Editorial

Lessons from L.A.

Six months ago the acquittal of the police who assaulted Rodney King unleashed a fury in Los Angeles - a multicultural riot against decades of urban neglect.

This has been an especially difficult time for Asian Americans as many of us felt torn between two stark realities. We were outraged at the injustice to Rodney King (see photo page 3). In New York, the police have been responsible for many similar cases of violence against Asian Americans, yet we have not seen an indictment, let alone a conviction, of our assailants in blue. On the other hand, we are painfully aware that over 2,000 Korean-owned stores were targetted and destroyed in the aftermath of the L.A. verdict. We know these losses cannot be measured just in dollars, but in the hard work, long hours, and shattered dreams of Asian immigrant families.

Now that these events are no longer being sensationalized in the media and emotions are not so raw, it is time to reflect.

The events in Los Angeles called attention to the changes in this country's racial landscape. Asian Americans have long criticized our exclusion from any discourse on race, generally viewed solely as a black and white issue. The Los Angeles riots dramatically showed Asians in the middle of the melee. Although Asians are now recognized as part of racial dynamics in the U.S., there is still the misconception that Asians are merely passive victims - scapegoats caught between black and white forces. In Asian communities, this commonly held view has led to a siege mentality that increases our isolation and nationalism and ignores the reality that our individual communities' struggles for survival are enmeshed in this country's racial, economic, and political dynamics.

We must acknowledge the complex

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4 States, 4 Asians Murdered

Ten years ago this past June, Vincent Chin, a Chinese-American from Detroit, was ruthlessly bludgeoned to death with a baseball bat by two unemployed white autoworkers. His assailants were acquitted of civil rights violations and never served time. Since then, cases of racist violence against Asians and Asian Americans have increased at an alarming rate, especially among recent immigrants.

CAAAV has joined together with eleven other Asian American organizations in the National Network Against Anti-Asian Violence to monitor cases around the country and to strengthen our organizing efforts. We are currently tracking four murders in four states that took place between August and October.

October 16th, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dressed in a tuxedo, 16-year-old Yoshihiro Hattori, a Japanese exchange student, thought he was walking into a Halloween party. Hattori and a friend made the mistake of knocking on the wrong door. When a woman who opened the door saw the two young men, she shut it and called for her husband to get his gun. Rodney Peairs appeared with a gun at the carport door and yelled, "Freeze!". Hattori, not understanding the command, continued to walk toward Peairs. Peairs shot Hattori, point blank in the chest with his .44 Magnum. Hattori died shortly afterward. 30 year old Peairs has not been arrested, but a grand jury hearing is scheduled for November 4.

August 15th, Coral Springs, Florida

Luyen Phan Nguyen, a 19-year-old pre-med student at the University of Miami, was savagely beaten to death by as many as 15 white youths after he objected to being called "Viet Cong" and "Chink" at a party. The mob chased him into the street, punched him, knocked him to the ground, and kicked him repeatedly. He died less than 48 hours later. Witnesses claim that Nguyen offered no signs of resistance.

Building on experience gained from the

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CAAAV TESTIFIES AT CITY COUNCIL ON CCRB REFORM

The proposed City Council bill to reform the composition of the Civilian Complaint Review Board in New York City has become a lightning rod for strong public criticism of the Police Department's conduct in general. Lending credence to its critics, 10,000 members of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association—virtually all white—staged a violent and racially divisive protest at City Hall on September 16 on the eve of public hearings about the bill.

CAAAV testified on October 15, the third day of the hearings, in support not only of an all-civilian CCRB, but also for geographical and racial diversity of its membership, expansion of its powers and reporting requirements, the creation of an independent special prosecutor for criminal incidents of police brutality, and a residency requirement for all New York City police.

CAAAV backed up its recommendations with twenty-five examples of police brutality against Asian Americans and one hundred fifty-nine names of Asian Americans who have filed claims against the city as a result of police abuse. Given the difficulty of pursuing such claims, these examples represent only a fraction of a much larger problem.

CAAAV's testimony also stressed the extent to which language insensitivity precipitated many of these incidents. As stated in the testimony: "Eighty percent of the Asian population in New York City are immigrants, and many speak little or no English. Victims are thus often attacked because the Police Department provides insufficient training and no guidelines as to the proper treatment of limited- or non-English speakers. Even more disturbing, many victims reported that the police officers repeatedly abused them with obscenities, ethnic, and anti-immigrant slurs."

CAAAV presented its testimony as one of a panel of organizations including the Center for Constitutional Rights, the Majority Coalition for a New York, the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, and the Women's Action Coalition. It was an important step toward raising the visibility of Asian Americans to the City Council, which has no Asian members, and to the public, which rarely hears about Asians in the context of police abuse or oversight.

We believe that the present City Council bill, whose final provisions have not yet been made public, should mark the beginning, not the end, of public debate over how to implement true civilian control over those forces authorized to use deadly force. Δ

THE DAVID WONG CASE: FRAME-UP AND COVER-UP

David Wong, now 29 years old, has been incarcerated for eight years and charged with a murder he did not commit. An immigrant from the People's Republic of China, David was arrested for robbery in 1984, his first and only criminal offense, and sent to the Clinton Correctional Facility in Dannemora, New York.

On March 12, 1986, an inmate Tyrone Julius was stabbed to death. On the order of the tower guard, David Wong and the only other Chinese in the prison, Tse Xin Cheong, were immediately apprehended. David knew very little English at the time, could hardly converse with the other inmates, had not known the victim, and was not in his proximity at the time of the killing.

David Wong's trial was held in June of 1987. Cheong was asked to testify against David, but refused to "cooperate" with the authorities. Some inmate witnesses who wanted to testify on David's behalf were turned down. The jury was all white and the defense lawyer obviously incompetent. In addition, the Dannemora environment was hardly conducive for a fair trial. David was found guilty, solely on the testimony of the tower guard, who changed his original story from "the attacker appeared white", to "the attacker was David Wong". To this day, inmates of Clinton claim that David Wong is the victim of a frame-up and cover-up, since his innocence is well known among the prisoners.

A David Wong Support Committee has been formed. After a five-year search for an appeals lawyer, David succeeded in securing the services of Susan Tipograph, a noted activist attorney who has defended African American and Latino political prisoners. In August, a deportation notice was issued to David, but Tipograph won a postponement of the deportation hearings until October.

Meanwhile, David has been studying and mastering not only English, but American jurisprudence, particularly the legal aspects of his case. Despite his eight years of confinement, isolation from family, friends and the "outside world", David's morale is unquenchable and he is spiritedly and actively involved in the struggle to prove his innocence and gain his freedom.

A recent encouraging development is the locating of Tse Kin Cheong who had been released. He was traced to Kowloon, Hong Kong. Cheong has vowed his utmost support in exonerating David and has written an affidavit recalling everything he could remember about that fateful day in March, 1986.

This fall, several fundraisers took place, including a video showing of the film Rashomon and a performance benefit at Columbia University.

The Committee welcomes volunteers and is in dire need of funds. Send donations, made payable to the David Wong Support Committee, 545 West 216 Street, #3B, New York, NY 10027. To volunteer, call (212) 926-7412.

Detail from "Injustice: Made in America – Remembering Vincent Chin 1955-1982" shown at the Art in General Gallery.
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interaction of race, class, and immigration that were manifest in the L.A. riots. The events cannot be packaged neatly as "Black-Korean tensions". Yes, Korean stores were looted, but the majority of those who lost homes to fires were Latino immigrants. The heaviest damage to Korean businesses was not in the predominantly African American community of South Central, but in Koreatown, which is inhabited mostly by poor Latino immigrants. The looters and the arrested were of all races - over 50% of them were Latino. Fifty-eight people, including two Asians, died.

The multicultural nature of the riots points to a profound disillusionment and alienation. Years of urban neglect by the government and corporations fed these riots, but Asian Americans need to understand the role we inadvertently play in this scenario. The vacuum created by the lack of infrastructure and services in the inner cities has historically been filled by different immigrant groups - Jewish, Arab, and now Korean - who go into these areas, not as neighbors, but as entrepreneurs, make their profits, move up and out, and leave nothing behind. Since Asian businesses fit into this historical pattern, Asians must go into these neighborhoods with greater awareness.

For many new immigrants today, small retail businesses seem to offer the only chance for economic survival and opportunity. The occupation poses physical dangers as well as financial risks. Small business owners in inner city areas must contend with marginal profits, high crime rates and costly insurance premiums. Faced with these pressures, some Korean businesses engage in practices that create resentment by selectively following and sometimes physically confronting African American customers. Many Korean stores prefer to hire Latino workers over African Americans, and may underpay them if they are undocumented. It is not surprising that Koreatown, located in a Latino area, was so heavily damaged. Asian Americans need to recognize and confront the racism in our own communities that worsens the inherently tenuous relationships between newcomers who own small businesses and longtime residents of underserved communities.

Asian Americans need to organize our communities to demand more viable opportunities for our communities. Historically, white immigrants have used manufacturing and construction jobs to establish a more secure economic future. The most recent immigrants, Asian, Latino and Caribbean, have been locked out of these and other jobs even though many were skilled professionals in their native countries. We need to organize for higher wages and benefits, better conditions, and more opportunities. We need to work with other communities of color to overcome the restrictions of the racist job market.

It is true that this country is no longer just black and white, but Asians are not just passive victims caught in the middle. We need to be more conscious of the roles we play in the economic and racial structures of this country, especially in urban communities. The L.A. riots are a stark reminder of the risk we take when we allow ourselves to be segregated into the niches historically allowed to new and unwanted immigrants. We need to challenge the status quo. We must confront racist practices in our own communities and break down the barriers of racism and nationalism to unite with other poor and working class groups and people of color. Instead of fighting for the few opportunities and resources allotted to us, Asian Americans must demand greater economic opportunities for all.
How can CAAAV organize Asian communities to combat police brutality and racial violence? How should we address the underlying economic injustices which make our communities so vulnerable to this violence? How can CAAAV develop new leaders and enduring networks within communities to struggle for racial and economic justice?

CAAAV's rapid growth in scope and membership over recent years made it clear that members were ready to expand CAAAV's activities in new directions. During an intensive planning process over the summer, CAAAV's Board of Directors and members grappled with the new questions anti-Asian violence poses in the 1990s. We concluded that community organizing, economic justice issues, and a commitment to address race, class, and sex biases within our communities were necessary to expand our ongoing efforts to prevent anti-Asian violence.

Of course, CAAAV will continue to mobilize community pressure for justice for individual victims of police brutality and racist violence. In addition, looking to our future goals, we have already initiated two organizing campaigns to change the political and economic conditions underlying this violence. CAAAV's efforts, described below, among Chinese tenants and South Asian cab drivers are examples of steps in this direction.

Woodside Housing Projects

It began as a typical case for CAAAV—a complaint from a Queens family being intimidated by robberies and harassment. Investigations quickly revealed a community-wide problem. The situation challenged CAAAV to carve out a new approach, coupling victim advocacy with community organizing.

On March 13 of this year, CAAAV received a report that the Chin family, living in the Woodside Housing Projects, had been robbed, harassed, and threatened with violence on several occasions in and around the complex. After bringing Cantonese-speaking members to meet with the family and ten other Asian tenants in the projects, CAAAV realized that the harassment of the Chin family was not an isolated case but, unfortunately, a common experience for Asian tenants in the complex. There was a clear pattern of crime targeted at Asians.

In a subsequent meeting arranged with the housing police and the housing management, a roomful of Asian victims voiced their concerns and frustration over the police's indifference to the seriousness of their situation. The police did not address these concerns, but instead, asserted that the main problem was that Asians do not report crimes to the police. However, the housing police's own statistics for January and February of 1992 showed that 11 of 14 robbery complaints filed by the housing project's tenants were from Asian victims, although Asians constitute only a little over 10% of the project's population.

Growing more determined in the face of police apathy, these tenants decided to mobilize the entire community of Chinese residents in the Woodside Projects. Working with CAAAV, the tenants held a meeting on June 7, which was attended by a third of the approximately 150 Chinese families. The group concluded that both the housing police and the housing management had to be held accountable for responding to their concerns.

The group also made concrete recommendations such as more frequent patrols, Cantonese-speaking police officers, a functioning intercom system at the entrances of the buildings, and working locks.

As the active group expanded, it became clear that Chinese residents needed to become more involved with the tenants' association, whose membership is predominantly African American. In August, an initial meeting was conducted with the tenants' association in an effort for both groups to discuss their specific needs, as well as common goals regarding the welfare of the entire community.

As a partial concession, a Mandarin-speaking officer has been assigned to a permanent full-time post at the Woodside Projects, even though the tenants speak Cantonese. According to the tenants, police of the area have also increased significantly. Certainly, both the police and housing management now understand that they will be held accountable for the needs of the entire community. Having gone through the process of organizing, making demands, and winning this increased accountability, the Chinese tenants feel encouraged to play more of an active role in the overall workings of the Woodside community.
Organizes in Immigrant Communities

Lease Drivers Coalition

In recognition of the fact that 80% of Asian residents of New York City are immigrants, CAAAV has decided to become involved with economic justice issues that often underly vulnerability to physical violence. Many of these immigrants find that their employment opportunities are limited to jobs in a few industries, such as small retail businesses, cab driving, restaurants, and domestic work, which typically offer less than the minimum wage and often have dangerous work environments. The racial hierarchy, which restricts employment opportunities for immigrants and exploits our communities as sources of cheap labor, is responsible for limiting access to better jobs and, by extension, better living conditions.

The taxi industry is a blatant example of this exploitation. 91% of cab driver applicants are immigrants and of these, 43% are from South Asian countries (mostly from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh). Cab drivers have the second highest job mortality rate after retail vendors. It has been estimated that 2.6 robberies of cab drivers occur each day. The average driver works a 12-hour shift. After paying the lease on the cab and gas expenses, s/he takes home, on average, $50.00 a night, which amounts to a $4.17 hourly wage.

Along with the South Asian Alliance for Action and former cab drivers/union organizers, CAAAV has formed the Lease Drivers’ Coalition (LDC) to organize lease drivers to demand safer working conditions, medical benefits, fair hearings with the Taxi & Limousine Commission (TLC), and better pay. Each week, the LDC visits garages and gas stations where cab drivers gather to hand out leaflets and questionnaires and to talk to the drivers.

On September 29, 1992 the LDC sponsored a protest of the firings of several drivers who used to work at Susan Maintenance Garage. These drivers were fired because they expressed an interest in the LDC and its goals. Aware of the planned protest, many drivers stayed away from work in an informal boycott in support of the protest.

On October 26, one of the members of the LDC who was recently fired from the Susan Maintenance Garage was threatened with a gun and assaulted by his ex-boss, Malcolm Rattner. In response to this incident and the ongoing unfair firings and harassment at Rattner's garage, the LDC is organizing a protest. CAAAV members are urged to join us on Thursday, November 12, at 4:30 p.m., to demonstrate with cab drivers and their supporters at the Susan Maintenance Garage on 6th Avenue, between Canal and Grand Streets.

The Lease Drivers Coalition continues to meet every 1st and 3rd Monday of the month at 6:30 p.m. in the CAAAV office. Monthly weekend meetings are held in Brooklyn where many of the South Asian cab drivers live. Please contact CAAAV if you are interested in working on this project.

Chinese laborers were first brought here in the 1800's for the dangerous work of building the railroad and then kept out by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 when their labor was no longer needed. From the beginning, Asian immigrants have been relegated to entry-level jobs with low wages, poor conditions and no job security. Now the federal government has excluded us again - this time from two federal projects, worth over $600 million, which are being constructed on the edge of Chinatown. CAAAV joined several thousand Chinatown residents, Asian Americans, and other supporters to demand that federal dollars help develop the economy of our communities.
LOCAL UPDATES

Youths Sentenced in New Jersey

On August 23, 1991, the garage door of an Indian family living in East Brunswick, New Jersey was spray-painted with the words, "Dots U Smell". In April of this year, two young men who were involved with the defacing pleaded guilty to vandalism and harassment charges and were sentenced by Middlesex County's family court. They were ordered to pay a total of $337 in restitution to the family. One was sentenced to one year's probation. It is important to note that in 1990 the State of New Jersey adopted a hate crimes bill and it was this legislation that enabled the just prosecution of these racist offenders. 19-year-old David Mortimer, who faces up to five years of probation and a restitution bill of $628 for his involvement in the same incident, is challenging the constitutionality of the state's hate crimes statute.

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Vincent Chin and Jim Loo cases, Asian American civil rights groups across the country quickly mobilized support for the family and pressure on the district attorney. The first of seven suspects in the case, Bradley Mills, was found guilty of second degree murder on October 21st. The others are scheduled to go on trial in January.

August 13th, Watsonville, California

Mark Cleaver, a 40-year-old white man, dressed in camouflage fatigue and heavily armed, broke into the home of nieceis Douglas and Junko Nakashima. He fatally shot Mrs. Nakashima as she slept, then chased Mr. Nakashima into his nursery behind his house where more than a dozen employees were working. Cleaver began shooting again—killing two Mexican workers and wounding four others, including Mr. Nakashima. A short while later, he turned the gun on himself. Cleaver was ostensibly upset at what he felt was an unsatisfactory insurance settlement of a traffic accident involving Nakashima's daughter. However, Cleaver's half-brother, Yulee Turner, felt that there was a racial basis for the rampage. As Turner explained, Cleaver was angry because the Nakashimas were not even "American" and were becoming rich.

D. Eng, Canarsie, Brooklyn

January 16, Martin Luther King Day, 1992. Mr. Eng was heading towards the subway to go to work when an African American male transit worker, attempting to provoke a fight, began to curse and verbally harass him. Eng asked him whether he was aware of what day it was. The transit worker replied that he did indeed know what day it was, but that it didn't apply to "you people." The transit worker followed Eng into the subway, jumped the turnstile, and assaulted him. Knocked unconscious, Eng sustained a sprained shoulder, bruises to his head and injury to his neck. When Eng regained consciousness, he asked one of the other transit workers for assistance; but the worker refused and instead attended to the perpetrator who had been injured by Eng's attempts to defend himself. Eng called 911. When the police came, they immediately arrested Eng without asking him any questions and took down a complaint from the assailant. Eng spent 8 hours in the hospital and 18 hours in jail and was charged with second degree assault and possession of a deadly weapon.

P. Su, Flushing Meadow, Queens

On a Saturday evening in June, 1992, 22-year-old Mr. Su was driving with a white friend near his neighborhood in Queens. When he stopped for a red light, three white men on motorcycles cut in front of his car and did not move even when the light turned green. When Su honked, the motorcyclists surrounded the car, one in front, and one on either side of the car. The two men flanking Su's vehicle opened the front doors and started to attack the two men inside. Su's friend in the passenger seat was struck in the head by a helmet. As Su was being pummeled by fists, he lost control of the car. It lurched forward knocking over the biker in front of the car. It then swerved over to the other side of the two-way street, smashing into two parked cars. One biker began beating Su to the ground, and used racial slurs. Police from the the 111th Precinct took down the motorcyclists' version of what happened, which described this incident as a traffic accident resulting from Su's reckless driving. A

August 10th, Olympia, Washington

Robert Buchanan, Jr., a 17-year-old of Thai and white descent, was found dead beside railroad tracks in a tunnel in downtown Olympia. His alleged assailants are two white men who are members of a racist skinhead group. Buchanan died from wounds to his head. Buchanan had also been stabbed numerous times. Even though the attackers are members of a racist group and have white supremacist tattoos, the police have not yet determined any racist motive in the killing.

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Update on 1991 case, Dallas, Texas

In Dallas, Texas, Corey Burley was found guilty of capital murder and sentenced to life in prison on April 16, 1992, for the murder of 31-year-old Thanh Nguyen. On October 26, 1991, Nguyen and his white friend Hugh Callaway were surrounded by three men who robbed them of their money and food and beat them severely, focusing particularly on Nguyen. They taunted them with the epithets, "queer" and "faggot," and harassed Nguyen with racial slurs. Nguyen and Callaway were ordered to line up against a wall and to remove their pants. According to Callaway, who survived the attack, "an older guy with the gun handed it to a younger guy and said, 'Shoot 'em.' It was like being executed." Thanh was killed by a shot to the lower abdomen; Callaway was shot in the leg and grazed in the head by a bullet.

Burley must serve a minimum of 35 years before he is eligible for parole. A
CAAAV received a two-page reply to our article "Report by U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Falls Short" from the Commission (see CAAAV Voice, Spring '92). Its response points out that, despite CAAAV's "negative appraisal," "the report [Civil Rights issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990's] has received favorable reviews and reactions from the national media, Congressional leaders and the general public."

First, the Commission claims that it did do "field research," contradicting the Voice article. Despite this assertion, the report lacks studies, surveys, interviews of sample populations and other types of sociological and demographic research carried out by the Commission itself that would have been useful to document the civil rights problems facing Asian Americans.

Secondly, the commission contends that "the report devotes considerable space to an analysis of important historical and current manifestations of racism in this society... As the report concludes, 'America's history is a story of unceasing struggles and eventual victories in ridding itself of various exclusionary, nativistic barriers..." Here the Commission is highlighting our point. The report downplays the role of racism by equating our experiences to those "nativistic barriers" faced by white, European immigrant groups who, unlike people of color, are ultimately allowed to assimilate.

Thirdly, the Commission defends its stance on the role of the federal government in combating racism. "The Commission is now monitoring 12 Federal agencies... and recently recommended... a national summit conference to address the issue of deteriorating race relations." It goes on to explain that "Federal government intervention in local incidents is generally limited by statute."

In the past, racism has been addressed at the federal level by constitutional amendments and federal laws that assert the civil rights of people of color. Federal judicial appointees and the Department of Justice were once more prone to an expansive interpretation of civil rights law. The Commission has essentially accepted the Reagan-Bush administrations' active opposition to this type of federal advocacy.

Finally, the Commission expresses concern that "it would be unfortunate if your article encourages them [our readers]... to dismiss the report out of hand without having read it for themselves." Our analysis of the report came out of a careful and critical reading of the report. We encourage our readers to do the same. The report is available for reading at the CAAAV office. For free copies, write to: The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1121 Vermont Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20425 or call 202-376-8110.

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John Hayakawa Torok headed west at the end of September to begin a Rockefeller Fellowship at the University of Colorado at Boulder. He'll be researching Asian American legal history at the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race in the Americas. In his nine months as a CAAAV staff person, John dramatically upgraded our local and national documentation files, public policy work, and office systems. In addition, he helped expand the membership and worked with our excellent summer interns, Jonathan Sung Bido, Connie Yeung, and Julia Wang. Jonathon and Connie performed voluminous research for CAAAV's testimony on the proposed reform of the Civilian Complaint Review Board and Julia created a much improved case intake form. All three also clipped and filed a mountain of articles. We wish all four much success in their new endeavors and send them a hearty thank you.

Filling the position of Victims Advocate is Kwong T. Hui. Kwong came to us from Brooklyn College where he studied history and political science. While at school, he was active in many political organizations and movements.

Kwong is now working on enhancing CAAAV's ability to meet the needs of victims. He has begun to establish a two-way referral system with other community and city agencies to enhance CAAAV's ability to contact victims and aid them. He has also been recruiting for CAAAV's Interpreter/Translator Bank.

Monona Yin, a longtime member of CAAAV and, most recently, a board member, has just joined the staff to work on development and documentation and public policy. She brings experience as a former staff member of the North Star Fund.

Milyoung Cho, on staff for 2 years now, still works for CAAAV. She is focusing on CAAAV's community organizing and membership development.

Board members Michelle Lee and Xuan Thao Nguyen took leave of us to go to law school. We miss them tremendously for their leadership, dedication and spunk.

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Kwong, Milyoung and Monona in the CAAAV office.
The Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence was founded in 1986 to organize Asian communities in the New York City area to combat racist violence and police brutality. Through community education and organizing efforts, CAAAV strives to develop leadership within the Asian communities to speak out and effect change in public policies, the police department and the criminal justice system. CAAAV assists and advocates for victims of racist violence and police brutality.

CAAAV seeks to strengthen the understanding within the Asian communities of the economic and political roots of racist violence and our commonalities with other people of color. CAAAV works in coalition with other community groups for racial and economic justice.

CAAAV's office is at 191 East 3rd Street. You may call during office hours (10:00-6:00 M-F) or leave messages at (212) 473-6485.

Name/Contact Person_____________________________________________________
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CAAAV VOICE

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