

hardboiled

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All Shook Up: Pakistan/India Earthquake
What Genocide? Cambodian Americans DENIED!
Pinko Democracy: Village Level Elections in China



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[[note from the editor]]

I have a bittersweet, nostalgic relationship with **hardboiled**. Already in its ninth year I applaud this publication and the many people that have spent countless hours making it what it is, and to this day, still have faith in it.

I don't remember how I first heard about **hardboiled**, but it happened during high school and I couldn't let go. Perhaps it was the first time I really felt that I was reading about issues that were relevant to me, that these people really gave a damn about what was not being talked about in the mainstream media, and that they had an obligation to the Asian American community to talk about them. As cheesy as it sounds, it gave me hope that it was possible to make some kind of change, whether big or small, and I knew instantaneously that I wanted to be a part of that change.

I've only officially been a part of **hardboiled** since fall of 2004, but I've already seen people pissed off at us or praising us. That, I can honestly say, is special. Hate us or love us, I hope **hardboiled** creates dialogue within the Asian American community and in a larger scope as well.

It really is so easy to get caught up in what seems like the "bigger" things in life, but look at where we are—Berkeley, we're all in the privileged position of being accepted into this university, and being able to afford it. I have no doubt that there are mounds of people that struggle each and every day and work countless hours just to be able to afford this place. However, I know I'm guilty of overlooking the communities in our backyard that Rany Ath of REACH! speaks of in my article. Berkeley lies right smack in between two of the worst public school districts in California,

Oakland and West Contra Costa, and I myself feel ashamed, having gone through my K-12 in West Contra Costa and easily forgetting about it. So, I admire and respect those that make the trek out to these public schools and reach out to them, making changes in such a dysfunctional system.

While explaining how worried I was about not doing enough justice to my article on outreach programs, our copy editor, Jason Coe, reminded me that **hardboiled** was doing it justice simply by writing an informative piece on a topic which is sparsely covered to begin with. I hope you take that to heart when you pick up this issue and ask yourself how often you hear about the Gamelan music program or the Social Security Administration targeting Cambodian refugees and denying them their checks.

I get frustrated and disappointed when people walk by us apathetically and don't bother to give us a chance; I get aggravated even more when I know it's someone from a prominent Asian American group on campus that brushes us away. But we keep on doing this for you—for the people that pick up an issue eagerly when we distribute on campus and even more for the people that step up and ask us for a copy because you're giving us a chance. Still, I attend countless **hardboiled** meetings and do my time simply for the possibility that those that brush us aside will one day change their mind and pick up an issue, and then who knows?

I can leave you with this: **hardboiled** is a labor of love, and we thank you for making it a rewarding one as well.

pauline sze
hb story editor

P.S. Go watch *Saving Face*, it came out on DVD in mid-October and I promise you it'll be worth it.

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The Spy Who



Shanghaied Me

by jeremy chen

Who are Chinese Americans loyal to? Are they loyal to America, or are they loyal to China? It seems that high-ranking Chinese Americans in politics and government have a dual-loyalty to contend with. Often times this image of dual-loyalties is unfounded, but projected on Asian Americans because of their race. In other cases some individuals act as spies for foreign countries; however race plays a large part in who is labeled a potential spy. For many Chinese Americans, their lives are used as the rope in an espionage game of tug of war between the U.S. and China.

In a February 2005 *Time Magazine* article, "China's Big Export", an unnamed senior FBI official said, that Chinese espionage cases increase by 20 to 30 percent annually. China's ascendancy as an economic and political power has triggered an increase in suspicions of espionage. The same FBI senior official was quoted stating, "China is trying to develop a military that can compete with the U.S., and they are willing to steal to get it." This espionage war puts Chinese Americans in the middle of growing anxiety over China's rapid industrial growth.

Historically, Asian Americans have been perceived as "perpetual foreigners" ever since the arrival of the first Chinese immigrants in the early nineteenth century. Although the significance of images of Chinese Americans as perpetual foreigners is debatable, this stereotype is reinforced by media exposure of high-profile cases of espionage by Chinese Americans. Arising from these cases are questions of loyalty from the American public interlaced with questions of belonging from the Chinese American community.

False suspicions of espionage have arisen in recent U.S. news. The most media-covered and politicized case is that of Los Alamos National Laboratory physicist Wen Ho Lee's arrest in 1999. Dr. Lee was held in solitary confinement in New Mexico for more than nine months. In September 2000, he admitted to one count of mishandling government data, and was released for time served after no evidence of espionage was found. After the trial, the judge apologized for the harsh treatment. In his new book, New Mexico's governor, Bill Richardson formally acknowledged the mistake, "Here was the government putting this skinny 60-year-old guy into solitary confinement for nearly a year. I have come to realize that it was wrong and I should have spoken out more, although I did try to influence the Justice Department on their incarceration of Lee."

In the same article, "China's Big Export", several FBI officials revealed their skepticism towards Asian Americans. They considered U.S. universities as soft spots, where roughly 150,000 Chinese students are currently studying, regarding them as potential counterintelligence agents. Since the Wen Ho Lee case, several other cases have surfaced involving Asian Americans accused of stealing and selling technologies to foreign countries. These cases involved researchers in prominent universities such as Harvard, UC Davis, and UC San Diego, but all have been dismissed in court due to a lack of evidence.

In some cases of espionage, innocence is not clearly established. In April 2003, Katrina Leung, a prominent California socialite, was arrested on charges of obtaining a classified national security document for the purposes of aiding a foreign nation. Recruited to spy against China by the FBI in 1982, Leung was suspected of being a double-agent for China in 1990. She had hosted several campaign dinners for Chinese diplomats and the Republican Party during that time. In 2003, she was charged with stealing classified documents from James Smith, a FBI agent she was having an affair with at the time. However in January 2005, Leung's case was dismissed on the grounds that the Attorney General made an illegal plea bargain with Smith, which led to the illegal withholding of evidence from Leung's attorney. As a result, no verdict was passed down, and Leung's innocence and guilt have not been clearly established.

Some cases of Chinese American spies are less inconclusive. In 1986, the U.S. convicted Larry Wu-Tai Chin of espionage after he confessed to passing information on to China in what he believed to be a way to improve U.S.-China relations. Chin was born in China and immigrated to the U.S. after World War II, and worked for a division of the CIA in Japan. In 1965 Chin became a U.S. citizen; however it is unknown how long he was passing information on to China. In 1982, Chin's cover was blown and he was arrested two years later. After Chin was found guilty of espionage, he committed suicide in his prison cell. This case highlights why the U.S. is extremely wary of threats of espionage from China.

As a consequence to heightened tension in U.S.-China relations, racial profiling has come into question. The racial profiling of Chinese Americans can be a tenuously dangerous position to adopt in terms of civil rights. Although racial profiling may not affect all Chinese Americans, it does pose a potential threat to Chinese American political and employment mobility. It is not preposterous to imagine a future where government employees who are Chinese American are passed over for promotion because of fears of infiltration and pilfering of classified documents. While this may be a hypothetical situation, it can easily become an overt reality in the near future. More importantly, this poses a potential discriminatory barrier based on race. In an interview with PBS's *Frontline*, Dan Stober, author of *The Convenient Spy: Wen Ho Lee and the Politics of Nuclear Espionage*, said, "Everybody gathers a little bit of information—I don't mean every Chinese person in America, but everybody that's working for them—and they assemble it." Not all Chinese Americans or Chinese people in America are spies, but the methodology that the FBI uses to probe for spies for China is racially based.

The spy-seeking methodology does not discriminate among people of Chinese descent in its racially discriminatory search. In an August 2003 interview with PBS's *Frontline*, Edward Appel, a former FBI special agent specializing in counterintelligence, was asked if racial profiling leads to a

double standard in which "where it's not only a few people, but anyone who's of Chinese ancestry is viewed with a different lens? How does one get around that, that there might be a double standard?" To which Appel argued:

"It really isn't a double standard when you stop and think about it. It's basic methodology. It's basic counterintelligence methodology and security methodology. The first question you ask yourself is, 'Does that foreign intelligence service have power over that person?' If they have control over the relatives of that person, the place where those relatives live, the welfare of those relatives -- that's a tremendous leverage or potential leverage over that person, obviously a source of potential influence.

And the other aspect of it is, 'How can I best find out what I need to find out?' Maybe English is my second language. If I have somebody I can talk to in my own native tongue, that's a huge advantage to me. From the standpoint of the security guy, if you were looking at three candidates for a position at HP, and one of the candidates was coming from Dell Computer, would you automatically put him at the head of the line, or would you put him last in line, because that's a competitor of yours. You don't want to hire a competitor. So it's the same kind of thing in the intelligence game. You want to hire somebody to do nuclear engineering; do you really want to hire somebody with a whole bunch of relatives in a hostile foreign nation? Or not? It's a call that you have to make..."

Chinese Americans are faced with challenges from both countries. The belonging of Chinese Americans is questioned not only in the U.S., but in China as well. Just as Chinese Americans are made quick suspects based on their race in the U.S., China similarly suspects Chinese Americans based on their connections with America. In May 2005, Xie Chunren, an American citizen, was arrested and detained for over 100 days on suspicion of spying for Taiwan. Chinese officials suspected him because of his close ties with Dong Wei, another Chinese American who was arrested as a suspected spy in 2003. Xie was released on September 4, 2005 when President Hu Jintao visited the U.S. If it had not been for the president's visit, he feared his detention would have been far longer. For Xie, it was clear to him that he was not a welcomed American visitor in China. After his return to the U.S., Xie told *Reuters*, "I didn't do anything and they can arrest me. Why should I go back again?"

In another case, Yang Jianli, a U.S. permanent resident and activist, was arrested in 2002 and sentenced to five years in prison for re-entering China after leaving in 1989 because of the Tiananmen Square protests. The reason for Yang's return to China was to investigate labor unrest in northern China. Upon his return, Yang was charged with illegal re-entry and spying for Taiwan after entering with a friend's passport. Like Xie's case, U.S. diplomats such as Vice President Dick Cheney, have called for the release of Chinese Americans. After two years of detainment, Yang was formally sentenced to five years in jail in May 2004. As evidenced by the Yang and Xie cases, Chinese Americans have been used as politically-scapegoated intermediaries between the U.S. and China.

In the article, "The Structure of Dual Domination: Towards a Paradigm for the Study of the Chinese Diaspora in the U.S", UC Berkeley Professor Ling-Chi Wang argues that China's influence on Chinese Americans is "extra territorial". Meaning China's pressure is "grounded in the ideology of loyalty and is pervasive, extending into the political, economic and cultural life of Chinese America."

The influence of China not only affects Chinese Americans visiting China, but also those living in the U.S. Professor Wang further argues, "China, by virtue of its size, history, culture, and by virtue of its rising influence on the global economy and politics, has been and will continue to have a profound influence over the identity formation of Chinese Americans and Chinese overseas in the shrinking world and in an age of instant global communication and transnational migration of capital and labor."

The U.S. and China are becoming increasingly dependent upon each other economically. However instead of building trust, distrust in politics is further exacerbated by economic issues between both countries. The fact that China's central bank is the number one buyer and holder of U.S. bonds, makes the U.S. economy more vulnerable to foreign actions than ever before. If China were to stop purchasing bonds, the U.S. economy would be crippled by the immense amount of debt the country has accumulated. Similarly, China is reliant on U.S. trade and dependent on American consumers buying their manufactured goods during this crucial time in their industrial and economic development.

According to Professor Wang, Chinese Americans face a "dual-domination" model in which both the U.S. and China exert policies that cause "racial exclusion or oppression and extra territorial domination converge and interact in the Chinese American community, establishing a permanent structure of dual domination and creating its own internal dynamics and unique institutions."

The foreseeable progression of international politics and relations between the two countries leaves Chinese Americans in the middle of the espionage game. The resulting international interactions have shaped the Chinese American community in ways that question loyalty from both countries. Espionage is not a concern that the U.S. should take lightly, but at what cost to civil rights and justice should any immigrant or person of color be suspected of spying based on their race? Unfortunately, Chinese Americans are caught in the middle. If they want to avoid being used as political pawns, they will have to resist both sides of influence.

SHAKEN UP: IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE PAKISTAN/INDIA EARTHQUAKE

by shu sha angie guan

On October 8th, residents of Pakistan and India woke up to the worst earthquake to hit the region in one hundred years. The 7.6 magnitude quake, similar in magnitude to the great earthquake of 1906 that destroyed San Francisco, devastated many towns, especially those in the Pakistan-administered Kashmir region. Days later, aftershocks, registered at as high as 6.0, continued to decimate the area. As visitors Mark and Jenny Atkin, who were in the area when the earthquake struck, relayed in *Guyra Argus* (an Australian newspaper), "People were shaking, crying... it was just devastating. People were wandering around trying to find members of their families."

According to the *Associated Press*, the death toll has reached 79,000. *Dawn*, an English-language newspaper in Pakistan, states that 2.5 million people have been left homeless. Those whose homes endured the earthquake live in fear of aftershocks. The number of those injured or missing is equally large. In the Pakistani town of Bandi, the collapse of two schools killed more than one hundred children, reports Ben Brown of BBC News. As workers cleared the rubble by hand, parents gathered but could "only watch and wait to see if [the body being pulled out] is their child." A thirteen-year-old boy, one of the few surviving children, relayed to Brown, "When the earthquake struck, I watched my best friend die beside me."

The numbers of those wounded or dispossessed are likely to increase as the approaching winter makes travel and delivering aid to less-accessible areas more difficult. The first snow has already fallen in the region, making it tough for many living outdoors in relief tents to survive. In addition, damaged roads and the area's mountainous terrain make it challenging to transport and distribute relief supplies.

To overcome these difficulties helicopters were employed. However, with only 35 helicopters in the Pakistani fleet, rescue and relief efforts have been hindered. As Munir Akram, UN Ambassador for Pakistan, said in a recent interview on The News Hour with John Lehrer, the slow response "is not for lack of will...[but] lack of capability." Pakistan is not only in need of more helicopters. They are also in need of "winterized tents, medicines, water purification [pills], and support," continued Akram.

To put the severity of the situation into perspective, the death toll for Hurricane Katrina is estimated to be over 1,200, and the number of people displaced by the tsunami in Southeast Asia earlier this year was 1.5 million. However,

unlike Hurricane Katrina, which highlighted and then worsened rifts between groups in America, the earthquake has unified Pakistanis.

The Pakistani people have been "highly energized" in the relief effort, states Imad Ahmed, a Program Officer at Aurat Foundation in Lahore. Ahmed says, "In Lahore, there's at least two donation camps at every major street intersection, and they're always filled up with sacks of warm clothes, medicines, dry food, water and toiletries." And, as one doctor told him, "I thought that we were a dead nation, but this is

bringing out the best in Pakistanis." However, Ahmed fears that the donations given during Ramadhan (a time when charity is encouraged), will wane once the holiday ends.

The international community has also been quick to offer assistance. CNN reports that countries like Indonesia (still recovering from the tsunami themselves) will send medical teams and emergency supplies; the United States has donated \$50 million; Japan has pledged \$20 million; Kuwait has promised \$100 million, and Singapore will give \$200,000. Organizations like the UN, World Bank, UNICEF, European Commission, and Asian Development Bank have also donated millions of dollars. Still, according to Reuters, "emergency cash to help survivors through winter snows fell far short of UN goals."

Ahmed's concern about the dip in donations is felt by many. As one viewer of BBC News writes, "Is it really donor fatigue? Or could the truth be that the world doesn't care enough about that part of the world? I hear my fellow Americans every morning acting like this is just 'another' far away disaster. I find it sick. Katrina was terrible but I think a victim is a victim, regardless of color or ethnicity." But it may be because many Americans are still reeling from Hurricane Katrina, Wilma, and the Southeast Asian Tsunami that America has been unable to better sympathize with, and send support to, earthquake-ravaged areas.

However, Pakistan has not accepted all forms of aid. According to KRON4 News, "As Pakistan struggles to get aid to earthquake survivors, it's willing to accept some help from longtime rival India -- with some conditions. Pakistan says it could use Indian helicopters for relief operations but doesn't want Indian pilots flying them." The aversion to Indian soldiers on Pakistani soil (and vice versa) is also highlighted in a October 13th *Dawn.com* report in which the help of Indian soldiers crossing into Pakistan-administered Kashmir was deemed "baseless" and unnecessary by Pakistan's Inter-Services Public Relations. While India has pledged \$25 million to relief efforts, reports like these underscore

the contentious nature of the Pakistan-India conflict even in the face of shared devastation. This antagonistic relationship began in 1947, when India and Pakistan both won independence from Britain. Under the Indian Independence Act of 1947, the Maharaja of Kashmir at the time was free to choose to join either Pakistan or India. He decided to accede to India, a Hindu nation, even though the majority of his people were Muslim. Today, Muslims make up 60% of the population in the India-administered Kashmir region. According

to the Council on Foreign Relations, "Religion is an important aspect of the dispute. Partition in 1947 gave India's Muslims a state of their own: Pakistan. So a common faith underpins Pakistan's claims to Kashmir." Pakistan maintains that if the people of Kashmir were given the choice, they would have chosen to accede to Pakistan. India feels it does not need to negotiate.

In 1947, 1965, and 1971, war broke out between the two nations over Kashmir. As a result, the Line of Control, which separates Kashmir into an India-administered area in the southeast and a Pakistan-administered region to the northwest, was redrawn several times.

While the two nations politically face-off during periods of peace, within Kashmir, militant insurgent groups continually terrorize the region. In 2002, one such terrorist group was thought to have bombed Indian parliament in Delhi. India believed it was the work of pro-Pakistani militant groups funded by the Pakistani government. Pakistan asserted that they did not sponsor the radicals. Thus, the Indian-Pakistani dance of distrust and denial resumed.

Recently, Hezb-ul-Mujahadeen, one of the major pro-Pakistani insurgency groups, has since called for a cease-fire in the aftermath of the earthquake. But the gesture is not necessarily the olive branch that it appears to be considering that many in the organization were hit hard by the earthquake themselves.

Some experts believe that the disaster will encourage the two nuclear-armed countries to settle past differences by giving both a common goal: earthquake relief. However, many still question whether the earthquake can ameliorate the conflict. As Ahmed states, "Unfortunately, by the way the Pakistan government is turning down India's offers and the statements that are coming out of India in response, I don't see any immediate goodwill building up. Pakistani Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz has called India a 'good neighbor', but his words aren't followed up by actions that show trust." The full effects of this disaster on peace relations have yet to be assessed. But many of us are holding our collective breaths in hopes that those affected by the quake will find relief and that this event will help bring peace to two nations that have been fighting for over half a century.

If you would like to donate, visit these sites:

UNICEF
www.unicef.org

Kashmir International Relief Fund
www.kirf.org

Red Cross/ Red Crescent
www.ifrc.org

Center For South Asian Studies created a list of sites with links to relief agencies:
www.ias.berkeley.edu/southasia/earthquake.html

Site provided by Imad Ahmed with links to indigenous NGOs:
http://www.sdpi.org/know_your_rights/ngo.htm



photos provided by ali nadir syed

In Pakistan: Interview with Imad Ahmed

by shu sha angie guan

The following is an interview with Imad Ahmed, a Program Officer at Aurat Foundation. The foundation is a non-profit publication and information service. Ahmed corresponded with us from their headquarters in Lahore, Pakistan.

Did you guys feel the earthquake in Lahore? How did you first react when you heard about the devastation it left behind?

I actually got up, half-dazed, and thought, "This is a stupid dream! The fan shouldn't be shaking the floor this hard!" and went back to sleep.

I don't normally watch the television, so I didn't realize that it was anything serious until my girlfriend and I started getting phone calls from abroad asking if we were okay. We were actually sight-seeing in Lahore at the time. For the first day, we thought that the extent of the earthquake's damage was localized to Islamabad and some people had died. I assembled an amateur rescue team to go into the Walled City of Lahore that evening when I heard some buildings had fallen, but the few who had been injured or had been died had already been uncovered by the time we got there.

I think it was two days before we learned the massive destruction to human life (reports today say over 73 000 died) and means of sustenance (reports today said that 3.5 million to 4 million need food and shelter) that the earthquake had done, thanks to the newspapers and television news. My friends and I badly wanted to go north to lend our hands, but NGOs and news channels were telling us that non-medical personnel shouldn't come because of the drain on food and clean water. That so many people went up north themselves is indicative of the faith the Pakistani people have in their government to respond to natural disasters. It's also indicative of an impulsive nature to help in a personal capacity among Pakistanis, and taking personal responsibility to make sure help is given - something that I felt lacked among the ordinary Californian citizen in reacting to Katrina. (That's the feeling I got from reading people's blogs and exchanging emails with friends).

What is the atmosphere in Pakistan like right now?

People are highly energized. In Lahore, there are at least two donation camps at every major street intersection, and they're always filled up with sacks of warm clothes, medicines, dry food, water and toiletries. Every school and university has been active in collecting donations for the earthquake relief from day one, and most offices have collected monetary donations from their employees. Political parties, religious groups, students and citizen groups have all mobilized with fundraising, donation collection, distribution of the collected or bought supplies, counseling and adopting families. Pakistanis are standing up and taking notice of their fellow citizens and taking note. "I thought that we were a dead nation; but this is bringing out the best in Pakistanis," one doctor told me. Patients coming in from Haripur in the north are very grateful to the Punjabis for their hospitality and help (so far).

The fear is that the earthquake actually happened during a fortunate time - during Ramadhan, when Muslims are obliged to be "charitable", and that philanthropic fatigue may set in after Ramadhan during the essential and extremely expensive rebuilding process. (*The Dawn* quoted \$5 billion in today's edition for rebuilding the schools, roads and hospitals that were wiped out.)

What are your thoughts on Pakistan and India being closer to finding peace through this disaster?

Unfortunately, by the way the Pakistan government is turning down India's offers and the statements that are coming out of India in response, I don't see any immediate good-will building up. Shaukat Aziz (the Pakistani PM) has called India a "good neighbour", but his words aren't followed up by actions that show trust. Pakistan won't open its Line of Control to India, India accuses that Pakistan doesn't want to expose its terrorist cells. Pakistan won't take India's much needed helicopters with India's pilots; India won't give its helicopters without its pilots - and that kind of dealing leaves one thinking that both governments must be pretty insincere to invalidate a compromise that would have saved human life.

Can you discuss some of the things you and your organization have done?

Aurat Foundation is collecting monetary and in-kind donations at our Karachi, Quetta, Lahore, Islamabad and Peshawar offices and using the funds to buy items demanded from our on-the-field activists, like blankets, tents, sleeping bags, warm clothing, medicines, clean water and non-perishable food. We then send those supplies to our volunteer networks in Shangla, Kohistan, and Battagram in NWFP and Bagh and Rawalakot in Kashmir. Our volunteer networks are coordinating with the National Rural Support Programme (another NGO) and are distributing the relief aid to areas identified as receiving less attention from other NGOs.

I'm also coordinating volunteer counselors in a government hospital for child survivors of the earthquake.

A lot of people will want to know how they can help. Can you list some of the ways?

Right now, the best way for people to help is by sending in donations to NGOs doing work on the ground with the earthquake survivors. The Edhi Foundation, Sungi Development Foundation, National Rural Support Programme and Aurat Foundation are providing excellent relief. I haven't heard much about the quality of work of other NGOs, but you can find a list of indigenous NGOs on http://www.sdpi.org/know_your_rights/ngo.htm

To wire funds to the "Aurat Foundation Earthquake Relief Fund", the account number is 6214-028806-050, the bank code is UNBLPKKAXXX and the bank being used is Union Bank Ltd., LDA Plaza, Edgerton Road, Lahore, Pakistan. The money will be used to buy items most needed and the fuel for transporting them.

The impact of this disaster has caused longer term damage in the lives of people than the tsunami did, so I'd also appeal to your readers to keep their eyes peeled in a couple of months for NGOs that are involved in the rebuilding process; that are facilitating the brave people of beautiful North Pakistan in regaining their self-dependence, and to donate generously to those organisations.



by kevin lee

Color-blindness versus Color-consciousness

Michael Omi and Howard Winant tackle racial conundrums in America

The flyer placed the lecture's start at 5:00PM, October 12, but my watch read 5:30 and still no lecturers. This minor inconvenience to my own schedule was vastly outweighed by the number of people continuing to pour into the Bancroft Hotel Library. The flood of people had gathered to listen to a lecture by UC Berkeley professor Michael Omi and UC Santa Barbara professor Howard Winant, authors of one of the seminal texts on race, *Racial Formations of the United States From the 1960s to the 1990s*. In the text, the authors denote the institutionalization of racial identity, most notably from a political standpoint. Omi and Winant call this specific institutionalization the "politicization" of race, whereby those with political clout are able to establish their own racial ideology. Thanks to the neo-conservative movement rooted in the Reagan administration, conservatives have been able to establish the "color-blind" ideology.

Many conservatives feel that race should play no role in determining societal issues such as affirmative action or health care; African American UC regent Ward Connelly and his infamous support for Propositions 209 (1996) and 54 (2003) come to mind. Such a color-blind society ignores race and therefore truly espouses equality and promotes a socially just society, many conservatives claim; Omi denotes this popular conservative mindset as the new "anti-racism." Opposing the "color-blind" mindset is "color-consciousness" mindset. Here, individuals and groups acknowledge race as a social factor and an influence on important issues. Cultural factors and historical events are just some of the characteristics social scientists use to construct race. Color-consciousness, as Omi and Winant note, can be both a means of supporting and stigmatizing a people; it is neither inherently positive nor negative. In this lecture, their first ever together, Omi and Winant delve into the ongoing conflict between "color-blindness" and "color-consciousness." They seek specifically to illustrate how the color-blindness ideology is not so dominant, some examples of color-consciousness in today's society, and the consequences of the "color-blindness, color-consciousness" conflict.

To begin the exposition, Omi brings a somewhat unexpected topic to the forum: the unsure science of racial genetics. Racial genetics, the latest discussion in the nature versus nurture controversy, is based on the premise that each race holds unique, unalterable genetic characteristics; some simplified examples of this would be the phenotypical stereotypes of slanted eyes or short height for Asian Americans. Some scientists have lauded recent developments in the effort to correlate science and race. Omi mentions the first racially-specific drug in America, BiDil, which is tailored to treat African Americans with heart problems. The Food and Drug Administration approved of the drug after tests with multi-racial groups. These tests showed that BiDil cut African Americans' heart attack rates nearly in half, but also showed negligible to no effects for those of other races. Some scientists believe that the BiDil tests prove the objective, genetic differences among races, and that we should focus on these differences to develop new methods of medical treatment. Other scientists are skeptical that BiDil has truly race-specific effects and that more tests should be run.

Racial genetics has been somewhat beneficial to society in that it forces people to examine race from a unique viewpoint. In this sense, racial genetics helps to promote color-consciousness and stymies color-blindness. However, the growth in racial awareness is outweighed by the potential dangers of such a drug. Omi cautions against the widespread

expectations of such a racially-tailored drug, and that the "biologicalization of race" is "unsettling" because it threatens to undermine the social and historical outlooks that help constitute racial identity. The human factor of race would be silenced by the noise of objective comparisons; a worst-case scenario would be the renewed justification of the superiority of one race over another simply because of biological differences.

Winant approaches the color-consciousness ideology through a political analysis, America as "Empire." As the primary world power, America continues to widely influence international affairs, establishing itself through both diplomacy and force. Winant claims that America's current involvement in Iraq illustrates a modern imperialism, reminiscent of previous empires that attempted to usurp power from distant nations. This new imperialism, as seen in America's involvement in the Vietnam War and the Iraqi War, promotes a negative class-consciousness; American citizens continually degrade entire ethnic groups labeled as threats to America's security. Winant explains it in this way: "Yesterday, it was gooks; today it's...towelheads [and] sand-niggers."

Omi supplements Winant's analysis with his own ideas on the American people and his concept of "New Nativism." Here, Omi applies a specific example of Asian American mistreatment, the Wen Ho Lee incident. Lee, Chinese American scientist at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, was arrested and jailed on charges of espionage. There was no conclusive evidence that Lee had passed nuclear secrets to foreign governments, yet the US government continually denounced him as a spy and detained him in solitary confinement for nine months. A combination of factors, including Lee's race as well as his government occupation, played a role in Lee's mistreatment by the American government. However, historical attitudes also factored in the unjustifiable tragedy. Omi notes that the World War II internment and exclusion of Japanese Americans as well as the Vincent Chin murder trial prompted the "White" justification for racially judging Wen Ho Lee. The Wen Ho Lee example illustrates a perpetuation of the nativism so prevalent in the past. Wen Ho Lee, as well as the "gooks" and towelheads," illustrate that color-consciousness cannot be neglected while minorities are still being wrongly labeled and judged.

To conclude their lecture, both Omi and Winant attempt to reconcile color-blindness and color-consciousness by turning to W.E.B. DuBois' concept of "double consciousness." In his book *Souls of Black Folk*, DuBois surmised that every African-American struggled to reconcile their racial identity with the majority mindset:

"The Negro ever feels his two-ness -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings...two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self."

Let us apply DuBois' concept of double consciousness to our society. In America, every minority struggles with issues of identity and the dynamic tension between the minority and the majority mindset; the terms "banana" and "twinkie" illustrate this racial and cultural juxtaposition, somebody who is Asian (yellow) on the outside, but is (acts) White on the inside. These oversimplified terms help us cope in our attempts to comprehend our own racial duality, our own double consciousness. We try to find a compromise in between

simply being Asian and simply being American, a powerful and complicated mix of cultures, customs, and ideologies.

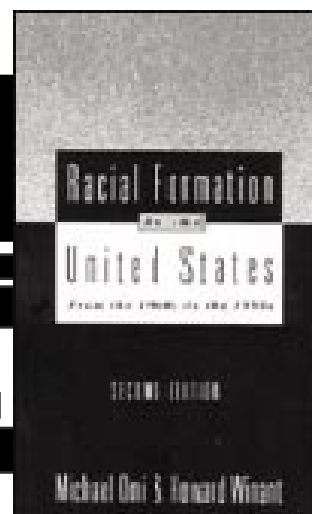
While DuBois promotes double consciousness as a struggle of racial identity, Omi and Winant re-frame the concept as a reflexive means of approaching the "color-blindness, color-consciousness" debate. Through compromise, we must acknowledge both sides. America is neither fully color-blind, nor fully color-conscious; as Winant notes, the two ideologies are "inherently in flux," constantly tugging at the collective American mindset.

The color debate continues to rage: is race truly a social process, made up of cultural developments and historical proceedings? Or is it biologically and/or geographically determined and therefore, objective and unalterable? Society must continue to be aware of how institutions affect racial formations, a point Omi and Winant continually stress both in *Racial Formations* as well as their lecture. Once we have a better understanding of how to operationalize race, we can then determine how much action, if any, race plays in social issues. But, as Omi suggests, there is still uncertainty, and no clear solutions in sight.

Writer's Response:

Omi and Winant's concept of double consciousness seems like a practical approach, but I think it is a rather convenient compromise for the color-blindness, color-consciousness debate. It seems rather odd to believe that color-blindness and color-consciousness are "inherently in flux." That would be like saying that sometimes you are an American first (color-blindness) and sometimes a Hispanic or Black or Asian first (color-consciousness). Inherent within the idea of color-blindness is that in society, race is ignored and the playing field is level. Inherent within the idea of color-consciousness is that in society, people are acutely aware of race as a social factor. These ideologies seem more mutually exclusive than inclusive; either we recognize race as a social factor, positive or not, or we ignore race completely. We must apply either standard for all social issues, or risk dangerous social contradictions.

The debate over the role of race in society continues to intensify, especially in light of affirmative action. Do we treat people equally and ignore the guise of race completely? Or do we seek remedial action to minorities, and risk reverse discrimination and labeling minorities as supposedly inferior? How can we acknowledge race in academic institutions (such as in the 2003 US Supreme Court case *Gatz v. Bollinger* which re-affirmed that diversity is a compelling state interest), while we ignore race in the workplace (Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964)? Can we reconcile using color-consciousness in one aspect of society and promoting color-blindness in another? Is that not inherently hypocritical?



by christine yang



H5N1 virus

“The newer strain of the avian flu virus could result in a pandemic, and kill up to an estimated 150 million people, including 1.9 million Americans.”



Fear of Avian Flu Pandemic Spreads Worldwide

In the midst of recent natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina, the A H5N1 strain of the avian influenza virus is spreading fear worldwide. The flu is caused by an RNA virus found in the intestines of wild migratory birds. Since its first appearance in 2003, the strain has affected much of the Eastern hemisphere, specifically Southeast Asia. Bird viruses are common, but do not always affect their hosts. However, this particular strain has become very contagious and lethal, resulting in the death of wild and domesticated fowl such as chicken, turkey and duck. More than 100 million birds have died from the disease or have been killed off as an attempt to contain the virus. The virus has even spread to humans, and has thus far infected approximately 117 people and killed more than 60.

The virus is transferred through the saliva, feces and nasal secretions of infected birds. Contact with contaminated surfaces or living closely with infected poultry increases the risk of infection. The outbreak in Asia is mostly a result of handling and consuming contaminated poultry. Depending on the type of avian flu virus, the symptoms range from typical human-flu symptoms such as fever, cough, sore throat and muscle aches to pneumonia, conjunctivitis, eye infections, and severe respiratory diseases.

Few human-to-human transmissions of the disease have been reported, but scientists fear the possibility. The greatest concern is that the H5N1 strain will mutate into a form that would be easily transferable between humans. Viruses are constantly mutating and adapting to new environments. The worry is that the virus will eventually recombine with the genes of the normal human flu virus and create a newer, deadlier strain just as contagious as the human flu, which affects up to 20 percent of US residents each year. Unlike the normal flu, which usually proves fatal only with the elderly and infirm, the

avian flu could affect and kill anyone.

The newer strain of the avian flu virus could result in a pandemic, and kill up to an estimated 150 million people, including 1.9 million Americans. In the worst case scenario, the virus could cause as many deaths as two decades worth of AIDS, in a matter months. This is a dangerous situation due to the lack of immunity and protection against the virus. In October, the deadly Spanish flu of 1918 was recreated in laboratories, and found to have also originated from bird viruses, similar to the H5N1 virus. Thus, many compare a pandemic of the H5N1 virus to the 1918 flu, which killed 40-50 million people, and reduced the life expectancy by 13 years.

President Bush is determined not to repeat the mistakes that occurred when dealing with Hurricane Katrina. To prepare for a pandemic, Bush created a \$7.1 billion plan in late October that would cover the costs of enough vaccines to treat 20 million people, especially front-line emergency and military personnel, anti-viral drugs to reduce the affects of the flu symptoms, speed up the development of new vaccines as new strains emerge (enough to cover every American by 2010), and for state and local governments to prepare emergency plans in case of outbreaks.

Several pharmaceutical companies such as the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) and GlaxoSmithKline have also been working on a vaccine for the virus, but are still in the experimental stage of development. In experiments with mice infected with mild forms of H5N1, antiviral drugs such as Tamiflu, made by Swiss pharmaceutical company Roche, proved promising, but scientists are still unsure of its viability as a treatment for more intense varieties. The drug cannot prevent the flu, but can treat symptoms if taken within 48 hours of infection. Even then, the flu virus can become immune to medications.

H5N1 outbreaks have already occurred in Malaysia, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Laos, Japan, South Korea, Thailand and Vietnam. Recently, Turkey became the first European nation to report contaminated birds. Specifically, the virus has infected wild migratory birds, and thus, may spread to Africa or the Middle East.

Despite the panic in most countries that the flu might spread, there is a noticeable lack of alarm in Southeast Asia where the disease has hit hardest. This is a major problem as people in these countries continue on with daily routines, including the handling of poultry. There have been efforts launched to educate the people about the dangers of the disease. However, in Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, cultural practices such as cock-fighting or breeding chicken and duck make it difficult to implement sudden change. A major part of decreasing the risks of spreading the disease is to kill off or vaccinate mass populations of infected poultry, but this seems an impossible feat because poultry is such a vital aspect in the economy of many Asian countries. It is also expensive to compensate farmers -- an expense that some governments cannot afford. Because it requires money to vaccinate their poultry, many farmers also hide their poultry from the government in order to avoid the costs. The fact that many farmers don't even know about the current situation due to lack of radios or television, also proves dangerous. It is vital that these people become more educated and concerned about the virus. The prevention of, and preparation for, a pandemic depends on the general populace's awareness and attitude towards the disease.

“Outbreaks have already occurred in Malaysia, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Laos, Japan, South Korea, Thailand and Vietnam”



by jeremy chen

Mmm... Ancient Noodles

“Excuse me, waiter. I would like an order of 4000 year-old noodles.”

If you thought that the thousand-year old duck egg was old, a 50cm-long noodle, found at the Lajia archaeological site in northwestern China along the Yellow River, has been radiocarbon dated to be 4000 years old. These noodles are strong evidence that Chinese were the first makers of the food, which is over 1000 years before any documented stories of noodles in Europe or the Middle East.

According to a recent interview with National Geographic, Houyan Lu of the Institute of Geology and Geophysics at the Chinese Academy of Sciences said, “This is the earliest empirical evidence of noodles ever found.”

The noodles were made of two kinds of millet that have been cultivated in China for over 7,000 years.

According to an interview with Nature science journal, Louisiana State University Professor Kam-biu Liu stated, “Lajia is a very interesting site; in a way, it is the Pompeii of China.” Among the noodles were skeletons in peculiar postures, suggesting that they were fleeing an earthquake. “Based on the geological and archaeological evidence, there was a catastrophic earthquake and immediately following the quake, the site was subject to flooding by the river”, the professor said.

Oddly, the noodles were very well preserved. In a BBC interview, Professor Kam-biu Liu said, “It was this unique combination of factors that created a vacuum or empty space between the top of the sediment cone and the bottom of this bowl that allowed the noodles to be preserved.”

All that the noodles need now is some hot water and black bean sauce on it -- ready to eat in five minutes.

Reaching Out to the Youth



Jerome Narvaez, a Sociology major at UC Berkeley, credits Upward Bound for much of his success in high school as well as his acceptance into UC Berkeley. Coming from an underprivileged socioeconomic background, Narvaez took advantage of the programs that Upward Bound offered and was an active participant in them for all four years at El Cerrito High School.

Access to higher education has always been a recurring issue; with certain policies of affirmative action being put in place for college admission as well as federally funded and state funded outreach programs. State funded outreach programs like EAOP and federally funded programs like Upward Bound have made substantial strides in reaching youth, especially those that are historically underrepresented on college campuses and those that live in poor socioeconomic areas. These programs attempt to right the wrongs that are so deeply rooted in our institutions. TRIO, a federally funded outreach program, states that their “programs help students overcome class, social and cultural barriers to higher education.”

With mounting evidence that these outreach programs are successful and are needed to help close the gap, these programs have faced severe cuts or threats of cuts and it seems that these cuts will continue.

Tom Nishi, one of the two field counselors at the Upward Bound – UC Berkeley office, visits four high schools in Oakland for outreach purposes: Fremont High, Oakland Senior High, Castlemont High, and Oakland Technical Senior High. Nishi has had decades worth of outreach experience working at places like the Educational Opportunity Program at University of California, Santa Barbara, Service for Asian American Youth in Los Angeles, Asian American Drug Abuse Program in Los Angeles, two Upward Bound programs in Hawai‘i. The list goes on, with Nishi ending up in Berkeley in February of 2005. A first generation college student and graduate of UCLA, Nishi recalls his college experience as being terrible—there was no support and “terrible academic advising.” In that respect, he didn’t want other students to have the same experience as he did, thus, shaping his future career in the field of educational outreach.

Upward Bound, a composite of the TRIO programs, was initially started by the Lyndon Johnson administration as part of their “War on Poverty” campaign. According to Nishi, the TRIO programs were started to promote economic development and train people to enter the work force.

According to Nishi, Upward Bound has two main goals for its students: the first is to graduate from high school successfully and the second is to enter a four-year college. Interested participants of Upward Bound must meet stringent requirements: be a student from one of the target schools (for the Berkeley branch, it composes of schools in the Oakland and Richmond area), be a first generation college student, come from a low-income household and must complete all applications which include recommendations from teachers/counselors and a personal essay. Accepted students attend ‘Saturday College’ on the UC Berkeley campus, which “provides students with academic enrichment through social/cultural workshops, English and math mini-courses, SAT preparation, and tutoring.” In addition to ‘Saturday College’ are college visits, where Upward Bound counselors take students on trips to colleges in Northern California and Southern California, to help students learn more about the schools they plan on applying to. An even greater opportunity that Upward Bound provides for its student is their summer program, which lets students live in a dormitory on the Berkeley campus for a six-week session of English, math, and an academic elective that gives students a head start for their upcoming year in high school.

Due to its high success rate, TRIO’s budget has not been cut thus far. However, in February of 2005, President Bush released his annual budget, eliminating the TRIO programs completely. This sparked a nationwide outcry with groups throughout the United States working with their legislatures to prevent this cut. On the UC Berkeley campus, there was a rally in March of 2005 where participants of Upward Bound along with other outreach programs rallied on campus to show their support of outreach programs and to inform the community about the budget crisis. Similarly, these groups went to the City Hall in San Francisco of April and Sacramento in February to make their voices heard. Nishi says these rallies were successful, citing that when they went to Sacramento, a state legislature went out to discuss their concerns.

Fortunately, on June 24, 2005 the House of Representatives passed H.R. 3010, restoring funding for TRIO programs. Yet in Bush’s budget release, he called forth to eliminate all Perkins loans—loans that many low-income students (as well as middle-income students) need in order to pay for college expenses. The circumstance is two-fold: acceptance into an institution of higher education is one part; the second being able affordability of said institution. To have one program without the other compromises the mission of access to higher education.

Nishi, who works in the Oakland area, sees that it is mostly students of Mien and Chinese descent that need the most assistance, especially those that have immigrated to the United States recently. With the passing of Proposition 209 ending affirmative action in 1997, Upward Bound has not seen an increase in its budget and it has only made their job harder. TRIO programs have been around for about forty years now and Nishi says there’s still so much more work to be done, “We work ourselves out of a job, but these students still need our assistance.”

The Early Academic Outreach Program (EAOP) is a state funded outreach program located at all of the UC campuses with two main components: academic advising and academic enrichment. The academic advising portion helps students with academic planning, one on one and group meetings with EAOP counselors, explanation of college systems, and informs students about the A-G requirements for acceptance into a UC. For academic enrichment, EAOP partners up with Ivy West to provide students with a free SAT academy, Pre-College summer academy, Summer Session at UC Berkeley, and Concurrent Enrollment at the student’s local community college. EAOP targets students from under-resourced academic environments, resulting in most students being first generation college students or from low-income backgrounds.

Teresa Arriaga, the Assistant Director for Academic Programs at the UC Berkeley branch of EAOP thinks that EAOP has many assets including its “excellent advising and personal statement workshops,” along with their long-term SAT prep classes that are offered to their students for free. Yet only a few years ago, EAOP took a 50% budget cut from Governor Gray Davis resulting in the elimination of EAOP’s middle-school outreach programs. Currently, EAOP has had to apply for grants on their own to compensate for the drastic cut they’ve experienced.

Each year is a question mark for EAOP with the California Governor presenting each yearly budget in January, pending its approval in July. Each year poses new challenges for EAOP, which is at risk of receiving more budgets cut. Arriaga sees the need for EAOP, which has a 95% college-going rate for its graduating seniors. Arriaga expresses the need for EAOP in a time when high schools, especially under-resourced schools, are threatening to eliminate counselors or have already cut the number of counselors drastically, ultimately depriving students of the advising, expertise, and experience that they need in order to make informed decisions about higher education.

While federally funded and state funded outreach programs are doing their part, student initiated outreach groups on campus are also working towards similar aspirations and goals. Groups like REACH! and PACE were formed with the intent to educate and empower students to help them make informed decisions about higher education. Yet these groups have also seen a slash in their budgets.

REACH!’s mission statement clearly marks that they are: “Committed to the service and empowerment of immigrant, refugee, and underserved Asian/Pacific Islanders by promoting higher education to empower ourselves and challenge the economic and social conditions facing our communities.” REACH! is a part of the bridges Multicultural Resource Center, as one piece

of the student initiated, student of color recruitment and retention centers.

According to Rany Ath, co-executive direction of REACH!, it was formed between 1993 and 1994 by leaders of the now-defunct Asian Student Union on campus who saw the need to provide outreach programs for Asian American students, specifically those of Southeast Asian descent who were low in numbers at UC Berkeley. Their current advisory board still boasts many of the founding members of REACH! including Dan Feng Koon. With programs ranging from True Asian Leaders (TAL), a “youth program that aims to bridge the gap between our respective Oakland and Richmond communities,” to Let’s Rise Mentorship that targets Helms Middle School in neighboring San Pablo, REACH! is doing critical work in the Bay Area to promote political awareness of its mentees as well as improving academic performance and fostering leadership skills in the process.

With the positive work that REACH! has been doing, they have seen a downward trend in their budget, which is funded in part by the ASUC. According to Ath, their budget has not been hit hard as of yet, but she is worried about REACH!’s future if the trend continues. The growth of REACH! and its ability to expand and provide more programs will stagnate. According to Scott Feng, the Finance Coordinator of REACH!, they also utilize funds from the Governor’s Funding Program which is asking to audit the funding they receive this year to make sure that their group is “putting the money to good use.” REACH! doesn’t want to compete with other outreach programs that have similar missions to theirs, and thus calls on their alumni base for donations.

Ath sees the benefits of student initiated outreach programs like REACH! that can connect to younger students on a personal level without restrictions. REACH! promotes discussion on social justice and has a political and community aspect in addition to educational advising. “We are in a privileged position here at Berkeley, while in our backyards are the underprivileged,” Ath explains, “We have to take advantage of that privilege to provide resources and support.”

PACE was formed by UC Berkeley students who felt that it was up to them as college students to provide resources for high school students in the community who lacked the tools and accessibility to learn about the importance of higher education. PACE specifically targets students in the neighboring cities of Oakland and El Cerrito as students in these areas are from predominately low-income backgrounds.

Liomeng Lee, a 5th year student from the El Cerrito area, leads the PACE de-cal. According to Lee, PACE’s goal, “is to encourage underrepresented high school students in the Bay Area to make informed decisions about higher education. We serve as peer-advisors and provide students with educational resources; we give support and guidance throughout the college application process.” Currently being run on a grant from YGYA (Youth Grants for Youth Action) which has sustained PACE for two years, Lee sees that budget cuts to outreach programs like hers are in need of funding, noting that their YGYA grant will only sustain PACE until the end of the semester. At present, college student participants of PACE have had to cover their own transportation costs to Oakland and El Cerrito respectively.

Whether these outreach groups are federally funded, state-funded, or student initiated, the threat of budget cuts and elimination is a very scary reality. It only takes a few minutes to contact our local legislatures (state and national) and student senate to ask them to support these important programs. The gap between the privileged and underprivileged in terms of public education (K-12) cannot be closed without these outreach programs, since these barriers to higher education are rooted in the educational institutions themselves.

Winnie Chan, currently a senior at Oakland High School, will be a first generation college student and has been an active participant of Upward Bound since her sophomore year of high school. She is active at her high school—President of the Lion Dance Club, secretary of Key Club, a member of her school’s crew team, and the list goes on. Winnie has even worked part-time as a ride operator at Children’s Fairyland at Lake Merritt since her freshman year, and she has continuously given her earnings to her parents. Teachers at Oakland High School are busy or short on time; her parents are illiterate in English; her older brothers are away — without Upward Bound or other outreach programs out there, it would be hard for her to learn about higher education and its accessibility. Winnie worries about the status of Upward Bound and threats to cut it and other TRIO programs. She can only hope that her younger brothers and future generations will be able to take advantage of such outreach programs.

“We are in a privileged position here at Berkeley, while in our backyards are the underprivileged,” Ath explains, “We have to take advantage of that privilege to provide resources and support.”

Kang Chol-Hwan has a story to tell. His story is so compelling that even President Bush met privately with Kang to hear it for himself in June 2005. In September 2005 Kang shared his experiences at UC Berkeley as part of a nationwide tour sponsored by Liberty in North Korea (LiNK) to raise awareness about human rights issues in North Korea.

Kang's memoirs, *Aquariums of Pyongyang: Ten Years in the North Korean Gulag*, details his decade in the North Korean gulag of Yodok, and his eventual escape to South Korea. What makes the account gripping is not the literary style, the experiences of horrific conditions or political tension; rather, the reader is drawn in by Kang's personal story of survival as a prisoner in North Korea.

Until the age of nine, Kang grew up in well-to-do Korean family, as his grandparents made their wealth in Japan before relocating to North Korea. While his grandfather was mostly apolitical, his grandmother had worked her way up in the Federation of Korean Residents (*Chosen Soren*) in Japan. The Kang family's choice to relocate to North Korea demonstrated the family's dedication to the Workers' Party's desire to repatriate and serve the people and state of North Korea.

The political impetus of the author's criticism becomes clear when he discusses why his family is sent to Yodok, as his grandfather is accused of an alleged crime that results in his grandfather's sudden disappearance. As a result, his family is immediately sent away to Yodok, but Kang's mother is exempt because the North Korean government declared her father "an official hero of the revolution" for being arrested by the Japanese police and dying in custody.

Meanwhile, Kang is sent to Yodok with his father, uncle, grandmother, and younger sister Mi-Ho.

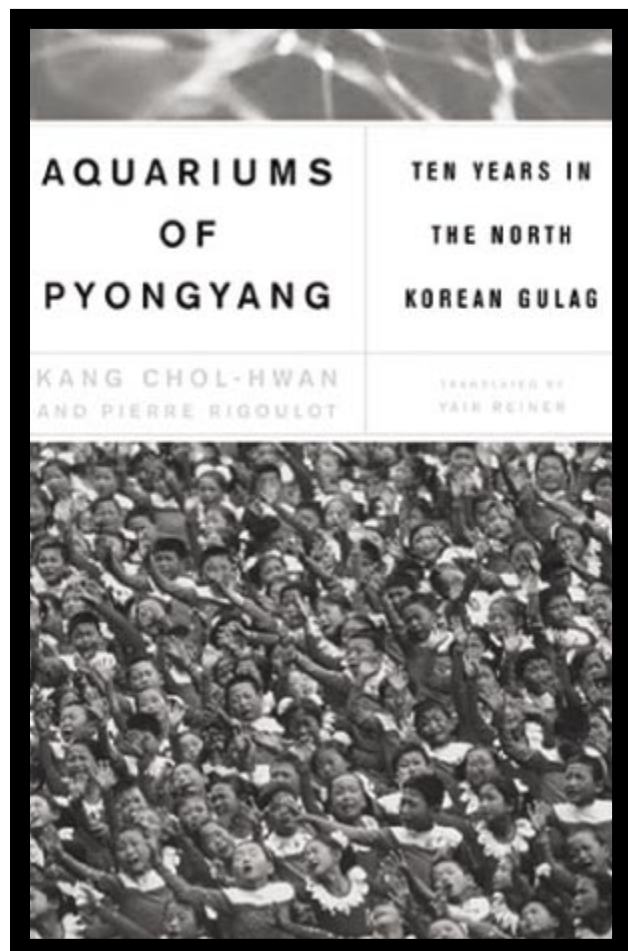
At Yodok, guards force nine-year-old Kang to work 12-hour days, with duties

family's prison term. These experiences help illustrate the great despair that these prisoners feel. Yodok is for life, unless by some stroke of luck, a family wins release following a lottery on the Communist Party's celebratory holidays. On February 16, 1987, the prisoners celebrated and praised the birth of Kim Jong-il. That same day, the security chief announced the release of Kang's family.

Once freed from Yodok, Kang continuously comments on the freedom he observes. The lack of constant surveillance surprises him, and he exults in feeling human again. Though he reestablishes contact with his mother, the paperwork required to travel to see her proves too difficult to procure. Her job in the People's Office of Services, the government department responsible for the distribution of consumer goods prevents his mother from moving closer to her children. As a result, Kang's escape to South Korea through China involved bribery, strategic planning, and the help of prostitute friends. Upon release, Kang initially fears the South Koreans, as he only knows North Korean propaganda. He quickly becomes frustrated by the bureaucracy, as the South Korean government wants to ensure that he is a refugee so not to strain relations with the North.

In his last chapter, 'Adapting to a Capitalist World' and Epilogue, Kang asserts, "Much remains to be done." His goal as a human rights activist, journalist, and director of the Democracy Network Against North Korean Gulag is to "work on behalf of the unfortunate souls attempting to flee repression and famine." He holds hope of a reunified Korea, but believes that "it can only take place once Pyongyang has stopped crucifying the population under its control." Kang addresses aid and stresses that much must be done to introduce the people of North Korea to the outside world in order to bring change.

"We are told that the answer to these little problems—the respect for human rights, the concentration camps, the kidnapping of South Korean and Japanese citizens—currently is not of primary concern. We are told that this debate would be better left for another day, that the North Koreans' lot should improve before we undertake reunification; but by then they'll all be dead!"



Aquariums of Pyongyang: Ten Years in the North Korean Gulag

by sharon tang-quan

Book Review

such as filling firewood quotas, digging ditches, and burying and excavating bodies. It was during these harsh working circumstances that Kang confesses his loss of

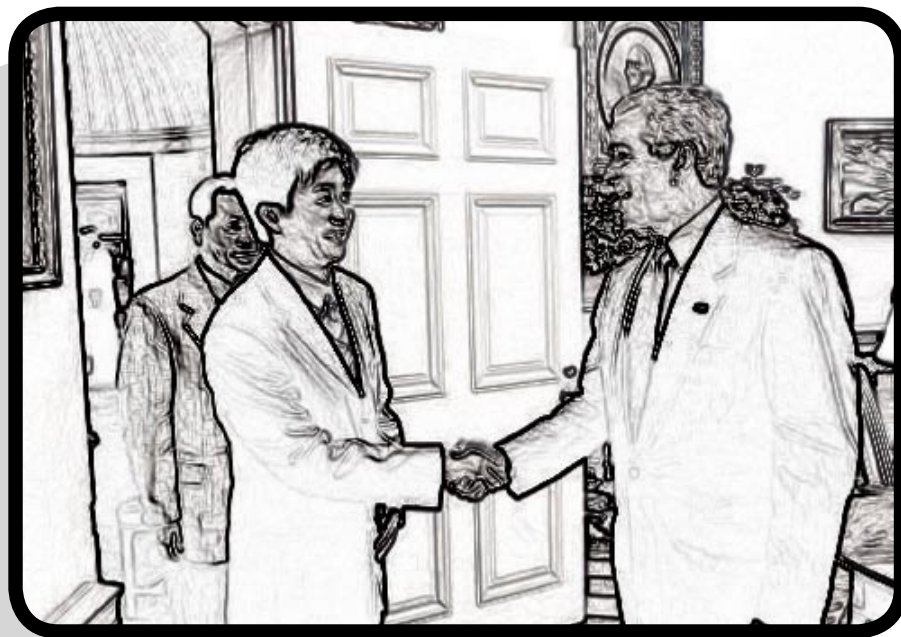
innocence at much too young of an age. He was so desperate for clothes that he resorted to stripping corpses of whatever rags they might be wearing. The workload was so intense that Kang hardly remembered spending time with his younger sister, whose own workload left her beyond exhaustion each night.

The story behind the title is revealed when Kang mentions his loss of childhood. When packing to move to Yodok, Kang takes several of his prized fish in a small aquarium. One by one, the little fish begin to die, despite Kang's attempts to feed them with roaches and dragonflies. When his last fish, the black champion, dies, he describes the lifeless fish in light of his own struggles for survival. "What I was staring at was the final dissolution of my former life: a door that was closing. That fish had known our life in Pyongyang and, from time to time, he reminded me of the pebbles, sand, and diptychs I had bought at the store around the corner from our house. With his death, my former world had taken another step."

Apart from hard labor, indoctrination of children is another reality of life that Kang had struggles with. Kang recalls trying to correct a teacher about a discrepancy in a history lesson, "As the teacher was lecturing about the Namhodu conference and Kim Il-sung's brilliant speech of April 27, 1936, I became aware that he was confusing the circumstances surrounding the address with the intrigues of the Dahongdan conference. I raised my hand and asked him about the possible confusion. The man with the revolver walked over with a heavy step and slapped me hard across the face." This incident reveals how children are forced into submission through abuse. In one instance, an angry teacher beats a student who complains about cleaning the bathrooms. The boy is battered so badly that he falls into the septic tank and climbs out after a struggle, only to die a few days later from his wounds.

Over and over, the prison guards deride the prisoners for being counterrevolutionaries who deserve to die but who ironically, are granted the privilege of staying in Yodok to learn their lessons. This brainwashing does not faze Kang, who discusses the biweekly criticism and self-criticisms. During these sessions, prisoners engaged in "ideological exercises" in which they would criticize one another and deliver speeches to prove how their demeanor conflicted with what "Our Great Leader commanded us," or what "Our Dear Leader has taught us."

Another horrifying aspect of Yodok is the inhumane day-to-day conditions. Out of extreme hunger and poverty, Kang speaks of hunting rats, snakes, and frogs for meat. He describes witnessing death by hunger, execution, and suicide. At one point, his father and uncle plan to commit suicide but eventually decide not to because doing so would lengthen the entire



"His story is so compelling that even President Bush met privately with Kang to hear it for himself in June 2005."

by jason coe

Democracy: TAISHI VILLAGE INCIDENT

After a record fifteen year negotiation period, The People's Republic of China (PRC) finally gained admittance into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2002. The WTO serves as an international forum to promote fair trade within its membership and to adjudicate trade and tariff disputes. Currently, its membership spans the majority of the globe. One stipulation of entrance into the WTO is "transparency of law," meaning that all member nations must have a set of clearly defined and enforced laws. Without transparency, fair trade would be neigh impossible. For example, if a corporation in the United States sought compensation for products exported to a corporation in the PRC, without a transparent system of law the corporations would have no means of negotiation. Perhaps a more fitting example would be if Kim Jong-il decided to appropriate all foreign goods in the name of the great leader's birthday, there would be no court authority that could stop him. All of the international corporations that had invested its goods would be left out to dry. Thus, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is one of the few non-member nations left.

Transparency of law in the PRC, however, is a much more complicated issue. For the last five and a half decades the nation has been under strict control of the Communist Party of China (CPC). Despite having a constitution and governing body, the PRC mirrors the CPC in its rules and membership. The head of the party is always the head of China. Furthermore, laws and bills passed in the PRC must first be approved in the CPC. The constitution of the PRC stipulates that the government determines all of the laws for its people, however, it just so happens that every member of the PRC government is a member of the CPC. Therefore, decisions made by the CPC are decisions made for all of China. Because of China's single party system, the transparency of law is only as opaque as meetings at party headquarters.

However, to retain its membership in the WTO, the PRC must demonstrate that a fair and unbiased system of law is in place. Its first major test took place a short time ago in Taishi, a village in China's southern province of Guangdong. Recently the PRC introduced democratic elections of village heads, the lowest level of municipal governance, in order to fight corruption on the lowest level. Along with elections, a system was put into place through which villagers can recall an elected village head by petition. Think Gray Davis. The Rural Villagers Organization Law of the People's Republic of China, Article 16 stipulates that if 20% of the eligible voters sign a joint petition, they can ask for the recall of the village committee members, as reported by Reuters.

On July 29, 2005, a group of Taishi villagers led by Feng Qiusheng began collecting signatures for the recall of village head Chen Jinsheng. They totaled nearly 400, which was well over the minimum 20 percent of eligible voters needed. The completed petition was sent to the Panyu Civil Affairs Bureau. Feng and others cited several Rural Villager's Organization Laws which Chen had violated, including false documentation of village income and illegal sale of village land to create factories. Decisions about village committee wages and planned budgets must be determined in village meetings; meetings the committee never bothered to hold. By following the procedure set forth in the Rural Villager's Organization Laws, the villagers felt assured. "We are following the law, and the law will be our guardian," Feng said.



However, this perfectly legal move on the part of the villagers was not so well received by the village committee and their higher ups. Four days after the Panyu office accepted the petition, several villagers were threatened by the village security director and town police and told to rescind their petition. The following evening, the village accountant and a companion were caught breaking into the budget office. In fear that the financial records would be tampered with, villagers camped out in the committee office, guaranteeing

that there would be at least 10 people guarding the evidence at all times. Later that month, there were several confrontations between village police and townspeople. Enduring multiple threats to their safety, the village people banded together against the village chief in hopes that the Panyu Bureau and the law would be on their side.

Much to the disappointment of the people of Taishi, on August 29 the Panyu District

Government officially denied their petition on the grounds that a copy had been submitted instead of the original. However, the Rural Villager's Organization Laws does not specify that only an original will be accepted. Furthermore, a petition must be turned into both the village committee and the Panyu bureau, and there cannot be two original copies of one document. Discouraged but not broken, the villagers decided to hold a hunger strike outside of the Panyu Bureau to protest the rejection of their perfectly legitimate recall petition. On September 2, local police came and arrested sixteen villagers, whom were released upon interrogation. To further pressure the Panyu Bureau, the villagers began another recall drive and soon sent in a petition with over 500 signatures.

On September 10, 2005, the Panyu government officially accepted the recall petition. Two days later, chaos ensued, as described in the EastSouthWestNorth weblog:

(September 12, 2005) At 9:00 am this morning, the Panyu government mobilized 63 police vehicles and almost 1,000 riot police officers and security personnel to enter Taishi Village and forcibly remove the safe in the budget room and all other financial document in the village committee office. During the process, the police directed high-pressured water hoses on a fire engine at the elderly women who were there to protect the documents, causing several injuries. Forty-eight persons were arrested.

After the financial evidence was commandeered, a committee of seven villagers was officially elected to engage in the recall referendum. However, from this point on details become rather sketchy. With government police positioned throughout the village, all journalists were removed and all "suspicious persons" were arrested and interrogated including human rights activist and attorney Lu Banglie. The recall has not gone forward, as two of the recall committee members have resigned. Furthermore, 396 of the signatories of the recall petition officially withdrew their names on October 1, as reported by the Apple Daily, making the petition "no longer in effect." Several unsubstantiated reports claim that cadres went from house to house in the village arresting one member of each family, threatening to release them only when all family members' signatures were withdrawn. More rumors of coercion and extortion run rampant. The only verifiable fact is that Chen Jiansheng remains the village chief of Taishi despite its inhabitants' best efforts.



The Taishi Village incident will be recorded as the first major test of lower level democracy in the PRC. At a news conference concerning the approaching EU-China summit Premier Wen Jia Bao said, "China will press ahead with its development of democratic politics, that is reconstruction, in an unswerving way, including direct elections. If the Chinese people can manage a village, I believe in several years they can manage a township. That would be an evolving system." However, if the democratic system at the village level is any indicator, China has a long way to go.

From an international perspective, the conclusions drawn from the incident are somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, the villagers did successfully set in motion a legal recall of their village chief. On the other hand, the corruption of the local government seems to have been a stronger determinant than the rule of law. The system failed the people of Taishi Village, but the mysterious nature of the failed recall engenders much uncertainty. If the 396 villagers did remove their names from the petition, then the recall does legally fail, especially without any documented proof of manipulation on the part of the local government because of unwillingness on the part of terrified villagers to testify.

Despite this ambiguity, the PRC plows onward. The planet's most populated nation and greatest exporter still retains its communist vision despite its capitalist aspirations, as the rest of the world watches in awe and uncertainty. While definitely not transparent, the rule of law in China cannot be called opaque either. It has been sixteen years since the Tiananmen Square Massacres, and the party has managed to avoid such a debacle in Taishi. But it may be just as long before the international community has a clear view of the incidents in Taishi village. For now we must be satisfied by the translucence of shadow puppet democracy, which seems more than sufficient for the international corporations looking to invest in China's 1.7 billion people.

For more information on the Taishi Village incident and human rights in China visit the Empowerment and Rights Institute of China's website at: www.eaichina.org.



CALL OUTSOURCING in the PHILIPPINES



by miguel kaminski

As night envelops Manila, waves of white-collar workers flood the city's financial district. They are young and hungry graduates from the Philippines' premier universities. A generation of young Pilipinos fight off sleep as they commute and carpool their way to jobs which can start as early as eight in the evening or as late as three in the morning. They are the ones who interrupt you in the middle of dinner to peddle credit cards, timeshares and other telemarketer favorites. They are the ones you talk to when that shiny new laptop of yours is suddenly over-run with viruses and spyware.

Customer service zombies, third world troubleshooters, and low cost telemarketers, collectively, they are the men and women of the call center industry. Professional insomniacs like Grace Lyn Pabellan.

A Communications major from the Philippines' preeminent public university, University of the Philippines - Manila, Pabellan found herself working for ICT Marketing Services soon after graduation. There, she sold credit cards over the phone to Americans and earned 11,000 pesos (roughly 200 US dollars) a month plus commission and night differential pay. The night pay proved helpful as Pabellan was assigned a shift that began at three in the morning and ended at noon. Eventually, the inherently brutal nature of the 3AM to 12PM workday forced Pabellan to quit five months into the job.

Even though Pabellan has long departed the roughshod world of call center outsourcing, multinational companies are looking for, and finding, people just like her: college educated, fluent in English and most importantly, cheaper than week old doughnuts. Universities in India, China and the Philippines, churn out thousands of future call center representatives every year. The rise of affordable communication has made it possible for companies to save money by outsourcing functions like telemarketing, financial services, troubleshooting and customer service to English speaking bastions of cheap labor. The economics of outsourcing is pretty straightforward. In America, earning \$250 a month is considered a dire economic situation. In the Philippines, where much of the population lives on less than a dollar a day, \$250 a month is a modern miracle.

In fact, the Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) industry is one of the few bright spots in a country ravaged by a crippling economic depression. According to statistics released by the Philippine Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), the BPO industry employed 132,000 workers during the first semester of 2005. DOLE Secretary Patricia Sto. Tomas predicts that, "[Based] on these trends, employment in the industry is projected to grow to approximately 800,000 [jobs] by the year 2010." Though Philippine political history teaches us that Pilipino government officials are generally duplicitous and corrupt, Tomas' optimistic predictions cannot be discounted. In a country that jokingly refers to cell phone theft and kidnapping for ransom as one of its few successful business ventures, projected growth in a "lawful" sector of the economy is cause for celebration.

On the other side of the Pacific Ocean, the outsourcing phenomenon has been catapulted into the always entertaining arena of political mudslinging, which reached its peak during the 2004 presidential elections.

Presidential candidate John Kerry blamed the Bush administration for the unchecked exportation of white-collar jobs to foreign countries. "What I am against is unfair tax laws that practically compel US companies to move operations overseas. I'm against a distorted tax code that rewards business leaders for shutting down American factories and laying off American workers," Kerry argued during the heat of the presidential race.

Forced to take a defensive stance in the debate, President Bush's camp portrayed outsourcing as necessary for American economic growth. Treasury Secretary Jack Snow defended outsourcing in a speech he made to a group of Cincinnati businessmen, "Think about this when you think about free trade versus a policy of isolationism: Only 5% of the global population lives in the U.S. That means that 95% of our potential market is outside the U.S. We need to stay engaged with the rest of the world, to keep those markets opened to our farmers, our service industry and our manufacturers -- to businesses like yours. We have the best workforce in the world, the most innovative businesses, and the most competitive companies. We can compete with anybody, given the chance."

Pabellan injects her own thoughts on the subject: "I think it is a win-win, two-way street for American companies to outsource here in the Philippines. For Americans, it's low-pay labor, while for Pilipinos it's a high salary. You just have to sacrifice a little (because it's a night job)

and if you cannot adjust (health-wise), then you just have to quit."

While the debate over outsourcing has softened ever since the conclusion of last year's presidential elections, Pabellan's comments reveal a widely accepted fact among her peers -- call center work is a modern day version of the Bataan Death March, albeit with cutesy cubicles and fancy headsets. Sure, this type of outsourcing work provides decent pay and commission by Philippine standards, but the call center landscape is littered with anecdotes of physical and mental breakdown -- the trouncing of the human spirit at the hands of belligerent customers and ungodly hours.

It takes a special kind of person to go against the natural laws of the human body clock, as Arnold Sinsioco, a 24 year old call center veteran can attest, "Working in varying work shifts will definitely take its toll on your health and sometimes, hospitalization fees are much higher than the salary that you are earning." The fifteen hour time difference between the Philippines and the US makes it necessary for call center representatives to assume work schedules similar to Manila's prostitutes. "I commute going to work riding ordinary buses. Kasabay mo mga lasing at mga pokpok (I find myself riding with drunks and prostitutes)," Sinsioco says.

The call center graveyard shifts are made even more interesting by the large volume of human interaction that occurs within an employee's normal workday. With such considerable customer interaction, call center representatives are statistically doomed to encounter the pranksters, idiots, perverts and racists of this great American nation. In Robert Galpo's brief career as a call center representative specializing in computer troubleshooting, he has experienced everything the American public has to offer, "Mostly, our customers are North

Americans, mixed races. Americans know how and when to appreciate the help you've given them. If we resolve their issues, expect to receive a compliment. Some of them even ask for your supervisor to give you a compliment. Some of them just don't want to read the operating manuals and warranty agreements of their product. Some don't really know anything about computers, and some are just asses."

"Some people can be real racists especially if they sense that you're not American," observes Mark Dar Santos, a former call center worker.

During his career, Santos found it necessary to treat his nationality as if it was something that should never be revealed while on the phone with an American customer.

"We would have customers ask if you're Mexican or Filipino (or any other nationality)," Santos says. "Sometimes they'd ask 'Are you American? Where are you calling from?' In our call center, we were not allowed to say that we were American. In short, we do not lie. If asked where we were calling from, we'd

just answer with 'Our headquarters is in PA, USA.'"

Santos' reluctance to reveal his nationality to customers can best be understood by listening to his call center war stories. "Some customers, upon hearing 'Manila, Philippines,' would [hang up] the phone immediately, ask about prostitution in the Philippines, or curse Pilipinos," Santos reminisces. "I had one customer who was so angry at the Philippines because he had the impression that Pilipinos were nang-aagaw (stealing) jobs from Americans."

Admitting one's nationality, especially in the savage realm of call center outsourcing, is an invitation for some customers to demonstrate their extensive vocabulary of four letter words. Some Americans view foreign call center workers as nameless, faceless usurpers of American jobs and are willing to vent their frustrations on easy targets like Santos.

No matter what one's position on outsourcing is, the well modulated voices on the other end of those phone calls are still those of human beings. Granted, they can be frustratingly pushy sometimes, but modern science can prove that the foreboding voices on the other end of the line belong to real people with real feelings. Instead of "Fuck you! Don't you ever call here again you annoying piece of pig shit," a more polite "No thanks, I'm not interested," will suffice. Despite wild rumors that the call center industry requires its employees to purge all traces of humanity, emotion and morality from their bodies, from time to time they do get their feelings hurt. The faceless medium of telecommunications through which we interact with people like Grace Lyn Pabellan, Mark Dar Santos, Robert Galpo, and Arnold Sinsioco makes it easier for us to think of them as androids, unworthy of basic human courtesy. If we treat them the way human beings are supposed to be treated, the world may become a more understanding place, and maybe, just maybe, they could save us 15% or more on our car insurance.



DENYING CAMBODIANS SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

DISCRIMINATION AND PERSECUTION:

by matthew hui



Pressing issues in the Asian American community are rarely covered by the media. One story that has gone unreported is of the Social Security Administration (SSA) and its refusal of disability benefits for Cambodian refugees suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

In studying refugee populations, researchers working for the United Nations High Commissioner have found a preponderance of violence and mental health problems. The most common syndromes include Depression and PTSD. Since 1975, over 150,000 Cambodian refugees have settled in the United States, making them one of the largest refugee populations. Though far away from the oppression now, the remnants of their pasts still haunt them.

The history of genocide in Cambodia began in 1970. After a military coup d'etat, civil war broke out and eventually led to a Khmer Rouge takeover in 1975. During their four year reign, the leader of the Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot, was responsible for the deaths of over 1.7 million Cambodians. The Khmer Rouge would arrest, torture, and in due time, execute those who had any ties to the former government, foreign governments, as well as intellectuals and professionals. Their reign eventually ended in 1979 when Vietnam invaded and overthrew the Khmer Rouge regime. However, civil war continued until United Nations peace-keeping troops finally forced a ceasefire in 1991. In the end, an estimated 1 million additional people had died in the civil unrest. A total of 2.7 million people died as a result, no meager statistic for a population of 7.1 million. After all of the conflict, nearly half of the population had been wiped out.

Many Cambodians fled to the United States to escape the bloodshed. The Cambodian refugee population worked hard to establish businesses, schools, and churches, communities where they could support each other. However, fleeing from violence does not end the resultant adverse effects to one's mental health. One of the most common problems affecting refugees today is PTSD which results from witnessing or experiencing a life-threatening event. There are many serious consequences of PTSD when left untreated. Such people experience recurring accounts of the events in the forms of flashbacks, memories, and nightmares. People suffering from PTSD also tend to suffer from depression, anxiety, and sudden outbursts of anger alongside feelings of intense guilt. Those who suffer from PTSD require immediate medical and psychological treatment, which can be costly. Furthermore, many of the Cambodian refugees who are suffering from PTSD have now reached the age at which they can claim disability benefits from the Social Security Administration (SSA). However, this has proven to be a problem.

Social Security has been an important part of America since it was established during the Great Depression. Former President Bill Clinton remarked, "For 60 years, Social Security has meant more than a monthly check in the mail. It reflects our deepest values -- our respect for our parents, our belief that all Americans deserve to retire with dignity." In actuality, it is quite the opposite for Cambodian refugees. In Oakland, the SSA has been denying applications for Social Security disability benefits turned in by Cambodian refugees suffering from Depression and PTSD. Vietnamese refugees also face the same problem.

The Homeless Action Center, a non-profit organization, helps approximately 250 people per year by filling out the Social Security disability benefits application. Among the clients

they have had thus far, the Homeless Action Center reports that only Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees have had their cases denied on the basis of what they call "Cooperative Disability Investigations." The branch of the SSA known as the Cooperative Disability Investigation (CDI) unit investigates those who are applying for disability benefits when they feel applications appear "suspicious." The CDI then employs law enforcement officers, known as "Special Agents," who have had a record of using questionable investigation methods. When dealing with Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees, the Special Agents have been known to sit in vehicles outside the applicant's homes and observe their activities. They have even been known to follow applicants that drive to see where they go and how well they drive. Worst of all, the Special Agents also have been known to show up unannounced at different applicants' homes to interview them without the help of interpreters. These Special Agents do not have mental health or cross-cultural training, yet they are supposed to make conclusions about these applicants' mental health and their ability to function.

The Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees have been the target of investigation because therapists have made similar diagnoses. Clearly ignoring the therapists' years of training, experience, and the historical context of the refugees, the SSA has found it highly suspicious that so many could suffer from the same disorder. Furthermore, many of these applicants are also under investigation because their family members are receiving disability benefits. Yet, the SSA ignores the fact that entire families suffer from wars, the traumatic experiences of refugee camps, and the problems that continue to arise even after resettlement. One of the applicants recalls a Special Agent asking her why she could not work. To answer, she pointed at her hand. Although her hand was physically fine, due to PTSD she believed it had been shot by Khmer Rouge soldiers during the war and could not use it anymore. On the other hand, the Special Agent did not understand this and wrote that her hand was just fine in a report.

For these refugees, a visit by the Special Agent is stressful and causes increased hyper-vigilance, paranoia, and fear. In one case, a refugee was made so upset that he did not even "feel comfortable in his own home anymore and wanted to commit suicide and kill his whole family." These investigations have definitely taken their toll on the refugees and are not only discriminatory, but insensitive to the applicant's disorders.

The Berkeley Cambodian Student Association (BCSA) has been trying to make sure that the SSA is evaluating its applicants fairly and accurately. They want to make sure that the SSA is aware of the historical background of the genocide, the lack of understanding of the Cambodian culture, and the language impediments which has caused miscommunication on many levels. The BCSA is drafting a letter to Congress and the SSA in order to voice their concerns and educate them on matters dealing with the genocide.

This is another opportunity to get involved. The Homeless Action Center is seeking volunteers for their various Social Security related programs. If you are interested please contact Lisa Lunsford at (510) 540-0878 ext. 306, or email her at lisa.lunsford@homelessactioncenter.org. As Asian Americans, we have been given this chance to come together once again. Although the mainstream media has not covered this story, if the Asian American community comes together to raise awareness and combat this wrong, eventually it will be made right.

China's Choice: **Economics** vs. Human Rights

A CLOSE EXAMINATION OF CHINA'S FAMILY PLANNING POLICY

by wen xie

Pregnant women near their due dates have been pinned down while government workers injected poison-filled syringes into their abdomens, family members have been arrested for hiding pregnant relatives from local officials, and newborns have been dunked into buckets of water to ensure their deaths while their mothers watch helplessly. These graphic images are some women's reality in China. Such occurrences have become common in rural villages as a result of the central government's one-child policy under its family planning laws.

Family planning has been practiced as a basic policy in China since the 1980s. During his reign, Mao Zedong espoused that having a large population was advantageous to the country. However, after the leader's death, a policy switch was implemented because of food and job shortages along with an increased possibility of famine and disease due to the burgeoning number of people in China.

The federal government was convinced population control policies would fix the problem. According to China.org, under family planning, the government advocates each couple to have only one child. However, any couple facing genuine difficulties, mainly those in rural areas whose first child is a girl, can apply to have a second child by going through mandated formalities. They are required to register with the governing agents of their local province to be placed on a list of people who are allowed to have a second child for that year. In each province, the list contains a fixed amount of people determined by the federal government. Also, if couples in urban areas are both the product of a one-child family, they are entitled to produce a second child.

The government's purpose in promoting family planning was to educate the masses on birth control and the economic and social benefits of having one child per family. Administrative officials such as Zhao Bingli, vice minister of the State Family Planning Commission, raved about the positive statistics that have resulted from family planning in an interview with China.org, "...exponential population growth has been effectively controlled, and some 300 million births have been prevented." China's Population and Family Planning Laws state in Chapter III, article 19 that, "in implementing family planning, the primary emphasis shall be on contraception. The State shall create conditions conducive to individuals being assured of an informed choice of safe, effective, and appropriate contraceptive methods. Safety or recipients of birth control procedures must be ensured." However, merely educating couples on birth control and the gains in state utility are less effective for people living in rural areas.

Robert Berring, a professor at Boalt Hall, specializes in Chinese law and explained the reasons for reduced effectiveness of family planning in villages. "Educating people on having one child is not effective enough to make them satisfied with one child," he said. Party control dominates the cities, making family planning widely accepted there. Berring said, "The traditional countryside doesn't buy into education." He further explained that in contrast to urban areas, having children in the countryside is actually more economical – the more sons you have, the more people there are to take care of you.

This may explain why a majority of violations to China's population control measures occur in the rural villages rather than the cities. As a result, the countryside is where maintaining human rights are the most problematic. Local governments violate national policies that protect women's



rights in order to comply with the federal government's laws of maintaining a stable population. Chapter VI, article 35 states, "Women's right of life and health shall be inviolable. Drowning, abandoning or cruel infanticide in any manner of female babies shall be prohibited; cruel treatment causing bodily injury to or death of women by means of superstition or violence shall be prohibited." While this is the federal government claim, such protections of women's rights are not practiced, especially outside of the cities.

According to this law, women are entitled to have as many female children as they want. However, local governments face the choice of either upholding women's choice of having more than one child if none of them happen to be boys, or suffer federal criticism and funding cuts as they exceed the central government's direct limit on childbirth that is issued to the various provinces. Professor Berring explained that although the central government never explicitly condones forced abortion in their policies, they have left it to the local governments to implement the family planning laws.

Local officials have taken up such means as monitoring the menstrual cycles of women to abide by the childbirth limit set on their province by administrators in Beijing. If a woman is not menstruating, measures can be taken to find her to see if she is pregnant. In extreme cases, government workers have arrived at the homes of pregnant women to prevent the birth of a baby. According to *Time Magazine*, Li Juan, who lives in China's eastern Shandong province, was kidnapped, pinned down, and forced to have an abortion. She witnessed men drown her stillborn daughter in a bucket of water to insure its death.

While the central government in Beijing condemns such practices, reminding everyone that they are against federal policies, these atrocities are still allowed to happen. In a *TIME* article published on September 9, a member of the State Family Planning Commission secretariat said, "We have heard about the situation in Shandong, and it's totally against national law." Officials have promised to take precautionary procedures to stop future human rights violations, but these proceedings will not come easily and have not proved to generate results. Preventing human rights crimes in rural villages will not take place "unless there is a complete policy change across the board," Berring said. "There is no solution to this problem of population growth." And China is currently facing a problem that eventually everyone will have to deal with, he said.

Cal's First APIA Community Caucus

by anthony s. lin

Numbering 47.5 percent of UC Berkeley's student population, the very diverse Asian Pacific Islander American community has rarely had an open space to talk about issues facing their communities. Unfortunately there have been few places and opportunities for API groups on campus to meet together.

In response to this lack of space, the APIA Community Caucus was established last year. One of the goals for the year is to work with a coalition of student groups to create a place for dialogue in the API community, and to establish a new UC Berkeley tradition for API community-building.

Another goal is to develop pro-active and socially conscious API leaders through communication with informed and active voices in the API community. The APIA Community Caucus serves as a supportive space to discuss upcoming events, issues, and resources in order to create dialogue between API student and other student leaders.

At the first APIA Community Caucus meeting, groups decided to write a constitution to help build a foundation. Representatives discussed topics of structure, visions, and goals that the Caucus would be founded on, such as coalition formation to create dialogue, develop Asian American awareness as a strong political voice on campus, provide culture and education, and learn more about other organization in API communities. As a whole, it was decided that each student group would select a representative from their organization to them while the constitution is written. In September 2005, many API student groups came out to the very first APIA Community Caucus, which was held in the ASUC senate chambers.

This goal has been developing. Rather than asking our community to meet twice a month, once for the APC general meetings and again for the APIA Community Caucus, we decided that we would work together as well as with any other student group that wanted to see this caucus happen.

Although this goal seems challenging, the API community hopes to develop a body that can voice its concerns as well as challenge stereotypes such as admissions of "too many Asians on campus" and model minority stereotypes around campus. It is the belief of the Caucus that it is the responsibility as a community, to present the real facts, rather than remaining quiet.

At the first community Caucus, there was sharing of issues that were affecting particular communities, such as: Hurricane Katrina Relief, Pilipino servicemen who never received their World War II veterans' benefits, repeal of Proposition 209 which ended affirmative action, global sex trafficking of women and children, and breaking the silence within the API Communities.

Meetings are usually begin with light-hearted ice breakers which allow folks to get to know one another. Afterwards, people are split up into seven groups for discussion on how to develop the structure, vision, and goals of the Caucus. The atmosphere throughout the meeting was very positive, which can be attributed to the tireless attempts to have every voice heard among

the diversity present at the caucus. One can only imagine how interconnected the dialogue would be if many more student groups came out to represent their communities at the caucus.

While there was a lot of diversity at the caucus, it is important to note that there were only a handful of groups from UC Berkeley's very large community. The next APIA Community Caucus is held on November 7th from 7-9pm in the ASUC Senate Chambers. For more information, contact the APIA Community Caucus at asianpacificcouncil@gmail.com.

Some of the groups present at the Caucus were:

Mixed Student Union
Laotian American Student Representatives (LASR)
Cal Hawaii
CalSERVE
Pilipino Coalition
Maganda Magazine
Gabriela Network
Korean American Coalition at Berkeley
Berkeley Cambodian Student Association (BCSA)
Reach! API Recruitment and Retention Center
Sigma Omicron Pi
Pi Alpha Phi
hardboiled
Nikkei Student Association
Vietnamese Student Association
Chinese Student Association
Asian American Association
Pilipino Academic Student Services,
bridges: Multicultural Resource Center
Asian Pacific Council
Associated Students of the University of California

GAMELAN: TEACHING MUSIC BY EXAMPLE

by dorie chang



No it's not a computer game!
It's pronounced gam·e·lan.



Tell any orchestra conductor a few days before a big concert that one of the key musicians from the ensemble will not be playing and one can rest assured that there will be ample stress and yelling.

This is not the case with Midiyanto and his students. A few rehearsals before the October 29th Javanese gamelan concert, one student said that she could not play in the concert because she would be attending a baby shower. There wasn't any reprimanding, shouting, or even a sigh. Midiyanto, the director of UC Berkeley's Javanese gamelan program, simply took it in stride; he calmly switched students around so that all the necessary instruments would be covered. The entire process took less than ten minutes.

It is with this humble attitude that Midiyanto approaches his students. Always calm and patient, he teaches his students a philosophy based on pacifism. Midiyanto's mission is to teach the traditional Javanese culture, while also teaching non-aggression and patience. He says, "I want to be a calm, refined person because gamelan is the only way to learn this in school. There are no classes that teach this besides gamelan. The students learn to listen to each other [while playing] because there is no conductor. Everyone is equal. [Gamelan is a] reflection of life being equal. No one is more important."

Javanese gamelan is a type of orchestra from Indonesia. Traditionally, gamelan is Indonesian court music and played in religious context. The instruments are entirely handmade from pure bronze and wood. They range from xylophone-like instruments to string instruments, gongs, and drums. Gamelan is now popular throughout Indonesia. Its musicians are highly respected, but expected to maintain humility.

Midiyanto does not directly state his philosophy in class because he believes that a calm, meditative attitude will be gained automatically by students through playing gamelan. Though this is true, students also pick up on his philosophy through his demeanor and the relaxing atmosphere.

This attitude and the positive classroom environment also make the class popular among

students. Dan McCandless, a fifth year undergraduate, is taking his fifth semester of gamelan. He continues to stay involved because gamelan is a time for him to relax. He states, "My mind wanders. It's nice. It's happy time. I don't think. I just do." Mike Pourshalimi, a second year student, agrees and adds that it is like "stepping into a totally different world."

Students who repeat the course for more than a year, like McCandless, are rare. Though most students take more than one semester or would like to continue on, many students drop out due to semester-to-semester schedule changes. However, there are always five to six students who continue on, often becoming skilled enough to play at a professional level.

Some students continue playing gamelan after graduating. According to Pourshalimi, former students are frequent visitors during rehearsal. Many even join in and play. Some alumni even join the UC Berkeley community gamelan group.

Since the students involved in gamelan are constantly changing, the class sees a new influx of students every semester. Students usually hear about the gamelan program through friends, which keeps the gamelan program full. Currently, the program is impacted. There are only four classes, and each class has about 20 students, but sometimes, there can be up to 40 waitlisted students per class.

At first, new students may find it difficult to adjust to Midiyanto's teaching style since contrasts so sharply with the fast, aggressive pace of American life. Some students also find it difficult to play gamelan because it is so different from Western music. Gamelan uses a system of numbers to denote pitch, and melodies are layered on top of each other in complex patterns. Pourshalimi, currently in his first semester, states that "sometimes [the music] bothers me because it's doesn't follow what I perceive as music." Nonetheless, Pourshalimi still appreciates the experience and enjoys rehearsal.

When asked why his class remains so popular among Berkeley students, Midiyanto simply answers in his calm manner, "I have no idea." However, any student in his class can tell you exactly why. As Pourshalimi says, "It's an honor to be taught by Midiyanto."

Yamagata's Happenstance: The Perfect Rx

by sabrina mutukisna

It seems I have a problem (Okay, I have an infinite supply of problems. But, for the sake of length and sanity, I have chosen to focus on just one). When it comes to all forms of entertainment, I am plagued by attention deficit disorder. For I am the exasperating person who channel-surfs for days, fidgets during a bad movie and constantly meddles with the music track. It is a rare occurrence when I am found committing to a complete song, let alone, an entire album. My iPod® hates me. My stereo hates me. Many nights, my roommate hates me. If acceptance is the first stage to my recovery, then singer/songwriter Rachael Yamagata must be the second. Her latest album, *Happenstance*, is a rare eclectic gem that bores few, inspires many, and may just cure my ADD.

In fourteen tracks, Yamagata fearlessly bares her soul, along with her raw talent. *Happenstance* is the Vegas buffet of albums and, like dining at Caesar's, it is rather easy to forget to pace oneself. Still, if you insist on engorging, you may as well begin with *Happenstance*'s first track, "Be Be Your Love." The pulsating drumbeats are seduced by Yamagata's sultry voice and steady piano in a style reminiscent of Norah Jones. Her opening words, "If I could take you away," do just that. Within ten seconds Yamagata whisks you away from chaos, forcing you to remember the beauty and heartache of love. However, it is *Happenstance*'s second track, "Letter Read," which displays Yamagata's songwriting talent. Although Yamagata would rather be compared to Elton John, a more versatile entertainer than Fiona Apple, the song's low key piano and heavy drums are undeniably comparable to Apple's "Criminal." Seconds after the first minute, "Letter Read" transforms from bitter relationship retrospection into a pop-inspired chorus that makes you want to fall in love over and over. If Prozac® were reincarnated into a single, "Letter Read" would be the perfect prescription.

If there is anyone prepared for the tumultuous life of a working musician, it is Yamagata. Her parents' divorce, when she was a mere two years old, may have been what initially forced Yamagata into a life of constant travel. Her German-Italian mother lives in New York City,

and her Japanese father resides in Washington D.C. However, it was the young musician's passion that eventually abandoned stability. Like most college students, Yamagata was uncertain about her future when she approached her first year at Northwestern University. She quickly deserted French and transferred to Vassar College to pursue Italian theatre. When her acting coach left Vassar, Yamagata returned to Northwestern, this time to study theatre. In her junior year she was introduced to the funk band, Bumpus, which she sang with for six years, releasing three albums, until calling it quits in 2001 to face the bumpy solo road. By September 2002, she landed a contract with Arista Records, and by June 2004 she released *Happenstance*.



From "Be Be My Love" to "1963" and "Letter Read," *Happenstance* fails to disappoint, with unconventional melodies and poignant lyrics. Yamagata proves her performing ability equals that of her songwriting as she greeted rave reviews for her performance of "Reason Why" on the television drama, *The OC*. She has also been sampled on *One Tree Hill* and praised for her performances in small, intimate venues. Yamagata's classic influences, including Carole King and Roberta Flack, resonate throughout the album. *Happenstance* becomes a tangible account of love that, like the album, cannot be forgotten. It appears that Yamagata is the perfect prescription to cure my ADD, but ultimately afflicting me with an incurable addiction to incredible music.

REPORT BACK FROM THE GULF COAST

by loan dao,
thien nguyen,
mimi nguyen,
vernon phan,
and tuyen tran of VietBAK



In the wake of Hurricane Katrina and the subsequent flooding in New Orleans, Vietnamese Americans across the country united to offer relief to the 55,000 Vietnamese living along the Gulf Coast. On September 13, 2005, concerned Vietnamese organizations, activists, graduate students, and professionals in the Bay Area formed VietBAK (Vietnamese Bay Area Katrina), a group dedicated to fundraising for Vietnamese evacuees and sending volunteer contingents to directly support these communities. The first volunteer contingent went to the Gulf Coast region between October 6-11, 2005 to provide direct assistance and conduct a needs assessment. These six days changed our lives.

Our work began in Houston, Texas, where we volunteered for Boat People, S.O.S, a Mutual Assistance Association located in the Hong Kong IV Mall. We interpreted for doctors and nurses at the free medical clinic that served nearly 200 patients a day. A large percentage of patients had not visited a doctor in years, and some, since their arrival in the United States. Others suffered from severe illnesses, such as diabetes, heart disease, and cancer. We noted a pattern of post-evacuation illnesses as well, such as colds, severe coughs, migraine headaches, rashes, and eye and gum infections. Through mental health surveys, we realized many Vietnamese survivors suffered from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder as a result of flight, displacement and loss that triggered their initial refugee exodus to the United States.

The VietBAK contingent also translated and advocated for the Vietnamese evacuees at the Federal Emergency Management Agency's Disaster Recovery Center (FEMADRC) in Houston. The DRC housed all the major private and public agencies providing hurricane relief. The process of obtaining resources (housing, foodstamps, Medicare, unemployment, etc.) was often a tedious, bureaucratic one. People waited in long lines only to receive referrals of phone numbers to call and agencies to visit outside the DRC rather than immediate aid. After waiting all day, people were fortunate if they had talked to two agencies.

Over the course of our time at the clinic and the DRC, we began to understand the extent of economic and personal devastation our communities are enduring in the wake of these disasters. In filling out her paperwork for FEMA, volunteer Vernon Phan painfully discovered that an evacuee had very little property to her name and even less of a support network. The evacuee is in her early twenties, with four children, does not own a car, and did not qualify for welfare because she could not attend the required classes. She and her children survive on the \$280 that was given to her by her sister.

One elderly man who did not speak English arrived at the DRC alone to apply for Medicare. He wore slippers, oversized gray sweats and a mustard-colored buttoned shirt. In the

chest pocket he tucked his only possessions—three pieces of identification and his son's phone number. His taut, brown skin exposed his years of fishing in the hot Viet Nam sun, and he looked about twenty years older than his actual age. A hazy film over his eyes clouded his vision, and his persistent cough shook his entire fragile body. In the process of registering him with FEMA, he shared his story with volunteer Loan Dao. He and his son's family had just moved to Mississippi from Port Arthur prior to Hurricane Katrina, seeking work. They left everything they owned—his most personal belongings—and evacuated to Port Arthur, only to flee again in the wake of Hurricane Rita. The six of them have now found temporary housing in a one-bedroom apartment in Houston. In the middle of the interview with FEMA, he covered his face, slouched into the chair, and sobbed.

Another woman with one child made \$6 an hour and worked thirty hours a week working at a supermarket in Port Arthur for the past seven years. On their long drive escaping Hurricane Rita they were left stranded on the road—mother and daughter sleeping in their car. They arrived at the DRC tense and worried. It took an hour and 10 minutes to file an unemployment claim with Texas Workforce Commission (with a translator). She profusely thanked VietBAK volunteer Tuyen Tran, "Thank you so much! I don't know how long it would have taken me without you. I don't know who would have helped me if you weren't here," revealing how desperate her situation was and the intimidation she felt in navigating through agencies for relief. These were just a few of the heartbreaking stories we heard from volunteering, leaving us with the realization that so many in our communities have been long marginalized and rendered invisible. In this time of crisis, their daily struggles for food, shelter, healthcare, and human rights have been magnified and made more complex.

These families, along with hundreds of others, were returning to New Orleans and Port Arthur that weekend. We decided to drive to New Orleans, too. Versailles is the informal name for the 8000+ Vietnamese community located in New Orleans East since 1975, and the majority were connected to the shrimp industry prior to the hurricanes. The city overflowed with debris from uprooted trees, gutted homes, downed electrical and telephone poles, and stranded boats on lawns, roads, and sidewalks. We could smell an odd stench of chemical hazards, rotten food, and black mold. The exterior of homes and businesses bore watermarks as high as fourteen feet, telltale signs of the degree of flood damage within these structures. Cars, rooftops, and billboards were twisted in unfathomable curves, and oil and mud covered the lawns. From the freeway, the city looks as if it rained blue because of the sea of plastic blue tarps draping damaged rooftops.

Families trekked from as far as Dallas and Houston to assess damages to their homes and reunite with their community. Although we are not a religiously affiliated group and only one of the volunteers was Catholic, we were invited to Mary Queen of Viet Nam Church in Versailles by the head priest, Father Vien The Nguyen, to witness the return of a community during its first religious service since Hurricane Katrina. Exceeding their hope of turning out 100 parishioners, an estimate of 300 Vietnamese evacuees from distances as far as Houston and Dallas arrived in time for church service at 10am sharp. The singing could be heard from the parking lot. Inside, tears ran down parishioners' cheeks as they hugged one another, reconnecting after months of chaos. Almost 1000 people returned to church the weekend after we left, and 3000 the next weekend.

After mass, the community members were anxious to return to their homes to inspect their damages. For many, it was their first trip back to New Orleans. They immediately began cleaning up the only homes they had, even though it was an emotional and depressing ordeal. Neighborhoods were lined with enormous piles of unsalvageable belongings—teddy bears, electronics, refrigerators, household items, books, and other ruined items. Frustration filled the air as many did not have any insurance, and even so, most hurricane insurance policies do not cover flooding. Despite the devastation, it was clear that the Vietnamese in Versailles intended to rebuild so that they could resettle in the secure and cohesive community. Especially for the elderly, the desire for the familiarity of neighborhood, religious institutions, and extended family is critical to their recovery from this trauma. According to Father Vien, "Families here have built a village that was transplanted from Viet Nam. Many of them came from the same villages in North Viet Nam, migrated down south together in 1954, and came to New Orleans together as refugees in 1975. They have again been uprooted. And once a tree has been uprooted, you must replant it very quickly or it will die."

The VietBAK volunteer contingent assisted the Versailles community by various means: 1) we documented the damage to homes by photographing the structural and material loss of residents for insurance purposes; 2) we purchased cleanup supplies; 3) we coordinated the networking between local grassroots organizations with the Versailles community; 4) we delivered donated goods 5) we listened to their needs and stories and offered emotional support. Our contributions were small in comparison to the needs of the Gulf Coast communities for the coming months, so we ask that you participate in the rebuilding of these communities in any way you can. Together, let's replant the seeds of hope that will grow into an even stronger community rooted in love.

For more information about VietBAK, please visit our website at <http://www.vietbayareakatrina.org/>.

To donate to VietBAK's work in supporting Vietnamese evacuees:

Please write checks out to "Huong Viet."
In the check memo please print, "Katrina Relief"
100% of donations go toward direct assistance.

Mailing address:

Huong Viet Community Center
P.O. Box 29936
Oakland, CA 94604

*Huong Viet Community Center is a 501(c)3 non-profit tax-exempt organization. You will be sent a tax deductible receipt.

To assist the efforts of Mary Queen of Viet Nam Church, please contact Trang Tu Dang at trangdtu@hotmail.com.

To assist the efforts of Houston BPSOS, please contact Tram Nguyen at tram.nguyen@bpsos.org.

RELIEF RETURN AND RECONSTRUCTION:

vietnamese communities after hurricane katrina

vietnamese bay area katrina (vietBAK) volunteers who have recently returned from the gulf coast will talk about their experiences among devastated vietnamese communities determined to rebuild themselves, and what we can do in the bay area to support these efforts.



[monday november 21]
heller lounge 7-9pm

personal accounts. photos. videos.
updates. what you can do to help.

a (free!) report back event by:

vietbak hardboiled vsa

by athena ullah as told to jason coe



SAVING FACE: IT'S ALL IN THE FAMILY

I can sum up Alice Wu's directorial debut, *Saving Face*, in one word: cute. That seems to be the reaction out of everyone's mouth after seeing this film. It tells the story of Wil (Michelle Krusiec), a workaholic Chinese American lesbian just beginning a clandestine relationship with Vivian (Lynn Chen), a gorgeous ballerina. However, a wrench is thrown into the works when Wil's widowed mother (Joan Chen) moves into Wil's apartment after being thrown out of the family home because she is pregnant out of wedlock. Cultures, perceptions, and generations collide hilariously in this romantic comedy.

The main struggle for both mother and daughter is to navigate between what is expected of them, and what they want. As an Asian American and a lesbian, I can definitely relate. Most films about the gay experience mainly concern an individual's internal strife when coming to grips with his/her sexuality. But this film is markedly different in that it highlights the familial struggle with Wil's sexuality. For Wil, to be openly lesbian is a decision that she must make not only for herself, but also for her entire family. She must consider her family's feelings before she considers her own, which becomes the linchpin of the film as her relationship with Vivian hinges in the balance.

I remember when I first came out to my grandmother. Suddenly, I had gone from being Athena, to being "a gay." My sexuality became me in my entirety, and in being gay I had shamed my family. A particularly poignant scene in *Saving Face* is one in which Wil tries to explain to her mother that it is possible for her to love her mother and be gay. Her mother's unwillingness to understand this point is reflected in my personal experiences. My father, to this day, refuses to acknowledge my sexuality and views it as a failure on his part as a parent and guide. When you're Asian and gay, it's not just your issue, but your family's as well.

It is the polarizing pressures of loving your family but needing to be yourself that both Wil and her mother must balance. Shame plays a big part in Wil's family culture, as it does mine. But this shame is also an issue for the greater queer community. I can still remember my first girlfriend's disappointment when I refused to hold her hand in public. While I do envy Vivian's easy grace and self assurance, I empathize with Wil's reluctance to surrender even a peck on the cheek through a chain link fence. Once again, Wil's anxieties about her own sexuality become someone else's insecurities and feelings of failure. It's not easy.

All this tension makes for a surprisingly lighthearted film. Perhaps Wu takes the easy way out, but I still find the ending rather satisfying, and well, cute. I think I've watched it over three times now. You should try watching it at least once. Don't get me wrong, you don't have to be a lesbian or Asian American to appreciate this film. Human beings all over America have praised its touching humor. *Saving Face* is now available for rental and purchase.

Community Events Calendar

Asian Pacific Council:

Hate Crimes Event: "Race After the Riots, the Underlying Hate Crimes"
Wednesday, November 9, 7-9pm
Basketbrawl
Saturday, December 3, 6-10pm
Contact: asianpacificcouncil@gmail.com

Asian Political Association:

China/Taiwan Business Relations Panel,
featuring Professor Ling Chi-Wang
Thursday, November 17, 7pm
Contact: eee@berkeley.edu

Berkeley Indonesian Students Association:

"College Outreach," Annual Introduction to
Berkeley Campus for Indonesian prospective
transfer students
Saturday, November 19
Contact: tyrael_1st@yahoo.com

Cal Hawai'i:

Dance Workshops
Every Wednesday night, 7-9pm in 223 Wheeler
"The Movement Showcase" performances
Thursday and Friday, November 17 and 18
Contact: sldespa@uclink.berkeley.edu

Korean American Coalition at Berkeley:

Professional Law Forum
(Date and Location TBA)
Contact: plee84@berkeley.edu or
tojinim@gmail.com

Laotian American Student Representatives:

Hmong New Year in Sacramento
Thursday-Sunday, November 24-27

Laotian Awareness Day

Saturday, November 26th, 12-1pm on Upper
Sproul
Contact: suekie@uclink.berkeley.edu

Pilipino Community Events:

http://www.localendar.com/elsie?JSP=PublishedCalendar&mode=PUBLISH_PUBLIC&search_type=M0&start_date=10/01/05&calendar_id=212659&rss_link=212659
Contact: ritajrce@berkeley.edu

Vietnamese Student Association:

Career Panel (Guest Speakers)
Tuesday, November 8, 7pm in 100 Wheeler
Shadow Day
Wednesday, November 9th, 9am in 126
Barrows and 1:00pm in 122 Wheeler
Relief, Return, and Reconstruction: Vietnamese
Communities After Hurricane Katrina
Monday, November 21, 7-9pm in Heller Lounge
Contact: mandibui@berkeley.edu

Reach! API Recruitment Retention Center:

Shadow Nite
Thursday-Saturday, November 10-12
Contact: rany_ath@uclink.berkeley.edu or
niyang@berkeley.edu

Other Events:

10th Annual Asian American Issues Conference
Listen to the Silence: "Can't Stop, Won't Stop:
Sustaining the Asian American Movement"
Saturday, November 12, 9am at Stanford
University School of Education
Contact: lzlee@stanford.edu or
ylor@stanford.edu

crisis. issue 19

{m}aganda - which means "beautiful" in Tagalog, the official language of the Philippines - is an annually published magazine for individuals concerned with Pilipino issues or who are interested in expressing their creativity through mediums including - but not limited to - poetry, artwork, literature, and photography.

Submission Guidelines:

- include your contact information (name, email, phone, mailing address and a brief biography)
- if you would like to submit anonymously, please put an asterisk(*) after your name in your contact information

Literary: 3 hard copies by mail or
file attachment by email

Visual: Prints/slides by mail or
attachment (> 300 dpi) by email

Audio: CD by mail or mp3 by email

Send to:
submissions@magandamagazine.org

maganda magazine: submissions
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University of California at Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720-4500

Submissions due by **January 23, 2006**

*submit no originals; they will not be returned!