melt into the local Chinese culture as they have virtually everywhere else? Would one have expected Jews from Poland to form common cultural and language associations with Poles from Poland? Indra’s study of self-concept and ethnicity in Lethbridge is more interesting both in the correlates chosen and in the associations with Poles from Poland?

Norman L. Zucker and Naomi Flink Zucker
The Guarded Gate: The Reality of American Refugee Policy

Reviewed by Irving Abella

Missing from all the debates and rhetoric of the recent American presidential campaign was any reference to one of the most serious problems, confronting the United States, refugees. And little wonder no one talked about it; neither candidate knew what to do about it. Neither had a policy he felt comfortable defending in front of the American public. Both understood the reality of American politics: refugees are not a popular political issue.

Of course this was not always the case. In the 1950s America welcomed with open arms hundreds of thousands of European refugees fleeing Communist states. But at the present time when the world is flooded with refugees, few of whom are European, America’s proverbial welcome mat has been pulled in.

Today’s headlines say it all. Millions of men women and children are being uprooted against their will and forced to move – either through deliberate government policy, or war, or hunger, or a combination of all three. Yet slowly but inexorably the countries of the world most able to provide succour are closing their doors. And so most of the refugees sit and fester in a myriad of disease-ridden camps and pest-holes throughout Africa and Asia. Others – particularly those from Central America and the Caribbean – escape their unpalatable lot and arrive unannounced by boat, plane or bus at various border points in the United States and Canada. It is these latter who have caused the most consternation in North America. Canadian and American Immigration officials like to choose their immigrants; they do not appreciate being chosen by these asylum-seekers.

Traditionally, the United States has responded to the plight of refugees with a special rhetoric of welcome. After all, as every schoolchild knows, America has

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Continued on page 22.
always been open and available to refugees and dissidents, to “the tired ... poor ... huddled masses yearning to breathe free”. At least that’s what the inscription on the Statue of Liberty says. Yet, as the Zuckers point out in this important book, the harsh reality is very different from the noble image.

Every American knows, almost mythically, of the famous Statue on Liberty Island and what it represents. But a continent away, in San Francisco Bay stands another, less well-known but equally representative structure. There, on Angel Island, one can still find a nondescript building where Chinese immigrants attempting to get into America were incarcerated. The two islands, Liberty and Angel symbolize America’s refugee policy, and as the Zuckers persuasively argue, the latter is a far more accurate historical representation.

The historic policy of the United States, according to this book, has been to “guard the gate of entrance”, rather than to allow relatively free access. As the Zuckers succinctly describe it: “Refugees who would begin their lives anew in the United States still must scale a wall of rejection, a wall built from the bricks of foreign policy and mortar of budgets”.

Indeed prior to the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980, the United States recognized as refugees only those who came from Communist countries or the Middle East. Even though the definition is now far broader, it is still extra-ordinarily difficult for anyone seeking asylum to break through America’s guarded gate. The Zuckers make it very clear that Washington links its refugee admissions to both foreign policy objectives and domestic public opinion. There is scarcely any room, they lament, for humanitarian principles in America’s policy.

But this book is not only an indictment of America’s record on refugees. The Zuckers also outline a programme of reform for the future selection, protection and resettlement of refugees, which should act as a model for all Western countries. Sadly, those people who most need to read this book – the members of the new Bush administration – will likely never do so. Thus America’s refugee policy will continue to be closer to the reality of Angel Island that the idealism of Liberty Island.

Irving Abella is a Professor of History at Glendon College, York University.

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**New Publications**

- **Yéfime Zarjevski**, *A Future Preserved: International Assistance to Refugees* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988). Describes the background to the creation of UNHCR and its efforts to secure international recognition of the status of refugees, and details its past and continuing work in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. It also presents a photographic record of the lives of refugees and includes excerpts from reports and personal accounts written by individuals directly involved in the administration of humanitarian aid.

- **Supang Chantavanich and E. Bruce Reynolds**, editors, *Indochinese Refugees: Asylum and Resettlement* (Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1988). This collection of papers is divided in three sections. Part I reviews refugee resettlement in Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. Part II looks at Indochinese refugees in China, Japan, Hong Kong, Australia and New Zealand. Part III focuses on resettlement in the U.S., Canada, France, Great Britain, Germany and Switzerland.


- **Anna C. Bramwell**, editor, introduction by Michael R. Manley, *Refugees in the Age of Total War* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988). This volume emanates from the Refugee Studies Programme at Oxford University. Written by historians, lawyers, political scientists and sociologists, and based on primary research, it charts society’s responses to refugee waves in the course of this century. Although the origins of the major forced movements of people have now shifted from Europe and the Middle East, the contributors to this book show that much can be learned from the past which is applicable to Asia, Africa and America today. This book points the way to more co-ordinated studies in this inter-disciplinary field.

**Videos**

- The U.S Committee for Refugees has released a video tape by USCIR director Roger Winter documenting the situation of civilians displaced by the fighting in Southern Sudan. The five-year conflict pits animist and Christian rebels under the banner of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army against the Moslem-dominated government. Up to 85 percent of the civilian population in southern Sudan has been displaced by violence and by the effects of that violence on food production and distribution. Copies of the 12-minute VHS video tape are available from the U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20005, USA. Tel: (202) 347-3507, Fax: (202) 347-3418.
Notices

• The federal government announced on October 27 through Employment and Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall that it will commit $25 million to an initiative aimed at assisting immigrant women. The three-part initiative will support settlement orientation and language and skills training to help immigrant women adapt to Canadian life and enhance their employment opportunities. It included funds to allow the overseas delivery of basic language skills training in refugee camps and to improve general orientation programmes; expansion of orientation and language assistance programmes in Canada; and increased workplace training for immigrant women. The intended target population for basic language skills and orientation to refugees in camps abroad is 4,200, while over 60,000 Family Class immigrants and others should be reached with an orientation package on Canada.

• World Vision Canada, a Christian humanitarian organization, is seeking a Director for its new Immigrant Reception Centre, located in downtown Toronto. The Centre is designed to house and assist up to 75 refugees, and is scheduled to commence operation early in 1989. The Director will be responsible for staff and all on-site operational functions, as well as developing and implementing new programmes designed to support residents and enhance their successful integration into Canadian society. Applicants should possess a university degree in Social Sciences, Education or a related discipline, plus five years related experience, including three years in a management capacity. Strong organizational and inter-personal skills are required. A second language would be considered an asset. Attractive remuneration, full benefits and the possibility of a negotiable housing subsidy are part of the compensation package. Send resumes to: Norm Dueck, Domestic Programmes, World Vision Canada, 6630 Turner Valley Road, Mississauga, Ontario L5N 2S4. Tel: (416) 821-3030.

• The Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth and the Refugee Studies Programme of the University of Oxford are offering a prize of two hundred pounds for the best essay on the subject of "Social Anthropology and the Study of Involuntary Migration". The closing date is June 1st, 1989 and submissions (four copies) should be sent to The Director, Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA. The prize is given to stimulate discussion among anthropologists on issues of concern to those who have been or are in the process of being uprooted and all those who are involved with trying to assist them. The many studies undertaken by anthropologists of the strategies people use to handle radical changes in their social and cultural environment and restructure their mapping of the intermesh between action and values are relevant to what happens when refugees flee and find themselves in a new world where the old rules no longer operate. The winning essay will be published in the Journal of Refugee Studies.

Chinese Banquet to Inaugurate the Centre for Refugee Studies

Friends and patrons of the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University are cordially invited to attend a ten course Chinese banquet to celebrate the inauguration of the Centre. The banquet will take place on Thursday, January 19th 1989, starting at 6:30 pm, at the Pacific Restaurant, 421-429 Dundas Street West, 2nd floor, Toronto.

Though the mood will be lighthearted, the food will not be a lightweight affair, as the menu shows:

- Suckling Pig Combination, Stuffed Crab Claws, Chicken and Vegetables in Bird's Nest, Mixed Meat and Seafood with Winter Melon Soup, Crispy Fried Chicken "Chinese Style", Fried Scallop with Chinese Vegetables, Lobster with Ginger and Onion, Sweet and Sour Pickled, Yeng Chow Fried Rice, Yee Foo Noodle, Almond Jelly and Chinese Cookies.

For details about how to become a Friend or Patron of the Centre, see next page.

Toronto Mosaic '88

On November 22, 1988, the Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations organized Toronto Mosaic '88, a one-day conference on the contributions of immigrants and refugees. The speakers were Susan Davis, Howard Adelman, Victor Malarek, John Samuel, Don Miller, Mendel Green and the Honourable Gerry Phillips. The morning session was chaired by Trevor Hittner and the afternoon one by Carol Newland. Mayor Art Eggleton welcomed participants and hosted a closing reception, while Yury Boshyk did a masterful job with the wrap up. A published volume of the proceedings will be forthcoming.

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