

America, inevitably became leaders and spokesmen for the farmers against other corporations, banks, and railroads. Metropolitan Life, whose policyholders came by the 1920s to include one in every six American families, found itself drawn into welfare measures like nursing, health education, and public health policy.

Thus the corporations and their employees, often loyal to a fault, transformed American life and society and built the world of work most of us are now embroiled in. That world has, or had, many attractions: the stable career and rising incomes for a growing segment of society, fringe benefits like sick pay, paid holidays, retirement pensions, even stock options and bonuses. For a time America led the way in both "the good life" and the political and military power that came with gigantic productivity. The Depression of the 1930s slowed down this everlasting bonanza, and Zunz's book only hints at the stress and boredom of mass production, as being as much a feature of office work in the skyscraper cathedrals of big business as in the now-outmoded assembly plants.

Zunz, despite his caveats, emulates *Candide* and plays down the other side of the picture: the overwhelming embrace of the company, its intrusion into the private lives of its employees, its demand for total loyalty, its disruptive transfers of managers' and salesmen's families to distant, friendless places, the massive, sometimes violent strikes in which the white-collar workers were expected to support the employer without question, the use of state force and the manipulation of local and national politicians, the destruction of whole communities by the closure of plants, and all the sins of big business identified by the Progressive movement. To understand all is *not*, pace Madame de Staël, to forgive all. At a time when big business can no longer guarantee stable employment, when, indeed, by exporting capital and jobs it has created the largest trade deficit in history by importing goods made overseas by American (much more than by Japanese) multinational corporations, a study of the making of corporate America that leaves out the darker side of the story is, despite its many virtues, perhaps less than ideal.

*Racism and the Incorporation of Foreign Labour: Farm Labour Migration to Canada since 1945.* By Vic Satzewich. New York: Routledge, 1991. Pp. x + 241. \$75.00.

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With transnational worker migrations coming to the fore, both as a central feature of the ongoing internationalization of the world economy and as a key concern of state policy in emergent moves toward hemispheric economic integration, this account of Canada's postwar treatment of foreign labor provides an important historical and theoretical grounding for viewing contemporary developments on this front. Vic Satzewich sets

out to revalidate a Marxian, political economy approach to the analysis of the forces driving the movement of workers between nations, highlighting the role of the state in recruiting and allocating as well as excluding contingents of foreign labor. The book moves from a broad critique of Canadian and European immigration research to a detailed account of the Canadian government's shifting response to shortfalls in the supply of agricultural labor since 1945. A contrasting of state approaches to the mobilization of internal labor reserves as against European and Caribbean contingents available to fill these gaps constitutes the main body of the work.

Asserting that there is a void in Canadian immigration research with a political economy perspective, the author articulates his own view chiefly via a critique of Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack's seminal work, *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Europe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). Satzewich faults Castles and his circle of coauthors for underplaying the role of the state and treating state action as narrowly instrumental and functionalist rather than ideologically and politically charged. Castles's work is also said to confound migrants (persons admitted for temporary, generally contractual stays) with immigrants (those admitted as potential permanent settlers). The author's scheme calls for a strict conceptual separation of these categories of foreign entrants. (In U.S. usage, of course, the term "migrant" is generally applied to workers on the move internally.) Beyond this, he shares common ground with Castles both in regarding the processes of capital accumulation and uneven development as the principal shapers of labor demand and in seeing the operations of the labor theory of value and the role of workers themselves as generating their own "redundancy" or marginalization within the labor force. The interplay of the political, ideological, and cultural in historically specific contexts, the author insists, is the bedrock on which successful analysis of particular immigration experiences must build.

Immigration is thus cause and consequence of the process of capital accumulation (p. 8). The challenge and dilemma for state policy is to balance internal and external labor reserves according to the demands of accumulation and the long-term social and cultural unity and harmony of an idealized, "imagined" national community. There are thus, on the one hand, calculations of demand—the magnitude, duration, location, and quality of human capital sought by employers—but, on the other, judgments about the suitability and assimilability of human contingents. While many criteria may validly enter into these calculations, what Satzewich demonstrates as regards farm labor in Canada is the primacy of racial conjectures—stereotypes, prejudices, raw ignorance—in official discourse on this theme. The racialization of immigration policy, candidly conveyed in government documents and debate, thus emerges as the major ideological strand that has generated errors, misfires, conflict, and turbulence that have compromised economic policy and democratic values in the Canadian example. The volume documents the special weight

of these dilemmas in the search for external low-wage reserves as well as in the treatment of internal reserves in the lower tiers of the native work force. These too may be subject to "character assassination" (p. 152), especially if they have won wage and benefit claims that can subsequently be depicted as excessive.

This is a compact and condensed treatment of a fairly narrow sector of the Canadian economy. It is, nevertheless, rich in implications and insights that may inform research elsewhere. Though the issue is not pursued in detail, the tension between the economic as against the ideological or racial and where, in this regard, the bottom line lies when a choice is forced, is ever present in this account. Over time the sources tapped have ranged widely, encompassing indigenous peoples, children and youth, prisoners of war, Japanese internees, displaced Eastern Europeans and white U.S. southerners. A comment in the closing pages attributed to a Canadian member of parliament conveys at least one reading of how the cards have fallen to date. "If you put pants on a penguin," he asserts, "it could be admitted to this country" (p. 194). That would require, of course, fresh economic, legal, and racialist inventiveness to locate a profit-generating niche and spot in the social hierarchy for correctly attired penguins.

*Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration.* By Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia R. Pessar. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991. Pp. xviii + 247. \$40.00 (cloth); \$14.95 (paper).

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Dominicans have been migrating to the United States in large numbers since the 1960s, though they have not received the scholarly attention that the magnitude of this migration justifies. Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar have contributed to the limited set of scholarly research articles on Dominican migration to the United States and they have now significantly augmented our ability to comprehend the dynamics of this migration by adding to the very slender list of books on the topic. *Between Two Islands* skillfully blends the analysis of primary data collected by the authors in the Dominican Republic and New York (the principal region of Dominican settlement in the United States) with several other sources of information. They utilize the research of others systematically, incorporating both empirical work and an impressive body of historical research, to make their book an informed and up-to-date assessment of both the descriptive and analytical dimensions of this migration system. While *Between Two Islands* seeks mainly to provide a coherent interpretation of the extent, composition, and sources of Dominican migration to the United States, its authors have carefully conceptualized the process of migration, and they utilize a useful framework to guide their exposi-