrants sentenced for violation of the criminal code were expelled, according to an estimate of the Interior Ministry. F’ 13518, Interior Ministry circular, 1927. Le Journal (September 23, 1925), and L’Humanité (September 24, 1925).
60. F’ 13469, report of the Commissaire spécial (CS) of Douai to Interior Ministry, August 24, 1925, and November 7, 1929. PC M 2412, CS of Arras, June 8, 1925, N M 154-202B. CS of Valenciennes, March 21, 1927: all these reports contained examples of police singling out “leaders” among the Poles that spoke out in CGT meetings. A similar pattern occurred in the south in police action against Italian CGTU members, F’ 13458, CS of Toulouse, July 5, 1926.
61. CGTU, Congrès des ouvriers et ouvrières sur metaux, 3 (1925), 70–73, 113.
62. PP 67, Reports on P. Maurin, CGTU foreign labor organizer, August 12, 1931. See also CGTU, Congrès des travailleurs du sous-sol, 2 (1923), 47, and L’Humanité (October 23, 1931).
63. Conseil général du Pas-de-Calais (1924), 3 (Report of the Ingenieur des mines), 193. During a mine strike in April 1931, foremen warned Poles that they would be expelled if they participated; L'Humanité (April 11, 1931). This threat was easily carried out for companies did not hesitate to provide police with the names of “subversives.” For example, in PC M 8865 there is a list of 78 “extremists” provided by the Mines de Lens to the Prefecture for expulsion
or non-renewal of the identity card (March 29, 1935).

64. These newspapers included: Robotnik Polski (outlawed in December 1923), L'Émigrant (August 1925), Information Zycie Polski (October 1925), Robotnik Polski we Francji (November 1925), Robotniczy and Trybuna Robotnicza (August 1926), Na Tulacce (September 1926), Glos Pracy (April 1928), Nasza Gazeta (November 1928), Trybuna Emigranta (September 1929), Nova Gazeta (December 1929), Nasza Obona (May 1931), Nasza Pomoc (March 1931), Porzeglad Robotniczy Wiezienie (March 1932), Mysa Robotnicza (April 1932), Wiadomosi (June 1932), Jednoc Robotnicza (July 1932). AN F 7 13469–70. See Andrzej Packowski, “La presse des émigrés polonais en France: 1920–1940,” Revue du Nord, 60 (January 1978), 151–162.

65. F 7 13453–5 reports on repression of Italian communists.

66. F 7 13469–70, The CS of Lille used the lists of subscribers which police seized from the offices of banned foreign language newspapers to identify “subversives.” N M 154–202B, CS of Lille, June 26, 1928.


68. Quoted in S. Bonnet, L'Homme de fer, 1 (Nancy: Centre lorraine d'études sociologiques, 1976), 195.


IX; Regulating the Immigrant Worker during the Depression


2. Informations sociales, 11 (April 7, 1931), 320.

3. Le Peuple (June 1, 1930), and Chambre des députés, Annales, Débats parlementaires (hereafter cited as CDeb), February 13, 1931, p. 571.

4. From early 1928 until the spring of 1930, the French placement offices tolerated and even encouraged illegal Italian entry into France over the Alps. By mid-1930, as Italians anticipated restrictions, the offices reported with alarm a flood of irregular entries. Conseil général du Isère, 3 (1931), placement office report, p. 515, and Archives départementales, Bouches-du-Rhône (hereafter cited as BR) 6 M 9096, Commissaire de police (Marseilles), March 1, 1930.

5. The prefect of the Nord noted in a letter to the Ministry of Labor that the entry of frontaliers should be restricted because their lower cost of living in Belgium allowed them to compete unfairly with the French. Archives départementales, Nord (hereafter cited as N) M 208–135, prefect letter to Ministry of Labor, 1932. A series of six articles in the popular Le Reveil du Nord
from January 17 to 28, 1932, made the same point. See also Archives départementales, Moselle, 10M 142-3 for reports on opposition to *frontaliers*.

6. The Italians were famous for their skilled masonry, cabinet making, and ornamental stone crafts. For complaints against the cost-cutting practices of Italian sub-contractors, see *Le Peuple* (September 11, 1930, and April 30, 1931).


9. Ibid. (November 30, 1931).


11. *Informations sociales*, 10 (November 11, 1930), 516. See also *Voix du peuple*, 12 (November 1930), 898. The CGT also published leaflets in Italian that warned of the futility of immigrants seeking work in Paris. They were distributed within the provincial construction trades. F7 13541, Prefect of Police report to the Interior Ministry, January 14, 1931.

12. For example, in the Bouches-du-Rhône, the number of regularizations (work permits granted immigrants who entered France as tourists) dropped from 623 of 783 requests in the first three months of 1930 to 618 of 1,173 for the same period of 1931. See Conseil général de Bouches-du-Rhône, 3 (1931), 518. A Labor Ministry circular of December 1, 1930, demanded stricter control over regularization. In the cartons, F22 669-670, prefects from twenty departments reported that they complied with this and other new regulations intended to restrict the access of immigrants to jobs.


17. F7 13541 report of the Prefect of Police to the Interior Ministry, January 17, 1931. The same pattern of veteran support for native labor appeared in Marseilles; see BR 14 M 23-20, prefect's report, October 17, 1931. Note also that a veterans' group in Paris led a group of 300 unemployed musicians to confront a proprietor of a music hall who employed an all-Russian band; shortly thereafter they distributed leaflets in the Montmartre district which
denounced the faddish enthusiasm "for black and other exotic music as only a sign of snobbery." See F° 13541, Report of the Prefect of Police to the Interior Ministry, October 1, 1930, and November 30, 1930.

18. Ibid., January 9, 1931.
19. La Victoire (November 14 and 17, 1931).
21. La Victoire (December 5, 1931).
22. For a summary of this literature, see Informations sociales, 12 (April 21, 1931), 7, and Revue d'immigration, 5 (January 1931), 36, and 5 (January–March 1931), 18.
23. Revue d'immigration, 5 (March 1931), 28. See also Informations sociales, 12 (July 30, 1931), 135, and Revue d'immigration, 5 (September 1931), 22.
27. CGTU, Congrès confédéral (1933), pp. 307–316, and 593–595. Information on immigrant sections of communist "unemployment committees" is found in F° 13527, and details of communist involvement in expulsion cases (including the expulsion of the former chief of the Polish state, E. Gierek, in August of 1933 from Leforest) are in Archives départementales, Pas-de-Calais (hereafter cited as PC) M 5006.
31. Le Populaire (December 1, 1931).
32. CDoc, November 17, 1931, Annex no. 5566, p. 146.
33. CDeb, December 21, 1931, p. 821.
34. Ibid., pp. 810–815.
35. CDeb, December 21, 1931, pp. 821 and 824–825.
36. Journal officiel de la République de France, Lois et décrets (hereafter cited as JO), August 10, 1932, p. 8818. In the final vote both the Socialists and Communists abstained, the former because farm workers were excluded from
the bill and the latter because they opposed quotas and wanted instead an equal pay law. See CDeb, December 21, 1931, pp. 801, 841.

37. See Jean-Charles Bonnet, Les pouvoirs, pp. 211–212.

38. Pierre Laroque, “Rapport sur l'organisation des Services de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère en France” (unpublished report in PC, 1937), p. 809. This report was made for the Labor Ministry and emphasized the need for greater administrative autonomy and less interference in labor market regulation from “personalities,” “local interests,” and other organizations.

39. Lists of requests for quota decrees were published weekly in the JO, from October 22, 1932, p. 11348, to October 31, 1934, p. 10932. For the evidence of CGT initiation of many of these decrees, see Le Peuple (August 6, 1932), and Congrès de la Fédération des travailleurs de l'alimentation (1932), p. 152.


43. Ibid.

44. See Bulletin du Ministère du travail, 39 (January–March 1932), 30–32. The Comité central de fabricants de sucre promised the government to repatriate all their alien workers at the end of their contracts, which lasted from September to January. PC M 8865, Labor Ministry circular, October 23, 1934.


47. F22 669 includes fifteen reports written by the prefects to the Labor Ministry on the measures which they undertook to overcome unemployment. All listed stiffer investigation of requests for work permits, especially of irregular immigrants, who had entered France without previous authorization to work.

48. Between January of 1931 and 1932, the farm labor section of the SGI, the Office central de la main-d'oeuvre agricole, also persuaded 7,098 immigrants who had been employed in industry and mining to “return to the land,” mostly as sharecroppers and often on land owned by the SGI. Revue d'immigration, 7 (March–May 1933), 32.

49. Ibid., 6 (July 1932), 194.

50. A decree of May 1932 required hotel and apartment owners to report all foreign residents as a means of flushing out illegal foreigners. The League for the Rights of Man complained about a wave of expulsions which followed the

51. Informations sociales, 16 (January 21, 1935), 97.
52. Revue d'immigration, 7 (April 1933), 30.
54. One index of economic contraction were the monthly reports of the labor inspectors on the decline in man-hours worked in industrial and commercial enterprises from the base year of 1930. While there was a decline of 36.5 percent in June 1933 this figure dropped in June 1934 to 29.4 percent. However by December the decline had reached 32 percent compared to only 25.4 percent a year before. This trend bottomed out in February of 1935 at 36.2 percent compared to 28.5 percent the year before. Bulletin du Ministère du travail, 42 (October–December 1935), 404.
55. Le Peuple (November 5, 1934, December 2, 1934). See also CGT, Congrès des travailleurs de l'alimentation (1933), pp. 18 and 53.
56. F$^{22}$ 676–678, passim.
57. F$^{22}$ 676–678, passim.
58. Isère demanded that a 10 percent maximum of foreigners be allowed in all industry and that all immigrant occupational transfers be approved by the placement offices. Seine-et-Oise demanded the exclusion of all immigrants from public contract work. The Conseil général of Alpes-Maritimes requested greater efforts to eliminate Italian competition in skilled building trades, while the Seine-Inferieure found that unacceptably high numbers of foreigners were hired as general laborers. See F$^{22}$ 672–676.
60. Informations sociales, 14 (December 20, 1934), 1. See also Revue d'immigration, 8 (February 1934), 36–37 for review of the new wave of xenophobia.
61. Informations sociales, 14 (April 30, 1934), 229.
62. CDeb, November 13, 1934, p. 2787.
63. Le Temps (November 21, 1934).
65. A list of recommendations from this committee was published in Le Temps (November 24, 1934). The following notes list the references to their implementation in décret-lois, arrêtés, and circulars.
67. Informations sociales, 16 (June 3, 1936), 324–326. See also BR 6 M 9096, Labor Ministry circular, March 3, 1936.
68. PP 64, Interior Ministry circular, January 18, 1935.
70. CDeb, November 29, 1935, p. 2297.
72. JO, April 2, 1935, p. 3714.
75. JO, February 8, 1935, p. 1675.
77. Ibid., 14 (March 28, 1935), 7. See also PC M 8865, report of the Commissaire spécial de Bethune, January 6, 1937 and Girard and Stoetzel, *Français et immigrés*, p. 513.
78. BR 14 M 22–24, Labor Ministry circulars, May 11, 1935, September 5, 1935, September 24, 1935, January 14, 1936, February 7, 1936, and May 23, 1936, which informed the prefects that the “privileged status” had been granted not only to the Swiss and Belgians but also to Italians, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Poles, and Luxembourgeois.
79. There was a decline in unemployment in 1935. A fairly reliable index of unemployment was the percentage of partial unemployment which peaked at 44.9 percent in February of 1935 and dropped to 32.7 percent by December 1935. This can be compared with rates of 34 percent and 42.3 percent for the same months in 1934. See *Bulletin du Ministère du travail* 42 (October–December 1935), 304. This decline in unemployment in 1935 was paralleled by an increase in economic activity. The drop in production stabilized in December 1934 at an index figure of 93 (1913 = 100) and rose slowly to 98 by January 1936. See France, *Annuaire statistique* (1936) p. 74. There is no indication that the drop in the unemployment rate was linked to the elimination of foreign labor.
80. See BR 14 M 22–24, Correspondence between the Labor Ministry and the departmental placement office, February 8, 1935, and February 19, 1935.
82. *Recensement*, 1, no. 5 (1936), 57.
83. Ibid., 1, no. 4 (1931), 64–65; 1, no. 5 (1931), 121–123; 1, no. 4 (1936),
66–67; and 1, no. 5 (1936), 121–123.

84. Ibid.

85. Gani, Syndicats, pp. 23–24, presents this information—without drawing my conclusions.


87. JO, October 24, 1936, p. 11107. Informations sociales, 17 (April 30, 1937), 400. See also JO, April 14, 1937, p. 4233, and BR 14 M 22–24, Labor Ministry Circular, August 6, 1937. Also note that even before the Popular Front in February 1936, the Interior Ministry liberalized its expulsion policy by granting a two-year probation for most expellees. PP 64, Interior Ministry Circulars, February 3, 1936, and April 28, 1936.

88. The Labor Ministry asked the placement offices to obtain the opinion of local mayors and trade unions before granting requests for work authorizations for newly imported farm workers. BR 14 M 22–24, Labor Ministry circular, March 10, 1937.

89. BR 14 M 22–24, Labor Ministry circular, December 2, 1937.

90. See Alfred Sauvy, Histoire économique de la France entre les deux guerres, 2 (Paris: A. Sauret, 1967), 209, 330. Also note that in November of 1936, for example, the Labor Ministry directed the placement offices to advertise for recruits to the Lorraine metallurgical mills and mines (there were about 7,000 openings). Because it was obvious that insufficient numbers of French workers would apply, the Labor Ministry instructed the offices to encourage immigrants to accept these jobs as an alternative to the importation of additional foreign workers. BR 14 M 22–24, Labor Ministry circular, November 27, 1936.

91. Ibid., Labor Ministry circulars, January 14 and 27, 1937.


94. JO, May 28, 1938, p. 6000.

95. Ibid., May 24, 1938, p. 5830.

96. Ibid., May 28, 1938, p. 6000.

97. For example, see de Tastes' speech condemning Jewish peddlers in Paris and demanding their expulsion. CDeb, November 6, 1934, p. 2254.

98. JO, October 31, 1935, p. 11490.

99. Voix du peuple, 13 (November 1933) p. 708–709, which describes how Mme. Lefrancois of the Hatmakers Union, with the support of "some employers," petitioned the Labor Ministry to investigate and institute control over these small immigrant artisans. Also Le Peuple (August 21, 1934) reported that the Federation of Clothing Workers demanded that the August 10, 1932, law be extended to cover artisans.
100. JO, August 9, 1935, p. 8699. For background, see Revue d'immigration, 8 (January 1935), 19–21.
103. JO, May 15, 1938.
104. By June 1939 no unrestricted ID cards had been delivered, according to Bonnet, Les pouvoirs publics, p. 347.
105. PP 54, Interior Ministry Circular, April 20, 1939.

X: Conclusion


