

say what their economic future might be. Even more striking is Table 4. When asked whether the political system of their republic will tend toward dictatorship or democracy in five years, fully 80.8 percent of the Lithuanian residents were optimistic that democracy would win out. Only 36.8 percent of the Russian residents felt similarly. And three times more Russian than Lithuanian residents were so uncertain about their future they were unable to answer the question.²

What makes these figures dramatic is that recent radical changes in Soviet emigration law will help push the wish to emigrate into the realm of reality. A new emigration law was approved by the Soviet Parliament on 20 May 1991. It comes fully into effect on 1 January 1993. Emigration, formerly restricted largely to Soviet citizens of Jewish, German and Armenian origin, will soon be an option available to virtually all citizens.

The new law is highly controversial in the Soviet Union. Liberals view the emigration law as a means of securing most-favoured-nation trading status from the United States, promoting human rights and ending the isolation of Soviet citizens from the outside world. Conservative opponents of the law argue

that it will result in a brain drain of some eight million people. While the poll results add some credibility to the conservative estimate, once the new emigration law is fully implemented the number of Soviet emigrants will depend chiefly on the willingness of Western countries to accept Soviet immigrants. Controversy over the desirability of Soviet emigration will then be exported to the West. ■

Notes

1. Abridged from Tanya Basok and Robert J. Brym, eds. *Soviet Jewish Emigration and Resettlement in the 1990s* (Toronto: York Lanes Press, York University, 1991). The data analyzed in this article were collected and kindly made available by Szonda-Ipsos, Ltd., Budapest. However, Szonda-Ipsos is in no way responsible for the analyses and interpretations offered here, which are solely the responsibility of the author.
2. While the optimism that swept Russia in the aftermath of the failed coup probably changed this picture temporarily, it is unclear whether the buoyant mood will endure one winter of shortages in basic foodstuffs.

Continued from page 10/ **Soviet Jewish Emigration...**

Scholarly studies of Soviet Jewish emigration include:

Tanya Basok and Robert J. Brym (eds.), *Soviet Jewish Emigration and Resettlement in the 1990s* (Toronto: York Lanes Press, 1991).

Robert O. Freedman (ed.), *Soviet Jewry in the 1980s; The Politics of Anti-Semitism and Emigration and the Dynamics of Resettlement* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1989).

Dan N. Jacobs and Ellen Frankel Paul (eds.), *Studies of the Third Wave: Recent Migration of Soviet Jews to the United States* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1981).

Wolf Moskovich, *Rising to the Challenge; Israel and the Absorption of Soviet Jews* (London: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1990).

Yaacov Ro'i, *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration, 1948-1967* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Laurie P. Salitan, *Politics and Nationality in Contemporary Soviet-Jewish Emigration, 1968-89* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

Ronald Sanders, *Shores of Refuge: A Hundred Years of Jewish Emigration* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1988).

Victor Zaslavsky and Robert J. Brym, *Soviet-Jewish Emigration and Soviet Nationality Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983).

See also publications of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), the 35's Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry, and the Israeli Consulate General, New York.

BOOK REVIEW

SOVIET-JEWISH EMIGRATION AND RESETTLEMENT

Edited by
Tanya Basok & Robert J. Brym
York Lanes Press, Toronto
Price : \$15.95

Reviewed by **Lisa Gilad**

This is one of those books with a misleading title. Let's start with Chapters 2 through 4. These chapters are not only about the context of emigration for Soviet Jews. Heitman's article on Soviet emigration movements from 1948 to the present places Jewish emigration in the context of other major emigrating groups who have been able to utilize and find refuge in their extra-territorial ties: Germans to Germany; Armenians to their brethren; Pontian Greeks to Greece; and evangelical Christians to the Bible Belt. These people belong to groups with particularly wretched histories, but they are far from the only minorities which suffered persecution from Soviet rule. Other persecuted nationalities — some thoroughly assimilated through Russification — have not benefited from outside concern. There is one noteworthy update to Heitman's chapter. He cites improvements in the logistics of departure for former Soviet Jews but claims that they still have to forfeit their citizenship when emigrating to Israel.

By July 1991, this blatant denial of their rights to return to their country of nationality (ironically while returning to their country of nation [Israel]) had been rectified. Since then, Soviet Jews are required to leave with Soviet passports to ensure their right of return. The new Russian Citizenship Act has continued this new-found tradition of continued civil enfranchisement after emigration. Finally, in Heitman's article, Jews and Germans become strange bedfellows — both groups facing increasingly negative attitudes because of 'deserting the ship'

during times of economic and political hardships. As is made eminently clear in later articles, ordinary Russians do not have an escape valve.

Tillman's article on projected internal migration and emigration defines the major sources of ethnic conflict — amongst over 70 known disputes. This article is particularly relevant to the European dialogue on future migration from the Commonwealth of Independent States. Of course, some events have not turned out as expected — not yet anyway. There is not yet a massive outflow of Russians from the Baltics (p. 22) which is unlikely to occur given the economic crisis in Russia, the inadequacy of the Russian resettlement authorities and their pre-occupation in settling Russian victims of active persecution from the Caucuses and Central Asian republics, the continuation of the (unconstitutional) permanent residence system, negative attitudes towards returnees — among other compelling reasons not to return. Many Russians voted for the independence of the Baltics, but their empathy level might decrease as Russians will be the first to be fired in the economic crunch to come.

Brym's article on Lithuanian and Russian attitudes towards emigration begs more explanation of the tables. A similar criticism can be levelled at his chapter entitled "*Perestroika*, Public Opinion and *Pamyat*." One was left wondering how with increased democratization in the autumn of 1991, *Pamyat* received its own radio station and the conservative nationalists forces grew so fast with the fall of the USSR. Perhaps the editors can next bring us a volume to understand more about the new nationalist chauvinism. While Jews, far removed from their roots through Russification, no doubt are deeply disturbed by the symbols of Russian nationalist chauvinism, plenty of other minorities must be shuddering as well.

Benifand's article is one of the best in this volume. While there is insight into the past trends driving out Soviet Jews elsewhere in the book, he clearly portrays the 'push' forces of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Anti-semitism in an

atmosphere of socio-economic and political upheaval is frightening to those who are seen to be Jews — whether in practice they are or not. This explains why desperate people go to Israel in droves, even though Israel is still ill-prepared for its new absorption tasks.

I'm sure when Israelis read articles like Cohen's on the serious challenges and problems in absorbing the Soviet Jews of the 1990s, many will remember the tents, the disease and the poverty which characterized immigrant absorption of the 1950s. *It could be worse*. But Cohen's article vividly portrays the problems. The article is truly a picture of resettlement. The article on resettlement in Austria is unique in recognizing the cultural and class differences among Soviet Jews who are too often treated as a homogeneous group. The article, however, left me aching to read a "typical biography" — a methodology described but not delivered in this chapter.

One article that categorically did not belong with the section on resettlement was Beyer's excellent analysis of U.S. selection *abroad* in Moscow, Rome and Vienna. We don't see one Soviet Jew, Armenian, or Christian after entry into the U.S. The article belonged to the section on *the context* of emigration which includes the domestic and international politics and economics of the receiving country. For anyone interested in U.S. processing, this chapter is required reading. Only two caveats — Beyer (or the editors) should have explained the term "parole" — anyone outside of the refugee protection arena will puzzle over this term. And he forgets to note the irony of applying the statutory definition in selection in Moscow — that the application of the Convention refugee definition *precludes* applying for refugee status from within the country of alleged persecution. A person must be *outside* her country to meet that definition, whether we like it or not.

Finally, a few comments on Basok's overview of the Canadian arena. She writes about the situation of varied acceptance rates for (former) Soviet arrivals in Canada. A partial explanation might be offered by the kinds of

claimants arriving at different ports-of-entry. Ontario receives almost all in-status claimants who are visitors (Soviets only, that is). The Quebec region receives both in-status and port-of-entry during refuelling flights. The Atlantic receives only port-of-entry claimants at Gander, most of whom are not from the centres of power — Moscow and St. Petersburg. In addition, Basok reiterates the ideological bias in favour of refugees from communism. As was indicated as early as April 1990 in my own work, the ideological bias in favour of refugees from communism ceased with the new Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) in 1989. Any reading of IRB statistics will indicate this (see p. 148). Canada might implement its foreign policy objectives through refugee selection abroad, but inland determination has proved reluctant to acknowledge such concerns. Basok also relates Refugee Status Advisory Committee (RSAC) statistics that only 30 Soviets made refugee claims in Canada from 1977 - 1987, most of whom were rejected. In fact, a number of others indicated a willingness to claim but prior to 1 January 1989, were given Minister's Permits because of the severity of the exit restrictions and Canada's cold war concerns. Finally, I thought it was helpful to point out the conflict within the Canadian Jewish community about the 'proper' destination of Soviet Jewish emigration. This internal conflict within the American Jewish community was not apparent in Beyer's article, and I was left wondering *why not*.

In conclusion, this volume contains insights into non-Jewish internal and external migration trends and particularly good data on what happened with Soviet Jewish emigration in the 1980s. It sets the stage for us to understand the 1990s, but the title does not fully represent the contents of this all too short volume. ■

Dr. Lisa Gilad is a member of the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) in Canada. The views expressed in this article do not necessarily represent the views of the IRB.

Refuge

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May 8-9	Crete	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• International Refugee Documentation Network	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Future of the International Refugee Documentation Network
May 26-29	Toronto	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Centre for International and Strategic Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Confidence and Security Building in the Middle East
June 8-14	Blantyre, Malawi	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Government of Malawi• Centre for Refugee Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• First Country Asylum and Development Aid in Malawi
Sept. 25	Toronto	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hong Fook Mental Health Centre Toronto	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Mental Health of Refugees
Oct. 2-4	Ottawa	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Group of 78	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Movement of Peoples: A View from the South
Oct. 14-17	Vancouver	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Western Social Policy Forum Society of British Columbia Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Refugees in the 90's: National and International Perspectives - Integrating Policy, Practice and Research
Oct. 30 – Nov. 1	Toronto	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Centre for Refugee Studies York University, Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Early Warning
Nov. 11-16	Toronto	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Centre for Refugee Studies and CERLAC, York University	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Promotion of Cooperation among Canada, Mexico and the United States in Protecting the Rights of Refugees and Migrants