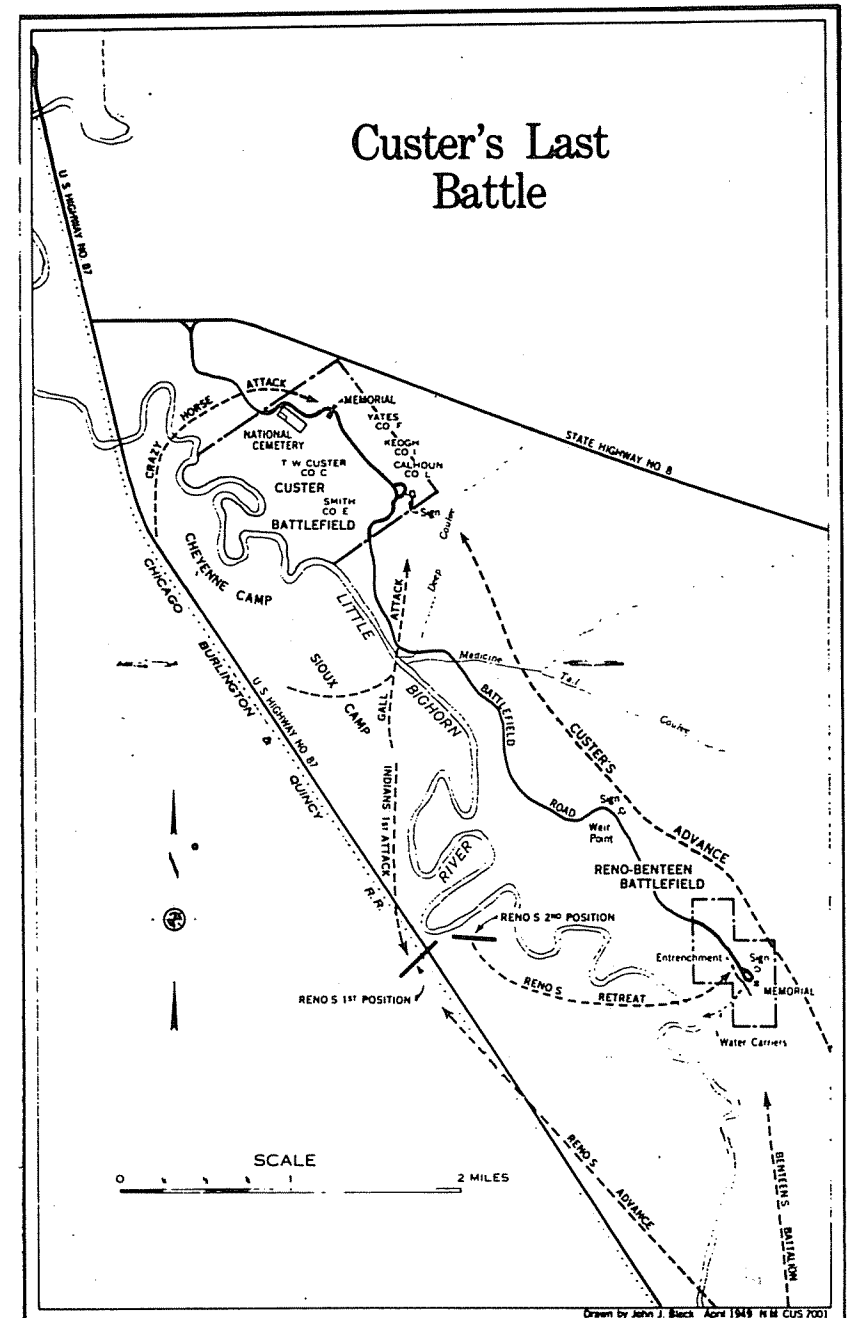


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Surviving on the Gold Mountain: A Review of Sources about Chinese American Women

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CHINESE WOMEN were only a small percentage of early Chinese immigration to the United States. Although the Immigration Commission reported Chinese in America in 1820, the first woman to arrive reportedly was Afong Moy who came to New York City in 1834. Three decades later the number of Chinese women in America had reached only 1,784, mainly distributed throughout California, Nevada and Idaho. Some worked as prostitutes in mining areas, but many were the working wives of farmers, grocers, restaurant owners, laundrymen, cooks and laborers. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 checked Chinese immigration, and statistics show the number of Chinese women immigrants was frozen at around 4,000 for five decades starting in 1870.¹ During World War II, and for a brief period after the war, there was a more sympathetic attitude in America toward China and Chinese Americans. The Chinese benefited from Chiang Kai-shek's close relationship with Franklin D. Roosevelt. One by one, anti-Chinese laws were revoked, allowing more Chinese women to enter the United States. By the 1950s, the number of Chinese American women had increased to 40,621.²

During the post-war period more Chinese American women than ever before entered the American work force. Most of the immigrant women were confined to menial jobs while the American-born were concentrated

in clerical work. Meanwhile, more American-born Chinese women received a higher education. Among them, Jade Snow Wong, author of *Fifth Chinese Daughter* and a ceramicist, Emma P. Lum, San Francisco attorney, and Dr. Rose Hum Lee, historian and chair of the Sociology Department at Roosevelt University, Chicago, distinguished themselves in new fields of endeavor. Some prominent Chinese American women like physicist Dr. Chien-shiung Wu even entered advanced scientific fields and earned world fame. After the 1960s some Chinese American women benefited from the civil rights movement, broke discrimination barriers in many fields, and attained national prominence. Connie Chung, hired by the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1971 due to pressure from the Federal Communications Commission demanding the hiring of minorities and women, now has become one of the most famous and successful female news anchor in the national television industry. A number of other Chinese American women were politically active and were appointed to prominent government posts. Bette Bao Lord, a writer and diplomat, was posted in Beijing from 1985 to 1989 with her husband, Winston Lord, American Ambassador to the People's Republic of China at that time. Elaine Chao [Xizolan Zhao], a first generation immigrant, was named the Assistant Secretary of Transportation in 1989.

Although some rose to prominence in America, Chinese women have been virtually ignored by historians. The historiography of Chinese Americans has gone through three periods. In the first, from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s, Chinese American women's experiences were totally neglected. During the second period, from the 1960s to 1970s, historians began to consider Chinese American women's experiences as part of Chinese American history. In the 1980s historians have started to develop independent works on Chinese American women.

In the late nineteenth century the first works dealing with Chinese immigrants appeared. Generally, works published in this period analyzed the causes of Chinese immigration, discussed early American immigration policy and described Chinese immigrant experiences in the United States. Most of them lacked sophisticated analysis and the contents were usually brief and descriptive. L. T. Townsend's *The Chinese Problem* and Mrs. S. L. Baldwin's *Must the Chinese Go?* are two examples of works in this period.³

Mary Coolidge's *Chinese Immigration* was the first scholarly study of Chinese immigration before the 1960s.⁴ Relying heavily on local newspapers and public records, Coolidge argued that organized white labor and white racism were responsible for almost all the problems nineteenth-century Chinese faced in the United States. Although her work was criticized soon after publication, the materials she collected contributed greatly to understanding the history of the Chinese in America.⁵

The historiographical backwardness that plagued the study of Chinese American history lasted until the 1960s. Under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, the civil rights movement unfolded in the United States. Most American minorities, including the Chinese Americans, benefited from it. As social change occurred more and more scholars were encouraged to study Chinese American history and solid works appeared. S. W. Kung published *Chinese in American Life, Some Aspects of Their History, Status, Problems, and Contributions* in 1962.⁶ Kung collected a wealth of material about many so-called "old immigrants" who sacrificed themselves in true Chinese tradition for the benefit of the next generation. He also revealed that, in the 1950s and 1960s, Chinese scholars in America made numerous contributions to science and the humanities. He showed how engineers, scientists, teachers, doctors and nurses, as well as laundrymen and restaurateurs, rendered valuable service in meeting community demands, and noted that, in turn, they received many benefits from the country they adopted. He finally argued that Americans have much to learn from the Chinese civilization, especially in moral and spiritual values.

Gunther Barth's *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States 1850-1870*, was an analysis of restrictive laws.⁷ For a considerable period, Barth noted, the Chinese remained the only people to be barred from the New World. He developed a "sojourner theory" of Chinese immigration. The Chinese newcomers, he claimed, differed significantly from other arrivals in the United States in motivation and in experience. They did not intend to form a permanent part of the American population, but were sojourners who expected before long to return to the place of their birth. They did not bring with them a commitment to settlement and this motivation of their migration left them incapable of involving themselves in the mainstream culture.

The 1960s also witnessed a major change in the male-centered focus of Chinese American studies. The revival of feminism led to the women's movement in the late 1960s and 1970s. American women rose to challenge the still male-dominated society. Coinciding with this social change, historians of Chinese American history have gradually shifted their focus from a purely male perspective in America to include females as well, realizing that Chinese American women's experience was a central part of Chinese American history. These historians went as far as framing entire independent chapters that deal with Chinese American women. Stanford Lyman's *Chinese Americans*, Loren W. Fessler's *Chinese in America, Stereotyped Past, Changing Present*, and Shih-Shan Henry Tsai's *The Chinese Experience in America*, all reflected this new trend.⁸

In *Chinese Americans*, sociologist Stanford M. Lyman discussed various questions about the "Chinese diaspora" which took them to many parts of the world, including America. What was the background of communal organizations and their transplanting to the New World? How did the outwardly violent anti-Chinese movement that lasted from 1785 to 1910 evolve into a subtler post-1910 form of institutional segregation in cities across the land? What was the class structure among the Chinese Americans? Responding to these and other questions Lyman analyzed internal social problems and particular ways of coping with them and issues of alienation, rebellion, new consciousness, and the transvaluation of the term "Yellow Peril" in recent years. He also discussed the reasons for the shortage of women in the last century and the first half of this century and claimed that prostitution, gambling, and drugs were direct consequences of the uneven male-female ratio among Chinese American communities at this time.

In *Chinese in America, Stereotyped Past, Changing Present*, Fessler sought to "look at what has been accepted from different angles."⁹ He gave attention to social, economic and political conditions in America and showed how these affected attitudes toward the Chinese as well as Chinese efforts to cope with the particular circumstances of the times. In some chapters he discussed such aspects as sex ratio, marriage and the family, education, livelihood and housing, all of which were relevant to Chinese American women.

Shih-Shan Henry Tsai's *The Chinese Experience in America* discussed the experiences of three different Chinese American groups: sojourners, the "ABC" (American-born Chinese), and students. The sojourners were China-oriented and non-English speaking, and suffered from persistent inequality, racial conflict, alienation and subordination. Their experience in America was one of tragedy and travail. In the end they remained "truly Chinese." The ABC constantly faced conflicting values and had to deal with various assimilation problems. They generally led a dual life and bore feelings of ambivalence. Even though most of them were completely acculturated, they were not fully integrated. The highly educated student immigrants, who are indeed modern China's "cream of the crop," have tended to emphasize cultural pluralism and national diversity. They belong to America's middle class, and, in spite of their color and physical appearance, have been occupationally integrated though some of them are not yet completely acculturated. Their successful and pleasant experience in America has earned them the "model minority" title. While Tsai treated Chinese women in an independent chapter, his discussion was relatively brief and limited.

In the 1980s a group of female historians emerged and some works specializing in Chinese American women were published. *Chinese*

Women of America, A Pictorial History by Judy Yung of San Francisco, was the first scholarly study of Chinese American women's history.¹⁰ In her book, Yung found important regional variations in the degree of Chinese women's acculturation. In a multiracial society such as Hawaii, where there was less discrimination, Chinese women appeared to be more assertive, assimilated and economically successful. In the rural southern states such as Arkansas and Mississippi, Chinese women remained more submissive and complacent, maintaining a middle status between whites and blacks. In metropolitan areas such as San Francisco and New York, Chinese women were largely foreign-born. They spoke little or no English, lived in substandard conditions, and were less acculturated than the middle class Chinese Americans. Yung's study provided abundant materials and inspired other scholars to conduct further research on Chinese American women.

Stacey Guat-Hong Yap's *Gather Your Strength, Sisters: The Emerging Role of Chinese Women Community Workers* provided evidence that women's public participation in the community was political when they mobilized themselves to set goals, implement actions and accomplish results in planning for the community. In addition, their participation was shown to have a historical precedent, for Chinese women have participated actively in political causes since the 1940s.¹¹

In the past decade there have also been some edited collections of works on Asian American women published. *Asian and Pacific American Experiences: Women's Perspectives*, edited by Nobuya Tsuchida, focused on various aspects of Asian and Pacific American women's experiences and included some groundbreaking contributions to the study of Asian American women.¹² For instance, Lucie Cheng Hirata's essay "Chinese Immigrant Women in Nineteenth-Century California" dealt with Chinese prostitutes in nineteenth-century California who were, Hirata believed, not merely victims of sexual oppression, but also objects of economic and class exploitation. She argued that Chinese prostitution played a vital role in maintaining a bachelor society and a convenient source of cheap labor for American capital. Hirata's paper unearthed the fact that many Chinese entrepreneurs utilized prostitutes not only for sexual services but also for the garment industry during the day in order to amass capital for undertaking larger ventures.¹³

Besides essays in collections, a number of dissertations have discussed Chinese American women's experiences in social, racial and psychological terms. Lydia Liang Chang's "Acculturation and Emotional Adjustment of Chinese Women Immigrants" found that the younger the women were when entering the country, the more acculturated they became and the less they suffered from emotional maladjustment. She also concluded

that the more acculturated Chinese women were, the more egalitarian their marital relationships tended to be and the better the emotional adjustment they tended to make. She suggested, further, that physical health was an important indicator of emotional adjustment.¹⁴

Carol Rita Iu's "Ethnic and Economic Correlates of Marital Satisfaction and Attitude Towards Divorce of Chinese American Women" suggested that Chinese American women who were strong in ethnic identity were more likely to hold a conservative opinion on divorce, were more likely not to consider divorce in marital conflict situations, and were more likely not to choose divorce as an alternative to resolve marital conflicts. Iu's study also concluded that the Chinese American women who were economically independent relative to those less so were more likely to give a higher priority to divorce as an alternative to resolve marital conflicts.¹⁵ In "Chinese-American Women: A Phenomenological Study of Self-Concept," Kay-Sun Wong hypothesized that first-generation Chinese American women's self-concepts reflected an emphasis on Chinese cultural values over Western or American values of self.¹⁶ Though precise in their specific analyses, these dissertations paid little attention to the specific historical context in which Chinese women lived or to changes in their lives over time.

Similar to their study in a proliferation of academic works, Chinese American women have also become visible in American literature. In past decades, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, some excellent biographical novels about Chinese American women, usually written by Chinese American women, appeared. Combining historical facts and familial stories, these novels have narrated Chinese American women's experiences in a realistic and powerful way. They have closely observed the transition from an old culture to a new one as experienced by first-generation Chinese immigrant women. In Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*, Chinese immigrant women confront a strange environment, hard work, cultural difference, and even desertion by long-separated husbands.¹⁷ Brave Orchid, the heroine of the novel, set out for America in 1939 to assume the status of the illiterate immigrant wife of a New York laundryman and to begin, at the age of forty-five, the task of bringing up six children.¹⁸ Her sister Moon Orchid, at the age of sixty-eight, came to the United States to join her husband who had become a successful neurosurgeon in California and had married a young Americanized Chinese woman. Cultural shock and emotional hurt together made the older sister collapse and she eventually died in an insane asylum in California.¹⁹

These novels also reveal the high expectations Chinese immigrant women had for themselves and their children when they headed for America. In *The Joy Luck Club* by Amy Tan, a best selling book in 1989,

a mother cooed on her journey: "In America I will have a daughter just like me. But over there nobody will say her worth is measured by the loudness of her husband's belch. Over there nobody will look down on her, because I will make her speak only perfect American English."²⁰ Though having high aspirations, these first generation Chinese American women were often frustrated by the dissolution of their dreams and alienation from their American-born daughters. Amy Tan continued her story, "Now the woman was old. And she had a daughter who grew up speaking only English and swallowing more Coca-Cola than sorrow." In order to tell her daughter her good intentions, "she waited, year after year, for the day she could tell her daughter in perfect American English."²¹

Generational and cultural conflict was another common subject of these novels. Jing-mei Woo, a daughter in *The Joy Luck Club*, was drafted to take her mother's place to play mah-jong with other aging Chinese women after her mother died. Made uncomfortable by the older generation's insistence on maintaining old customs and parochial habits, she yearned to lead an independent, modern and American life free of the burden of her parents' Chineseness and the overweening hopes for their children poorly expressed in their fragile English. One of the reasons for the misunderstanding between generations, Amy Tan argued, was the loss of their native language among the American-born generations. "My mother and I," claimed Jing-mei Woo, "never really understand one another. We translated each other's meanings and I seemed to hear less than what was said, while my mother heard more."²²

A more typical case of generational and cultural conflict can be seen in Jade Snow Wong's autobiography, *Fifth Chinese Daughter*. Jade Snow Wong is the fifth daughter of a Chinese immigrant family of San Francisco. Since her childhood she had been taught all traditional Chinese values of chastity, obedience and submission that were supposed to be preserved by Chinese women. When she first decided to date a boyfriend of her choice and later determined to obtain a higher education, she had twice to confront her parents who did not believe that a girl should choose her own mate or get as much education as a boy.²³

Though many perceptive works have appeared in recent decades, there remains a need for full scholarly works on Chinese American women. As the field of Asian American studies is growing rapidly, there will undoubtedly be more solid work on Chinese American women in the near future. A good start has been made, but there is still a long way to go. Another valuable source of information about Chinese American women and how they have been seen by other Americans is to be found in popular culture media. Since the first arrival of Chinese women in America, they have been stereotyped by the American public as exotic

and seductive dolls. When Afong Moy arrived in New York City, she was exhibited as "a Chinese lady in native costume," and was used to show "New York belles how different ladies look in widely separated regions," according to the *Commercial Advertiser*.²⁴ An article on Chinese women that appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, on January 30, 1858, described in detail the appearance of "celestial ladies" with their supposedly grotesque hair styles, bound feet, and strange manner of dress. Early images of Chinese women as exotic curios were also derived from traveling shows, such as P. T. Barnum's Chinese museum. One broadside declared: "Barnum's enterprise stops short of nothing that is strange or wonderful.... Miss Pwan-Yekoo, the Chinese belle, with her Chinese suite of attendants, is drawing all Broadway to the Chinese collection. She is so pretty, so arch, so lively, and so graceful, while her minute feet are wondrous!"²⁵ This early public image of Chinese American women continues in some current magazines. In one contemporary advertisement of a stocking sale in the feminist magazine *Ms.*, Chinese American women today still seem stereotyped and exploited for their exoticism.²⁶

In motion pictures, Chinese American women have often been portrayed as seductive creatures. Even in recent movies, film makers are still affected by this stereotype. In Michael Cimino's *Year of the Dragon*, Stanley White, a Vietnam veteran and a member of the New York City Police Department, appears to be a saint, trying to stem an eruption of youth-gang violence, while Tracy Tze, a celebrity Chinese American newscaster, is pictured as both an assertive career woman and a sexy doll. In *China Girl*, a new version of Romeo and Juliet set in Canal Street in New York, the indisputable borderline separating the opposing worlds of Little Italy and Chinatown, Tyan, a lovely Chinese girl, falls in love with Tony, a second-generation Italian. The film, like others in the past, is plagued by stereotyped images: exoticism, seduction, and feebleness.

Contrary to the above movies Wayne Wang's *Dim Sum* depicts Chinese American women in a more realistic and positive light. In it, Geraldine Lum, though a second-generation Chinese woman, inherits many Chinese traditional virtues and exposes her beautiful intrinsic human value, rather than the seductive mysterious world that has appeared in many other motion pictures.

Along the same lines a new multicultural arts organization promotes a different outlook on Asian American women. Founded in 1980, the National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA) has the primary goal of educating the public about the Asian/Pacific American experience to replace stereotyped images of Asians with accurate, realistic portrayals, and to promote the artistic quality and merit of Asian/Pacific American media productions. *Liru*, produced and directed

by Henry Chow, is one of the products distributed by the NAATA. An Academy Award-nominated drama, it portrays a Chinese American woman's search for ethnic and personal identity. Liru grapples with the strained relations she has with her mother and her boyfriend. She must decide whether to stay in San Francisco to look after her mother, or jet off to Yale to be with her Korean Japanese boyfriend. Finally, after reminiscing about the closeness she had with her mother as a child, Liru becomes comfortable with the idea of displaying affection instead of aggression toward her mother.

Some documentaries distributed by the NAATA also shatter the stereotypes of Asian American women. Based on Wayne Wang's feature film *Dim Sum, Dim Sum Take-Out* tells a fast-paced story with the feel of a music video. In this film, five Chinese American women explore personal issues of ethnicity, independence, and sexuality by comparing their individual methods of dealing with their cultural and class legacies. *Slaying the Dragon*, produced and directed by Deborah Gee, traces Hollywood's recycling of inaccurate images of Asian American women over the past sixty years. Through film clips and interviews with media critics and actresses, it shows how today's media stereotypes have changed little from those of bygone days.

With Silk Wings, Asian American Women at Work portrays Asian American women's various experiences by combining four short documentaries. The first, *Four Women*, produced and directed by Loni Ding, focuses on the lives of four Asian American women. Heidi is a community social worker; Sara is a tenured professor and practicing architect; Shirley directs a community health clinic; Pat is a union business agent. Courage and uncompromised idealism often drive the invisible work of women in America. The second, Loni Ding's *On New Ground*, shows how ten Asian American women broke the barriers of such traditional male jobs as stockbroker, police officer, and welder. They discuss what they have learned about confronting the conflicts between traditional expectations and personal aspirations. In Loni Ding's third documentary *Frankly Speaking*, high school students, teachers, employers and counselors discuss the challenge faced by young Asian women as they move from adolescence to adulthood. Finally, *Talking History*, produced and directed by Spencer Nakasako, tells the stories of five outspoken women and their journey to America. Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Laotian women thoughtfully reveal a mosaic of feminist, ethnic and immigrant "herstories" through personal interviews and poignant historical footage.

Among the newly produced films by and about Asian Americans, Arthur Dong's *Forbidden City, U.S.A.* drew wide attention in the media circle. Gold Award and Special Jury Award winner *Forbidden City, U.S.A.*

is a provocative, exuberant documentary that touches the heart and packs a tremendous amount of entertainment into a fond glance back at the fabled all-Chinese "Forbidden City" nightclub on San Francisco's Sutter Street, which became an international hot spot in the 1930s and 1940s. As Dong explains, "We Chinese Americans are not just hard workers, we are not just concerned about the critical issues of Asian Americans, we also have leisure time, have fun," as evidenced by the film's showing that Chinese Americans ventured out to nightclubs for their entertainment in the 1930s and 1940s and some of them even became performers themselves.²⁷ Through personal interviews with Chinese American women in the entertainment business, *Forbidden City, U.S.A.* reveals how cultural barriers and racism were challenged by the younger generation of Asian Americans in these decades.

Sewing Women is another excellent production by Arthur Dong. This film documents a woman's experience of immigration and her determination to survive — from war-torn China to a new life in America. It displays a sensitive treatment of the confusion and fear which is very much a part of the immigrant experience. It provides first hand materials for a discussion of issues involving the family, cultural differences and the role of women.

Notes

1. Judy Yung, *Chinese Women of America, A Pictorial History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), p. 118.
2. Ibid.
3. L. T. Townsend, *The Chinese Problem* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, Publishers, 1876; reprint, San Francisco, CA: R and E Research Associates, 1970); Mrs. S. L. Baldwin, *Must the Chinese Go? An Examination of the Chinese Question* (New York: The Press of H. E. Elking, 1890; reprint, San Francisco, CA: R and E Research Associates, 1970).
4. Mary Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969).
5. H. A. Millis, review of *Chinese Immigration*, by Mary Coolidge, in *American Historical Review* 15 (July, 1910), p. 897.
6. S. W. Kung, *Chinese in American Life, Some Aspects of Their History, Status, Problems and Contributions* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962).
7. Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: History of the Chinese in the United States 1850-1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).
8. Stanford M. Lyman, *Chinese Americans* (New York: Random House, 1974); Loren W. Fessler, ed., *Chinese in America, Stereotyped Past, Changing Present* (New York:

- Vantage Press, 1983); Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).
9. Fessler, *Chinese in America*, p. xix.
 10. Yung, *Chinese Women of America, A Pictorial History*.
 11. Stacey Guat-Hong Yap, *Gather Your Strength, Sisters: The Emerging Role of Chinese Women Community Workers* (New York: AMS Press, 1989).
 12. Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., *Asian and Pacific American Experiences: Women's Perspectives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1982).
 13. Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Chinese Immigrant Women in Nineteenth-Century California," in *ibid.*, pp. 38-55.
 14. Lydia Liang Chang, "Acculturation and Emotional Adjustment of Chinese Women Immigrants" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1980).
 15. Carol Rita Iu, "Ethnic and Economic Correlates of Marital Satisfaction and Attitude Towards Divorce of Chinese American Women" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1982).
 16. Kay-Sun Wong, "Chinese-American Women: A Phenomenological Study of Self-Concept" (Ph.D. diss., The Wright Institute, 1983).
 17. Maxine Hong Kingston, *The Woman Warrior, Memoirs of Girlhood Among Ghosts* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-160.
 20. Amy Tan, *The Joy Luck Club* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1989), p. 17.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
 23. Jade Snow Wong, *Fifth Chinese Daughter* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).
 24. Fessler, *Chinese in America*, p. 6.
 25. *New York Express*, 22 April 1850.
 26. Yung, p. 114-115.
 27. Arthur Dong's speech at the Seventh National Conference Association for Asian American Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, May 18-20, 1990.

A Note on Films and Documentaries

I. Films

- Dim Sum*, produced and directed by Wayne Wang, 100 min., color video, 1985. Portrait of mother-daughter relationship in a Chinese American family.
- Dim Sum Take-Out*, produced and directed by Wayne Wang, 12 min., color video. Five Chinese American women explore issues of ethnicity, independence, and sexuality. National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA), 346 Ninth Street, Second Floor, San Francisco, CA 94103.
- Forbidden City, U.S.A.*, produced and directed by Arthur Dong, 56 min., color/black and white video, 1989. Story of a Chinese nightclub of San Francisco in the 1930s and 1940s. DeepFocus Productions 22D Hollywood Ave., Ho-Ho-Kus, New Jersey 07423.

Liru, produced and directed by Henry Chow, 25 min., color video, 1991. Drama about a Chinese American woman's search for ethnic and personal identity. (NAATA)

Sewing Women, produced and directed by Arthur Dong, 14 min., black and white video, 1982. A Chinese immigrant woman's story from war-torn China to America. (NAATA)

Slaying the Dragon, produced and directed by Deborah Gee, 60 min., color video. Images of Asian American in the media. (NAATA)

With Silk Wings: Asian American Women at Work, a series of four films: *Four Women*, *On New Ground*, and *Frankly Speaking* produced and directed by Loni Ding, and *Talking History* produced and directed by Spencer Nakasako, 30 min. each, color video. (NAATA)

II. Documentaries

Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, D.C. Five areas of concern include immigration's efforts on national, social, economic, demographic and environmental interests.

China Institute in American Library, 125 East 65 Street, New York, NY 10021. Collection on Chinese immigration, heritage and contributions to America.

Immigration and Naturalization Service Records. National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., and Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, CA. Contains records of general immigration, Chinese immigration, passenger arrival, Americanization, naturalization, field office, and alien internment camps.

The End of the Cold War: A Review of Recent Literature

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OVER THE LAST FOUR DECADES a topic of lively scholarly and public discourse has been the origins and causes of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States. Now, scholars, diplomats, and public officials, who still do not agree with each other about the beginnings of the conflict, are taking up the debate about how it ended. As in the case of the earlier controversy about the origins of the Cold War, the current discussion about its demise is loaded with policy implications. How much of the collapse of the Soviet Union was due to internal forces, and how much to pressures applied from outside? How important was Mikhail Gorbachev to the process? How significant was the American arms buildup of the early 1980s? Was President Reagan's most important contribution that of an early ideological opponent of the Soviet Union or as a later practical friend of Gorbachev? The answers that are found for these and other related questions will help shape American diplomatic and military policy well into the next century. For instance, if the Soviet collapse was due in some part to inexorable United States military pressure, then prudence calls for a continued high state of military readiness and the costs that would entail. If the decline of communism came about because of internal weakness, then the utility of high levels of military spending should be questioned. If Mikhail Gorbachev was more encouraged to travel his path of reform by the benign image of the post-