

In sum, while *Bitter Fruit* is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on Black-Korean conflict, I am certain that it will generate heated debates among Korean American scholars.

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***Paper Son: One Man's Story.*** By Tung Pok Chin, with Winifred C. Chin. Introduction by K. Scott Wong. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2000. xx + 147 pp. Illustrations and notes. \$59.50 (cloth); \$17.95 (paper).

In 1934, Tung Pok Chin arrived in Boston as a "paper son." Immigrating during a period when the Chinese exclusion laws severely curtailed Chinese immigration, Chin followed in the footsteps of many before him and entered the country with false documents. Thirty-four years later, Chin retired from his work as a laundryman and began to write his memoirs. What has resulted is a remarkable autobiography that brings us into the shadowed lives of Chinese immigrants during the Chinese exclusion and McCarthy eras. With a concise and helpful introduction by K. Scott Wong, *Paper Son* brings us back to the village of Sha-tou Ch'uen through the world of paper sons, laundrymen, and Gold Mountain families.

Chin's memories of Sha-tou Ch'uen village in Taishan county provide a vivid portrait of the poverty and banditry that forced Chinese abroad. He also explains the ways in which the exclusion laws separated families and corrupted the immigration process by forcing Chinese to buy and sell false identities, relationships, and documents. *Paper Son* reminds us that illegal immigration in the United States originated with the Chinese exclusion laws and it vividly establishes how paper sons' illegal status continued to directly frame every aspect of their lives in the United States.

After successfully answering all of the immigration officer's questions at the Boston Immigration House, Chin began work in laundries in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New York City, earning from eight to fifteen dollars a week. The world of laundrymen was full of long hours and low pay, but it was also a community of workers who shared stories of the old land and helped each other adapt to the new one. Reminding us of the transnational ties between Chinese in the United States and in China, Chin's memoir brings us into the world of the wives and children still remaining in China and the ways in which families adapted to the separation or drifted apart.

The most interesting chapters in Chin's autobiography are those that cover World War Two and the McCarthy era, two periods that have been understudied by Chinese American scholars. Chin joined the United States Navy in 1941,

non-Whites" (p. 2). In short, the se -perpetuating process of White dominance generated the structural context of Black-Korean conflict.

Hence, the author argues that the two existing theories on intergroup conflict, the scapegoating theory and middleman minority theory (venting of frustration, resentment and anger by Black customers in inner-city neighborhoods against Korean merchants who are caught in the middle between the White dominant group and the Black underclass) are grossly inadequate to explain the fundamental cause of Black-Korean conflict. She contends these "structural-psychological" theories tend to neutralize or cover up racial power through decontextualization, depolitization, and delegitimation. The author goes even further to say that "most of scholars writing on Black-Korean conflict find themselves trapped in this vicious circle between a priori judgment about a monolithic and disrupted Black state of mind and the failure to investigate rigorously what Black participants have to say about their own actions" (p.7).

The aim of this book is, then, "to expose racial power and render visible its pivotal role in generating, shaping, and managing Black-Korean conflict" (p. 3). In order to achieve this aim, the author chose for her research focus the boycott and picketing campaign led by Black nationalist, Haitian, and Caribbean activists against two Korean produce stores, the *Family Red Apple* and *Church Fruits, Inc.*, in Brooklyn, New York. This boycott movement, commonly called the Red Apple Boycott, started in January 1990 and lasted over a year. A total of sixty-nine interviews were conducted by the author with those who were directly involved in the boycott, particularly the December 12th Movement, the Black activist group that led the organized collective action. This painstaking effort to collect primary data and intrusive analyses of their contents from the Black nationalist perspective are the major strength of this book. In this sense, the author achieves her aim of illuminating a large picture of Black-Korean conflict as the "bitter fruit" of the workings of White-dominated racial power in the United States.

I have, however, problems with this book in terms of the following questions: (1) Why is there a systemic tendency toward White dominance? What is the ultimate genesis of racial power? (2) What is the *differentia specifica* between White dominance and racial power? (3) Inter-minority conflict has usually multiple causes. Why reject existing theories and reduce the multidimensional causes to a single context of White dominant racial power which is always the *sine qua non* for discussing any inter-minority group conflict in the United States anyway? (4) Why were Korean store owners not interviewed for the author's study? The last two points are most troubling. The author charges that most of the past studies on Black-Korean conflict reduced the underlying causes to racial scapegoating theory. This is simply not true. On the contrary, most of the past scholars in the field used diverse theories with multiracial perspectives in different geographical areas—Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. The best example is Kwang Chung Kim's *Koreans in the Hood: Conflict with African Americans*.

becoming the first Chinese person in New York City to enlist. Like other men of color, government policy dictated that Chin was only allowed to work as a mess attendant. The war marked a turning point in his life, and upon his return to New York, he began to write and publish his work in the *China Daily News*.

Chin's description of McCarthyism in Chinatown reveals a world of anxiety and paranoia and documents extensive United States government harassment in greater detail than has been previously available. Fearful that those suspected of being Communists could be deported, Chinese quickly adopted anti-Communist views or became apolitical. They were also subjected to the so-called confession period, during which the government coerced Chinese into "confessing" to an illegal immigration status or Communist sympathies, sometimes unraveling the web of false relationships protecting entire families in the United States.

Some of the ground that *Paper Son* covers will be familiar to students of immigration and Asian American history. However, it provides a rich personal texture not available in short or oral histories. It also shifts our attention to the East Coast and covers the understudied period from the 1940s to the 1970s. Chin has produced one of the finest first-person narratives available on the Chinese experience in America, and it will be an invaluable resource for students and scholars alike. As K. Scott Wong notes, *Paper Son* is much more than a story of one man's life in the United States; it "gives voice to thousands of paper sons" (p. xix).

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***Chinese Americans and Their Immigrant Parents: Conflict, Identity and Values.*** By May Paomay Tung. New York: The Haworth Clinical Practice Press, 2000. ix + 103 pp. References and index. \$22.95.

May Paomay Tung's book skillfully evokes the tensions that the children of Chinese immigrants experience as they try to reconcile their parents' worldview with life in the United States. Tung, a clinical psychologist, draws from several decades of psychotherapy with young Chinese American professionals and her own experiences as an immigrant who came to the United States with her family during the 1950s. Rather than draw from specific case studies, Tung identifies a set of common themes that Chinese Americans confront in their identity formation, both in relation to the social norms their parents adhere to and the ones enshrined in American culture.

Tung's point of departure is a brief historical overview of Chinese in America, their exclusion and inability to form families in the United States, a consequence of the Exclusion Act of 1882, which continued to have force until