

Por Melita Maria Garza
La Virgen de Guadalupe aparece anualmente sobre la cama de un camioncito rojo en el Seminario del Sagrado Corazón, en los suburbios de Chicago.

Ella llega cada mes de agosto, cuatro meses antes de su día oficial de festividad, para permitir que sus muchos seguidores en la aldea de Stone Park se reúnan al aire libre y celebren sin congelarse.

"Estamos tratando de edificar nuevas tradiciones, y éso toma tiempo", dice el Rev. Clair Orso, que a menudo preside la celebración de Guadalupe en agosto, lo más cercano que esta comunidad predominantemente mexicanoamericana, que una vez fue italiana, tiene a la Navidad en julio.

La Virgen de Guadalupe vive en ambos lados de la frontera entre los Estados Unidos y México, aunque está claro que ella se adapta al clima.

Su adaptabilidad como icono no ha cambiado desde que apareció por primera vez al converso azteca Juan Diego en 1531, aunque el nuevo libro de Ana Castillo, "La Diosa de las Américas: Escritos sobre la Virgen de Guadalupe", publicado por Riverhead Books, haya abierto nuevos capítulos sobre la identidad de la Virgen.

A ella se le conoce mejor



como el símbolo poderoso de lo chicano/mexicano, o como lo dice el autor Richard Rodríguez, "la bandera extraoficial de los mexicanos." Ella es también el símbolo más omnipresente. Su imagen está en camisetas, calcomanías para las defensas de los autos, ornamentos para los tableros de instrumentos, lámparas nocturnas, botones, naipes, calendarios y velas.

En su libro, una colección de ensayos sobre la Virgen, Castillo reinterpreta al icono católico mexicano en la imagen de su propio feminismo, llamando a la Virgen de Guadalupe no la Madre de Dios, sino una diosa.

En su ensayo que aparece en el libro, Gloria Anzaldúa señala que, al nombrar a la Virgen de Guadalupe como patrona o defensora de México, se le dió a la Virgen un papel asignado típicamente a los dioses masculinos. Emiliano Zapata y Miguel Hidalgo emplearon la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe para movilizar a los mexicanos durante la Revolución Mexicana, y los Trabajadores Agrícolas Unidos continúan llevando estandartes con su imagen cuando hacen manifestaciones por su

Sigue a las Pg. 3

Clinton Waffles On Prop 209

President Clinton indicated Tuesday he is unsure about whether to enter the legal fray over California's Proposition 209, reports Associated Press.

The president is awaiting final recommendations from the Justice Department and White House advisers about the California law, which would ban race- and gender-based affirmative action, on whether to file a court brief supporting a ban on the initiative.

Appearing in the Oval Office to announce a personnel change, Clinton said his administration is studying "all aspects of the argument," against a Wednesday court deadline for filing briefs in the case.

The president said while he "publicly and strongly" opposed Proposition 209 during his campaign, he realizes there are a myriad of ramifications to consider.

"I thought it was bad policy for the people of California, and a bad example for America," Clinton said. "Now, whether it is unconstitutional is a different question."

"Our people are working very hard to work through the legal and constitutional issues to give me a recommendation about what we should do, and how we should do it," Clinton said. "I am eager to get their recommendation."

Chief U.S. District Judge Thelton Henderson issued a temporary restraining order late last month barring enforcement of the measure, saying it might be unconstitutional.

Court Reviews Race Redistricting

A Georgia voting-rights case sparked a spirited Supreme Court debate Monday over when election districts can be drawn to maximize black candidates' success at the polls, reports CNN News.

A Clinton administration lawyer underwent sharp questioning from several justices when he argued that a lower court wrongly ordered a Georgia congressional map that features just one majority-black district.

Deputy Solicitor General Seth P. Waxman said that under the Supreme Court's previous rulings, race can be considered in drawing voting districts dominated by minorities "if race was not the predominant reason."

Georgia Attorney General Michael J. Bowers defended the court-ordered voting map. Regarding the Justice Department's proposed plan, which would have created two majority-black districts, Bowers said, "The purpose of that can only be said to be race."

Waxman said the Justice Department's plan lawfully would have created two minority-dominated districts.

"It has no arms, no tentacles, no claws, no land bridges," Waxman said, referring to district configuration. "It doesn't reflect any desire to go around any racial groups to reach others."

But Justice Anthony M. Kennedy noted that the plan split some counties, adding, "It just so happens that the counties you split are split along white-black lines."

Justice Antonin Scalia also questioned whether it could be certain that Georgia lawmakers' original intent was to have a redistricting plan that included two minority districts.

Bowers said the lower court "drew what best it could" when it ordered the plan with one majority-black district.

But Justice Stephen G. Breyer responded, "It simply left out the main point, which was to have the two majority-minority districts... Why shouldn't the judge here have tried to carry out the legislators' primary intentions?"

In a separate case, the justices also heard arguments in a voting rights dispute spawned by school board elections in Bossier Parish, Louisiana.

The Louisiana case focuses on the standard that Justice Department lawyers or federal courts must apply when deciding whether proposed changes in district boundaries comply with the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Rulings in both cases, expected by July, may clarify just how far the court will let state legislators and local officials nationwide go to preserve or enhance the voting clout of racial and ethnic minorities.

The cases are Abrams vs. Johnson, 95-1425; U.S. vs. Johnson, 95-1460; Reno vs. Bossier Parish School Board, 95-1455; and Price vs. Bossier Parish School Board, 95-1508.

Heating Assistance Cuts Fought

A bipartisan group of Northern senators is asking the Clinton administration not to make deep cuts in a program that helps people pay heating bills, reports Associated Press.

The Office of Management and Budget has suggested substantial cuts in 1998 for the program, which subsidizes heating bills for 5.6 million households, according to a letter from the six senators to President Clinton. OMB has also proposed a five-year phaseout of the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program, the letter said.

The OMB proposal under discussion would cut the program by 25 percent in fiscal 1998, according to an aide to Sen. James Jeffords, R-Vt., the incoming chairman of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. The aide spoke on condition of anonymity.

Congress budgeted \$1 billion for the program this winter. Lawmakers recommended the same amount for the 1997-98 winter, but the money must be put in the 1998 budget.

"LIHEAP is all that prevents many disadvantaged households from being forced to choose between heating or cooling their homes and putting food on the table," the six senators wrote.

They said the need for the program "will not be any less in five years than it is today, and may well be greater."

Besides Jeffords, the letter was signed by senators Paul Wellstone, D-Minn.; Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y.; John Chafee, R-R.I.; Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn.; and Patrick Leahy, D-Vt.

Welfare Reform Squeezes Grandparent Caregivers

For the children of many broken homes, grandparents are often the critical safety net. And some of those caregivers are often forced to accept welfare to support the kids, reports CNN News.

But under recently enacted welfare changes, grandparents - along with other recipients - will be expected to go back to work.

Willia Jones, a grandmother who planned to retire at age 55. But when her daughter was unable to care for five children, Jones took over. Now, at 58, she works as a full-time parent.

She didn't go looking for welfare. "I didn't want them to give me any money," Jones said. "I was working. But I needed someone to pay child care for me, and there was none available."

Her grandchildren came first, so Jones quit her job and began taking welfare. Now, under the new welfare bill, Jones will be forced to go out and find a job in the next two years - or else lose her benefits.

In the United States, nearly 3.5 million children from broken homes are cared for by grandparents.

And if Lois Kincy can't find a job, her grandchildren could end up in someone else's foster home.

"If you have to sponsor somebody, why not a person like me who loves the children - who are my blood - who can give them

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"El Respeto Al
Derecho Ajeno
Es La Paz"
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Lubbock, Texas

Latinas Lead Way As Hispanics Gain 11 State Legislative Seats

By Yara I. Alma-Bonilla and Joseph Torres

Hispanic membership in state legislatures across the nation will continue to rise as November's winners are sworn into office. By January, when all are seated, the sum will swell to 169, a Hispanic Link survey finds.

That is 11 more than the 158 who took their oaths following the 1994 election. The number of Latinas in the group will advance from 35 to 44.

The new lineup will include 147 Democrats and 22 Republicans.

Antonio Gonzalez, president of the Los Angeles-based Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, frames the trend: "Momentum breeds momentum, success breeds success."

The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials projects that as a result of November's vote, Hispanics serving on all elective bodies nationwide will increase to more than 5,000, up from 4,625 two years ago.

Based on the million-plus increase in Hispanic voters over the 1992 presidential election year, on the deciding role that those voters played in countless races at all levels, and on powerful performances by Hispanic candidates coast to coast, Gonzalez sees Hispanic political fortunes steadily escalating.

The Hispanic Link survey found that representation in state senate chambers will remain the same as two years ago -- at 46. Not all seats were up for election. It was in the states' lower chambers where the gains came -- up from 112 to 123.

Once again, New Mexico will lead the nation in electing Latinos to its legislature. It will have 37, followed by Texas with 36 and California with 18.

Thirty-four of the 169 Hispanics serving in the '97 legislatures will be newcomers. Some had never won elective office before.



LOS ANGELES, CA Loretta Sánchez es la nueva representante al Congreso del Condado de Orange en California.

In many of the 25 states where Latinos triumphed, they did so by combining voter registration drives with successful candidate appeals to a broader community.

California provides the outstanding example. Conducting citizenship campaigns in concert with voter registration efforts, Latino advocacy groups helped raise the number of Hispanic members in the state's 80-member Assembly from four prior to the 1990 election to 10 in 1992 to 14 this time.

Yet of the 14, only one, Martha Escutia, has a constituency that includes more than 50 percent Hispanic registered voters, based on a state survey conducted for reapportionment purposes following the 1990 census. The percentages have likely increased since then, particularly in the November '96 election.

The survey identified four districts where Latinos were elected in November that showed less than 15 percent of the registered voters as Hispa-

nic. In one of them, in Riverside County, Rod Pacheco soundly defeated a non-Hispanic Democrat to become the first Republican Latino in modern times to serve in the California legislature.

Democrats recaptured the majority of 80 Assembly seats, however, and on the strength of 13 Hispanic Democratic Assembly members, the Democratic Caucus elected Cruz Bustamante of Fresno as the first-ever Latino speaker of the body.

SVREP President Gonzalez also noted the increased Anglo support many Latinos received. But, based on history, he cautioned, "It's not a trend yet. We need to have more evidence."

Minorities Seek Gov't Posts

By PAUL SHEP

So many people seeking rewards for the election; so few jobs to hand out.

But President Clinton's predicament is far from the minds of Jesse Jackson, Francy Lim Youngberg and Lisa Navarrete, representing minority constituencies that voted overwhelmingly for him.

Now, they figure, it's time for minorities in general and their respective groups in particular to share in the spoils of victory.

"We have some excellent people out there to consider, like Alexis Herman, Norm Rice, Judge Leon Higginbotham, Mayor (Dennis) Archer, Judge Nathaniel Jones and others," said Jackson, listing blacks he would like to see considered for Cabinet posts. "Our job is to keep supplying the names for qualified people."

"If our taxpaying roles are diverse and our fighting force is diverse, then those who administer our government should also be diverse and reflect America," Jackson said.

For his first term, Clinton built a Cabinet that has been

1997 HISPANIC STATE LEGISLATORS

TOTAL: 169

By state: Arizona 9; New Mexico 37; Colorado 7; Texas 36; Illinois 6; California 18; Connecticut 5; Florida 14; New Jersey 3; New York 12; Kansas 3; Minnesota, Nevada, Washington and Wyoming two each; Alaska, Arkansas, Hawaii, Indiana, Louisiana, N.Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee and Utah one each.

Read El Editor



called the most diverse the nation has seen. But many of those minority faces are gone or on the way out.

They include the late Commerce Secretary Ronald Brown, former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy and Energy Secretary Hazel R. O'Leary - all black - and two Hispanic advisers, Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros and Transportation Secretary Federico Pena.

Additionally, other minority groups such as Asian-Americans, who like blacks overwhelmingly supported

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Latinos A La Venta -- ¿A Que Precio?

Por Raúl Yzaguirre

Hace algunos años, Earl Shorris escribió un libro titulado con poca modestia: "Los Latinos: Una Biografía de la Gente". Aunque las conclusiones del libro me desilusionaron en general, por una parte su contenido era asombrosamente perspicaz. Shorris estuvo entre los primeros que reconocieron y debatieron el que los hispanos se habían convertido en blanco de los comerciantes y sus anuncios.

En el capítulo titulado "Latinos a la Venta", él increpa a la comunidad latina por estar tan encantada de que las empresas estadounidenses nos hayan descubierto y estén dedicando grandes cantidades de dinero a cortejar nuestro mercado.

Para bien o para mal, los hispanos son ahora el blanco de impresionantes campañas de publicidad y mercadeo. Honestamente, algunos de nosotros estaríamos muy enojados si los anunciantes no prestaran la suficiente atención y respeto a nuestro cada vez mayor poder adquisitivo.

Los políticos están empleando ahora las mismas técnicas refinadas de mercadeo -- y a menudo los mismos publicistas profesionales -- para que los compremos a ellos y a sus programas de trabajo. Algunos nos tratan sólo como unidades de consumo, tratando de inducirnos a consumir su retórica y a pagar por ésta con nuestros votos.

Tanto la campaña de Clinton

como la de Dole usaron técnicas de publicidad para atraer al voto latino. Reunieron grupos de enfoque, efectuaron encuestas para determinar nuestras preferencias y desarrollaron lemas, todo ello en la gestión más extensa de la historia para asegurarse nuestros votos.

Dados los resultados de las elecciones de 1996, no hay duda de que los demócratas hicieron un trabajo mejor este año, aunque ninguna cantidad de mercadeo podría disfrazar el hecho de que el "producto" republicano era decididamente anti-latino.

Mi preocupación no es tanto el hecho de que el sector privado quiera competir por nuestros dólares y que los funcionarios públicos quieran nuestros votos. Mi lamento es que las empresas, los políticos y otros no estén prestándonos el suficiente respeto como personas.

Debemos ser tratados como algo más que unidades de compra y valorados como personas que pueden hacer algo más que consumir. También podemos producir. El mercadeo ideas pre-cocinadas a los latinos no es la respuesta a largo plazo para los asuntos a que nos enfrentamos. Los latinos necesitan ser parte de la solución.

Para el sector privado, esto significa que las relaciones de estas compañías con la comunidad latina no deben terminar cuando compramos sus productos. Los latinos deben ser

parte de la fuerza laboral de estas compañías, de su gerencia superior y de sus juntas corporativas. Estas empresas deben hacer negocios con proveedores latinos y trabajar con otros negocios latinos de manera constante.

Para los políticos, significa el tratarnos no solamente como consumidores ingenuos, sino como personas verdaderas. Si ellos estuvieran relacionándose con nosotros como seres humanos inteligentes y pensantes que realmente cuentan, se preocuparían por nuestros asuntos, no sólo por nuestras estadísticas demográficas y los resultados de las encuestas. Serían sensibles a nuestras preocupaciones acerca de los ataques contra los inmigrantes, las leyes del inglés solamente, la designación de hispanos en el gobierno y la atención a nuestros derechos civiles. Nos incluirían en su personal de importancia y en sus procesos de hacer decisiones.

Está patentemente claro que éste no es el caso. No somos parte integral de la fuerza de trabajo de las empresas estadounidenses, particularmente en los niveles superiores de administración y ejecutivos de estas compañías. Políticamente, los hispanos están siendo usados por ambos partidos como chivos expiatorios y nuestros asuntos como pelotas de fútbol políticas. Estamos sub-representados en las filas en que se elaboran las decisiones de ambos partidos.

Nuestro mensaje para las empresas estadounidenses debe ser claro: Somos más valiosos para ustedes que solamente lo que nuestros dólares pueden comprar.

Y nuestro mensaje para los políticos debe ser inequívoco: No sólo le vendan a nuestra comunidad; gobiernen para y con ella.

Por ejemplo, a menos que el Presidente Clinton haga de los hispanos una parte integral de su segundo término en el cargo, a menos que los latinos estén bien representados en el gabinete y en todos, y no sólo algunos, de los departamentos y las dependencias federales, y a menos que se nos haga parte de los círculos en que se toman las decisiones, tendríamos la señal más visible y clara hasta ahora de que él sólo propone "venderle a" -- y no "gobernar para y con" -- los latinos.

En la estela de una campaña en la cual el Presidente Clinton y los demócratas del Congreso obtuvieron niveles de éxito sin precedentes vendiéndonos sus virtudes -- y los vicios de sus opositores, tienen ahora la obligación de incluirnos en el trámite de gobernar. Quizás el modo más claro y visible de hacer ésto es incluirnos plenamente en la toma de decisiones.

(Raúl Yzaguirre es el presidente del Consejo Nacional de La Raza en Washington, D.C.)

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Sittin' Here Thinkin'

Affirmative Action

by Ira Cutler

The politicians are now busily about the business of telling us what the election really meant. The Republicans say that they actually won because Congress is still in their hands and because Clinton only won by adopting their ideas. Clinton says that he won because he is still there and that we have picked his bridge upon which to enter the 21st Century. The posturing and victory claims of both sides gloss over the fact that, despite huge campaign expenditures, easier voter registration and good weather, a majority of voters simply did not show up. They voted, with their feet, for the increasingly popular "none of the above".

I once wrote that there is no word in the English language which has been quite so cheapened as "reform". In second place is the word "landslide". Bill Clinton got 49% of the vote of less than half of the registered voters. That is less than a fourth of registered voters, leaving out the un-registered altogether. And that does not factor in the lack of enthusiasm with which most voters pulled either the Clinton or Dole levers. My guess is that no more than 10% of adult Americans are happy about the election results. Landslide?

Consequently, although the election may be over, very few of the issues it raised -- it actually raised only a few -- are even close to being settled. Among the most unsettled issues, as is usually the case in American history, are the race issues that are inherent in the question of affirmative action.

Leaving aside the truly and deeply bigoted, for whom there is no help or hope, the rational debate around Affirmative Action is between those who feel it is sufficient to outlaw discrimination and those who feel that more must be done. If the debate could be kept at that level -- between those who favor non-discrimination as the most appropriate social policy and those who would push harder -- it could be a civilized debate.

But it is hard to keep the debate at that level because it is too emotional an issue. Many Americans feel that they personally, or their group, is getting the shaft. Blacks and Latinos believe that they are regularly discriminated against in hiring, housing, the criminal justice system and in their daily lives. Whites, increasingly white males we are told, believe that our society routinely bends over backwards to favor women and minorities and discriminates against them in the process.

Everybody, it seems, knows someone who got a job (or did not get one) because of race, language or gender and many believe that they, personally, have been victims of one form or another of job related discrimination. For some, discrimination offers a ready explanation for a wide range of personal failings. For others, these questions are at the center of deeply felt, smoldering and potentially violent feelings of resentment.

I tend to favor Affirmative Action, because I am impatient. I do not believe that just removing overt discrimination -- however well that is done -- will produce a just society quickly enough. And I fear that we are running out of time.

The myth is that anybody who tries hard can make it while the truth is that we all need help throughout our lives. True poverty in this society is not just about being without financial resources but, in addition, it is about being in a situation where those closest to you are in the same boat or worse and cannot help. It is often about being without hope. This is the difference between the middle class college student and the inner city youth. The college student knows that the people around him -- parents, relatives, family friends -- will help him make the connections necessary to get the starter jobs from which careers flow. The college kid knows that not having money is a temporary condition that over time will be rectified.

This expectation -- that things will "work out" -- comes from seeing that it did, in fact, work out for those who have gone before you. If it worked out for your older siblings, your friends and the people ahead of you in school, then why not for you?

The social classes in America see their future in starkly different ways. Rich and upper middle class kids grow up thinking that it is all, inevitably, going to be all right. Lower middle and working class kids grow up thinking that it might come out all right, but that they are going to have to work hard for it and make it happen. Poor kids, too often, believe that the deck is so stacked against them that it will not work out no matter what they do.

From the point of view of the advantaged, anyone who does not make it fails to do so because of some personal weakness -- laziness or mental illness or something that causes them to drop behind the crowd. But in our hearts we all know that only a few especially gifted individuals, the geniuses, can make it alone.

Affirmative Action acknowledges that we get varying qualities of education and are offered widely varying employment opportunities. It acknowledges that we have an uneven amount of help available to us from family and friends. It acknowledges that throughout our lives we hear and see messages about the possibility, or impossibility, of personal success. Affirmative Action attempts to tip the scales a little, to give disadvantaged people a temporary and limited advantage, in the hope that they will use the opportunity well and build on it for themselves, their children and their community.

Providing a little extra help is a smart and productive thing for a society to do. You do not throw life preservers only to the best swimmers, or college scholarships, corporate recruitment efforts, special accelerated education programs and the like to only the best students and applicants. You have to also pay attention to those who are floundering and offer them the help they need or surely they will drown.

This is not to suggest that there are no problems in the fair administration of such efforts -- social tinkering frequently requires Solomon-like judgments. How much help, who to give it to, how to keep from creating too much disadvantage to non-minorities, how to know if it is all working? Who is more in need of an additional helping hand -- racial minorities, language minorities, women, the disabled? What about the extremely poor and significantly disadvantaged whites? How do we keep the presence of Affirmative Action from de-valuing the achievements of those who succeed?

These are the subtle but important technical problems of implementation strategy. They are not the stuff of television campaign commercials, not dealt with at all in racially coded messages or slogans intended to please us all. They are tough problems which are rendered essentially irresolvable by the lack of clear national direction on all matters of race and ethnicity, including Affirmative Action.

What is needed is more than one speech, one court decision, one piece of legislation or any new program -- it is about setting a national course and working tirelessly to fulfill the American legacy. No such national course came out of the last election because no one, not the parties or candidates or media, talked about any big issues in ways that challenged the voters to think and to decide.

We need a philosophical underpinning, a national consensus, before we can move on to the next, better chapter in this tragic American racial story. We desperately need that very scarce thing called leadership. We need a Lincoln or a Martin Luther King or even a Lyndon Johnson to put their future on the line and to put forth the moral case that it is wrong to see others suffer and to not help. And, for those for whom the moral case is not enough, we need the practical message as well -- that we are all in this together and there is a limit to how well some of us can do while others of us are doing so poorly.

Ira Cutler says he's seeking a semi-legitimate outlet for thoughts and ideas too irreverent, too iconoclastic, or just too nasty for polite, serious, self-important company. He promises us a Monday column most weeks. More recently Ira has become involved in communicating in another way, through speeches which he calls Standin' Here Talkin'.

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Latinos For Sale--At What Price?

By Raul Yzaguirre

Some years ago, Earl Shorris wrote a book rather immodestly entitled "Latinos: A Biography of the People." While I was disappointed with the book's overall conclusions, some of its content was strikingly insightful. Shorris was among the first writers to recognize and discuss how Hispanics had become a target of advertisers. In the chapter "Latinos for Sale," he chides the Latino community for being so delighted that corporate America finally had discovered us and was devoting large sums of money to woo our market.

For better or for worse, Hispanics are now the target of massive advertising and marketing campaigns. Indeed, some of us would be very upset if advertisers did not pay sufficient attention and respect to our ever-increasing purchasing power.

Politicians are now using the same sophisticated marketing techniques -- and often the same advertising professionals -- to sell us on them and their agendas. Some of them treat us just as units of consumption, trying to induce us to consume their rhetoric and to pay for the rhetoric with our votes.

Both the Clinton and Dole campaigns used advertising techniques to woo the Latino vote. Focus groups were convened, polls were conducted to determine our preferences and slogans were developed, all in the most extensive campaign in history to secure our vote.

Given the results of the 1996 election, there is no question that the Democrats did a better job of marketing to the Latino community this year, although no amount of marketing could disguise that the Republican "product" was decidedly anti-Latino.

My concern is not so much the fact that the private sector wants to compete for our dollars and that candidates want our vote. My regret is that corporations, politicians and others are not paying enough respect to us as a people. We should be treated as more than purchasing units and valued as people who can do more than consume. We can produce, too. Marketing pre-cooked ideas to Latinos is not the long-term answer to the issues which confront us; Latinos need to be part of the solution.

For the private sector, this means that these companies' relationships with the Latino community should not end when we buy their products.

Latinos should be part of these companies' workforce, their upper management and their corporate boards. These companies should do business with Latino vendors and work with other Latino businesses on an ongoing basis.

For politicians, it means treating us not simply as naive consumers but like real people. If they were interacting with us like intelligent, thinking human beings who really counted, they would be concerned with our issues, not just our demographics and polling results. They would be sensitive to our concerns over immigrant-bashing, English-only laws, appointment of Hispanics in the administration, and attention to our civil rights. They would include us on their top staff and in their decision-making process.

Las Latinas Marcan El Paso A Medida Que Los Hispanos Ganan 11 Escanos Legislativos

Por Yara I. Alma-Bonilla y Joseph Torres

La membresía hispana en las legislaturas estatales de toda la nación continuará su aumento conforme los ganadores de noviembre vayan tomando juramento a sus cargos. El total ascenderá a 169 en enero, cuando todos hayan tomado posesión, según halla una encuesta de Hispanic Link.

Ello significa 11 legisladores más de los 158 que prestaron juramento después de las elecciones de 1994. La cantidad de latinas en el grupo se adelantará de 35 a 44.

La nueva formación incluirá 147 demócratas y 22 republicanos.

Antonio González, presidente del Proyecto del Suroeste para la Inscripción y Enseñanza de Electores (SVREP en inglés), enmarca la tendencia diciendo, "El impulso engendra impulso; el éxito engendra éxito."

La Asociación Nacional de Funcionarios Latinos Electos y Designados (NALEO en inglés) proyecta que, como resultado de las elecciones de noviembre, los hispanos que prestan servicios en los cuerpos electivos en todo el país ascenderán a más de 5,000, habiendo aumentado de 4,625 hace dos años.

Basándose en el aumento en electores hispanos, superior a un millón por encima de las cifras del año de elecciones presidenciales de 1992, en el papel decisivo que esos electores desempeñaron en incontables competencias a todos los niveles, y en las poderosas ejecuciones de los candidatos his-

It is patently evident that this is not the case. We are not an integral part of corporate America's labor force, especially in the top levels of these companies. Politically, Hispanics are being used as scapegoats, and our issues are being used as political footballs by both parties. We are underrepresented within the decision-making ranks of both parties.

Our message to corporate America should be clear: we are worth more to you than just what our dollars can purchase. And our message to politicians should be unequivocal: don't just market to our community, govern for and with our community. For example, unless President Clinton makes Hispanics an integral part of his second term in office, unless Latinos are well

represented in the Cabinet and in all, not just some, of the department and agencies, and unless we are made part of the inner circles of decision-making, it would be the most visible and clearest signal yet that he intends to just "sell" to and not govern for Latinos.

In the wake of a campaign in which President Clinton and congressional Democrats achieved unprecedented levels of success in selling us on their own virtues -- or on the vices of their opponents -- they now have the obligation to include us in the process of governing. Perhaps the clearest, most visible way of doing this is by fully including us in the policy-making process.

(Raúl Yzaguirre is president of the National Council of La Raza.)

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panos de costa a costa, González ve la fortuna política hispana en aumento continuo.

La encuesta de Hispanic Link halló que la representación en las cámaras senatoriales estatales permaneció constante en 46 esta vez. No todos los escaños estaban en las elecciones. Fue en las cámaras bajas donde se produjeron las ganancias -- de 112 en 1994 a 123.

Una vez más, Nuevo México encabezará a la nación en la elección de latinos a su legislatura. Tendrá 37, seguido por Texas con 36 y California con 18.

Treinta y cuatro de los 169 hispanos que prestarán servicios en las legislaturas de 1997 serán recién llegados. Algunos nunca habían desempeñado cargos electivos con anterioridad.

En muchos de los 25 estados donde triunfaron los latinos, lo hicieron combinando campañas de inscripción de electores latinos con exitosas exhortaciones de los candidatos a la comunidad en general.

California presenta el ejemplo sobresaliente. Empleando gestiones de ciudadanía junto a las de inscripción de electores, los grupos activistas latinos ayudaron a aumentar la cantidad de miembros hispanos en la Asamblea Estatal de 80 miembros, de cuatro antes de las elecciones en 1990 a 10 en 1992 y a 14 en esta oportunidad.

Empero, de los 14 sólo una, Martha Escutia, tiene un electorado que incluye a más de

un 50 por ciento de electores hispanos inscritos, basándose en una encuesta efectuada para fines de re-demarcación después del censo de 1990. Probablemente los porcentajes han aumentado desde entonces, particularmente en las elecciones de noviembre de 1996.

La encuesta identificó cuatro distritos en que los latinos fueron electos en noviembre, mostrando a menos del 15 por ciento de los electores inscritos como hispanos.

En uno de ellos, en el Condado de Riverside, Rod Pacheco derrotó sonoramente a un demócrata no-hispano para convertirse en el primer republicano latino de la época moderna que haya prestado servicios en la legislatura de California.

Los demócratas recapturaron la mayoría de 80 escaños en la Asamblea y sobre la fuerza de 13 miembros hispanos demócratas de la Asamblea, el Cauco Demócrata eligió a Cruz Bustamante, de Fresno, como el primer portavoz latino de ese cuerpo en todos los tiempos.

González, el presidente del SVREP, hizo notar igualmente el aumento del apoyo recibido por muchos latinos de anglo-americanos. Pero, basándose en la historia, él advirtió, "No es una tendencia aún. Necesitamos tener más pruebas."

(Yara I. Alma-Bonilla y Joseph Torres son reporteros de Hispanic Link News Service en Washington, D.C.)

Taking Back The Virgin of Guadalupe

By Melita Marie Garza

The Virgin of Guadalupe appears annually on the back of a red pick-up at Sacred Heart Seminary in suburban Chicago.

She arrives each August, four months before her official Dec. 12 feast day, to allow her large following in the village of Stone Park to amass outside and celebrate without freezing.

"We are trying to build traditions, and it takes time," says the Rev. Clair Orso, who often presides over the Guadalupe-in-August celebration, the closest thing this once-Italian and now predominantly Mexican-American immigrant community has to Christmas in July.

Guadalupe lives on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, though clearly she adapts to her climate.

Her adaptability as an icon has not changed since she first appeared to the Aztec convert Juan Diego in 1513, although Ana Castillo's new book, "Goddess of the Americas/La



essays on the Virgin, Castillo reinterprets the Mexican Catholic icon in the image of her own feminism, calling the Virgin of Guadalupe not the mother of God, but a goddess.

In her contributing essay, Gloria Anzaldúa notes that in naming Guadalupe patron, or defender, of Mexico, the Virgin was given a role typically assigned to male gods. Emil-

going to Mass when she was 18.

"Inasmuch as the Virgin of Guadalupe has been appropriated by the Catholic

book, the Virgin of Guadalupe will be representative of the majority of the church.

"Brown skin," he says simply.

Although clearly Indian in appearance, the Virgin's name is Spanish. Guadalupe, a word of Arabic origin, coincidentally is a city in the province of Extremadura, Spain, where Cortes and many of the conquistadors were from.

But the Virgin was and still is known to many Mexicans and indigenous people as Tonantzin, "Our Mother," which does not translate as the Christian "Our Mother," but means a summit from which to pray to Mother Earth.

Castillo points to others ways the Virgin is indigenous, including the significance of the number of her visits to Juan Diego -- four, a scared number of completion for indigenous people.

Guadalupe's significance in



From Pg. 1

causa.

El llamar "diosa" a la Virgen de Guadalupe enfatiza la disputa continua de Castillo con el papel de sumisión que la Iglesia asigna a las mujeres.

"Uno de mis principales objetivos es hacer que el Papa o algún alto funcionario expida una encíclica contra mi trabajo", dice Castillo, que dejó de ir a Misa cuando tenía 18 años de edad.

"En tanto que la Virgen de Guadalupe ha sido apropiada por la Iglesia Católica, ella es parte de ese sistema opresor", dice Castillo, quien hace notar en la introducción del libro que la Virgen le habló a Juan Diego en su idioma autóctono, el náhuatl.

No obstante, ella no podía echar a un lado el proyecto de ensayos sobre la Virgen de Guadalupe.

"Ella es una madre y una fuente eterna de alimento para el alma", dice Castillo. "Y ella es representante de mi propio ser. Es una mujer morena. Es una 'mestiza'."

Pronto, advierte Richard Rodríguez en su aportación al libro, la Virgen de Guadalupe será la representante de la mayoría de la Iglesia.

"Piel morena", dice él sencillamente.

Aunque claramente indígena

en su apariencia, el nombre de la Virgen es español. Guadalupe, palabra de origen árabe, coincidentalmente es una ciudad de la provincia de Extremadura, en España, de donde eran Cortés y muchos de los conquistadores.

Pero la Virgen era, y todavía es conocida para muchos mexicanos y pueblos indígenas, como Tonantzin, "nuestra madre", que no significa lo mismo que la frase cristiana "nuestra madre", sino que denota una cumbre desde la cual se ora a la Madre Tierra.

Castillo señala otros modos en que la Virgen es indígena, incluyendo la importancia del número de sus visitas a Juan Diego -- cuatro, un número sagrado de consumación para los pueblos indígenas.

La importancia de la Virgen de Guadalupe en la Iglesia ha oscurecido sus orígenes indígenas mexicanos, dice Castillo.

"Pero", dice ella, "espero que con mi libro la hayamos recuperado."

Desde luego, hay algunos, incluyendo inmigrantes mexicanos que forman multitud durante su celebración en los suburbios de Chicago en el calor del verano, que creen verdaderamente que la Virgen nunca se perdió.

(Melita María Garza es reportera de asuntos étnicos del Chicago Tribune.)

Propiedad literaria registrada por Hispanic Link News Service en 1996. Distribuido por The Los Angeles Times Syndicate



Diosa de las Americas: Writing on the Virgin of Guadalupe" (Riverhead Books) has opened new chapters on the Virgin's identity.

Guadalupe is best known as the powerful symbol of the Chicano/Mexicano, or as author Richard Rodriguez puts it, "the unofficial flag of Mexicans." She also is the most omnipresent symbol. Her image is on T-shirts, bumper stickers, dashboard ornaments, nightlights, buttons, playing cards, calendars and candles.

In her book, a collection of

iano Zapata and Miguel Hidalgo used Guadalupe's image to mobilize Mexicans during the Mexican Revolution, and the United Farm Workers continue to carry banners with her image when they demonstrate for their cause.

Calling Guadalupe "goddess" underscores Castillo's ongoing dispute with the subservient role the church accords to women. "One of the highest goals is to have the pope or some high official issue an encyclical against my work," says Castillo, who stopped

Church, she is part of that oppressive system," says Castillo, who notes in the book's introduction that the Virgin spoke to Juan Diego in his native language, Nahuatl.

But she felt she could not turn down the Guadalupe essay project.

"She's a mother and she's an eternal source for nurturing," Castillo says. "And she's representative of my own self. She's a brown woman. She's a mestiza."

Soon, notes Richard Rodríguez in his contribution to the

the church has obscured her Mexican indigenous origins, says Castillo. "But," she says, "I'm hoping that with my book we've taken her back."

Of course, there are still some, including the Mexican immigrants who throng to her celebration in suburban Chicago in the heat of summer, who truly believe the Virgin never was lost.

(Melita Marie Garza is ethnic affairs reporter for the Chicago Tribune.)

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Pope Visit Could Give Castro Final Push

By Jorge Luis Romeu

Closing out the year 1996, Fidel Castro has participated in three international events of importance: the Sixth Latin American Summit in Santiago de Chile, the Food and Agriculture Organization meeting in Italy and a private audience with the Pope in the Vatican.

In all three, Castro appeared to come out as the winner and the United States as the loser. In all three, the U.S. embargo was largely criticized and Castro's political isolation had again been broken.

Is this as big an international success for the aging Cuban dictator as it appears at first sight? Let's take a closer look.

In mid-November in Santiago de Chile, the Sixth Latin American Summit was attended by the leaders of 21 Latin American countries, plus Spain and Portugal. The leaders unanimously rejected Helms-Burton as an "extraterritorial" law. A few days later, Castro attended the meeting of the FAO meeting in Rome. There, he blamed the big consumer countries for much of the world's hunger and condemned embargoes such as those to Cuba and Iraq. Food issues, it was agreed, have no place in partisan politics.

Then Pope John Paul II received Castro in the Vatican. The two leaders talked for over half an hour about the Catholic Church in Cuba and a possible visit to this island by the Pope early next year. The Pope, in the audience as well as in his speech to the FAO meeting, also criticized the embargo.

That Castro has again received the support of Latin America against the U.S. embargo is not surprising. There are at least three good reasons for Latin American leaders to oppose it: income differences, historical problems and pragmatism.

Let's explain. The United States is rich and Latin America is poor. No matter why, this usually creates resentment. Then, especially in the period 1830-

1930, there were many instances where Latin American countries suffered territorial and/or political losses to the United States. These have brought humiliation and grief among the people and the leaders of these countries.

Finally, it is easier for a government to provide nationalism and demagoguery to its people than a decent standard of living.

In addition, several Latin American governments are not so democratic as they may appear to be. They may fear that the same arguments used today against Cuba may later be used against them, too.

Europeans and Canadians, in turn, are just looking after their economic interests. They are obtaining very high returns on investment with the docile, government-controlled Cuban workforce and a devalued peso. Spain lost all its empire in the early 19th Century. It has never forgotten the territorial losses nor the military humiliation of the Spanish-American War. Spain is now trying to regain its influence in Latin America by becoming its advocate in the European Union.

On the other hand, Castro, now 70, was strongly pressured by several Latin American leaders to allow a peaceful transition to political pluralism and market economy. Several speakers referred to Cuba's disastrous human rights record and lack of civil liberties, especially Argentina's President Menem and Chile's Frei. The latter sat next to Castro during the concluding State Dinner, while Spain's President Jose M. Aznar lectured Castro on a transition to democracy such as the one that occurred in Spain after Franco.

Castro's next stop was Italy, where as in any free country, the media raised, along with a dissatisfaction with the U.S. embargo, important issues on Cuba's human rights situation. It also addressed Castro's age, Cuba's lack of a succession mechanism, and the need to make a transition to pluralism.

Finally, Castro's interview with Pope John Paul II proved a mixed blessing. Castro spent 38 years, first expelling the priests and shutting the religious schools and organizations, then persecuting those who remained as open church members. He sent us to the infamous UMAP forced labor camps; he expelled us from the universities, from the classrooms and from the administration positions. Now, bankrupt and isolated, he is turning to the Catholic Church he unsuccessfully tried to destroy, to provide him with some external support and some internal breathing space.

Pope John Paul II will visit Cuba, but he will do so only if Castro allows him to mix freely with the people and say open air masses, as the Pope has traditionally done in all the Latin American countries he has visited. Castro should remember the last open air mass he allowed was the 1960 Cuban Catholic Congress. More than one million persons gathered to attend a mass in the Havana civic plaza.

That demonstration of unity and devotion among Cuban Catholics triggered the expulsion of priests, school closings and the interdiction of the CYO and all other Catholic lay organizations. Castro could not accept an independent organization as strong or stronger than his own.

The U.S. embargo helped Castro sweep his domestic economic mistakes under the rug. It also helped the world look the other way on Castro's political oppression. But these three recent international experiences show that the world has finally tired of Castro and would like to see him go. They want such an exodus to be a peaceful and orderly one. And the Pope's trip may prove to be just what is needed: the last push.

(Author Jorge Luis Romeu is a native of Cuba and associate professor at the State University of New York at Cortland.)

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La Visita Del Papa Podria Dar A Castro El Empujon Final

Por Jorge Luis Romeu

Al cierre del año 1996, Fidel Castro participó en tres acontecimientos internacionales de importancia: La Sexta Cumbre Latinoamericana en Santiago de Chile, la reunión de la Organización de Alimentos y Agricultura (FAO, en inglés) en Italia, y una audiencia privada con el Papa en el Vaticano.

En todos ellos, Castro pareció surgir como el ganador y Estados Unidos como el perdedor. En todos, mayormente se criticó el embargo estadounidense y el aislamiento político de Castro fue roto una vez tras otra. ¿Es éste un éxito internacional tan grande como parece a primera vista para el envejeciente dictador cubano? Echemos un vistazo más cercano:

A mediados de noviembre, en Santiago de Chile, asistieron a la Sexta Cumbre Latinoamericana los dirigentes de 21 naciones de la América Latina, junto a los de España y Portugal. Ellos rechazaron unánimemente la Ley Helms-Burton como una ley "extraterritorial".

Pocos días después, Castro asistió a la reunión de la FAO en Roma. Allí, culpó a los grandes países consumidores por gran parte del hambre mundial y condenó los embargos, tales como los establecidos contra Cuba e Iraq. Se acordó que los asuntos de alimentación no tienen lugar en la política partidista.

Después, el Papa Juan Pablo II recibió a Castro en el Vaticano. Los dos dirigentes hablaron por más de media hora sobre la Iglesia Católica de Cuba y una posible visita del Pontífice a la isla a principios del año próximo. El Papa,

en la audiencia así como en su discurso ante la reunión de la FAO, volvió a criticar el embargo.

No es sorprendente que Castro haya recibido nuevamente el apoyo de América Latina contra el embargo estadounidense. Hay por lo menos tres buenas razones para que los dirigentes latinoamericanos se opongan al mismo: diferencias de ingresos, conflictos históricos y justificaciones de naturaleza puramente pragmática. Explicuemos.

Estados Unidos es rico y América Latina es pobre. Sin que importe el por qué, esto acostumbra crear resentimiento. Después, entre 1830 y 1930, las naciones de América Latina sufrieron pérdidas territoriales y/o políticas a favor de Estados Unidos en muchas ocasiones. Estas llevaron humillación y aflicción a los pueblos y dirigentes de estas naciones.

Por último, es más fácil que un gobierno dé nacionalismo y demagogia a su pueblo que un nivel de vida decente. Además, varios gobiernos de la América Latina no son tan democráticos como parecen serlo. Estos temen que los mismos argumentos que se emplean hoy contra el gobierno de Cuba se puedan usar en un futuro en su contra.

Los europeos y canadienses, a su vez, sólo están cuidando sus intereses económicos. Estos obtienen actualmente réditos muy altos sobre sus inversiones en Cuba, con la fuerza de trabajo dócil y controlada por el gobierno, y con un peso desvalorizado. España perdió todo su imperio a principios del siglo XIX. Nunca ha olvidado las pérdidas territoriales ni la humilla-

ción militar de la Guerra Hispano-Americana.

España está tratando ahora de recuperar influencia en América Latina al convertirse en su defensora en la Unión Europea.

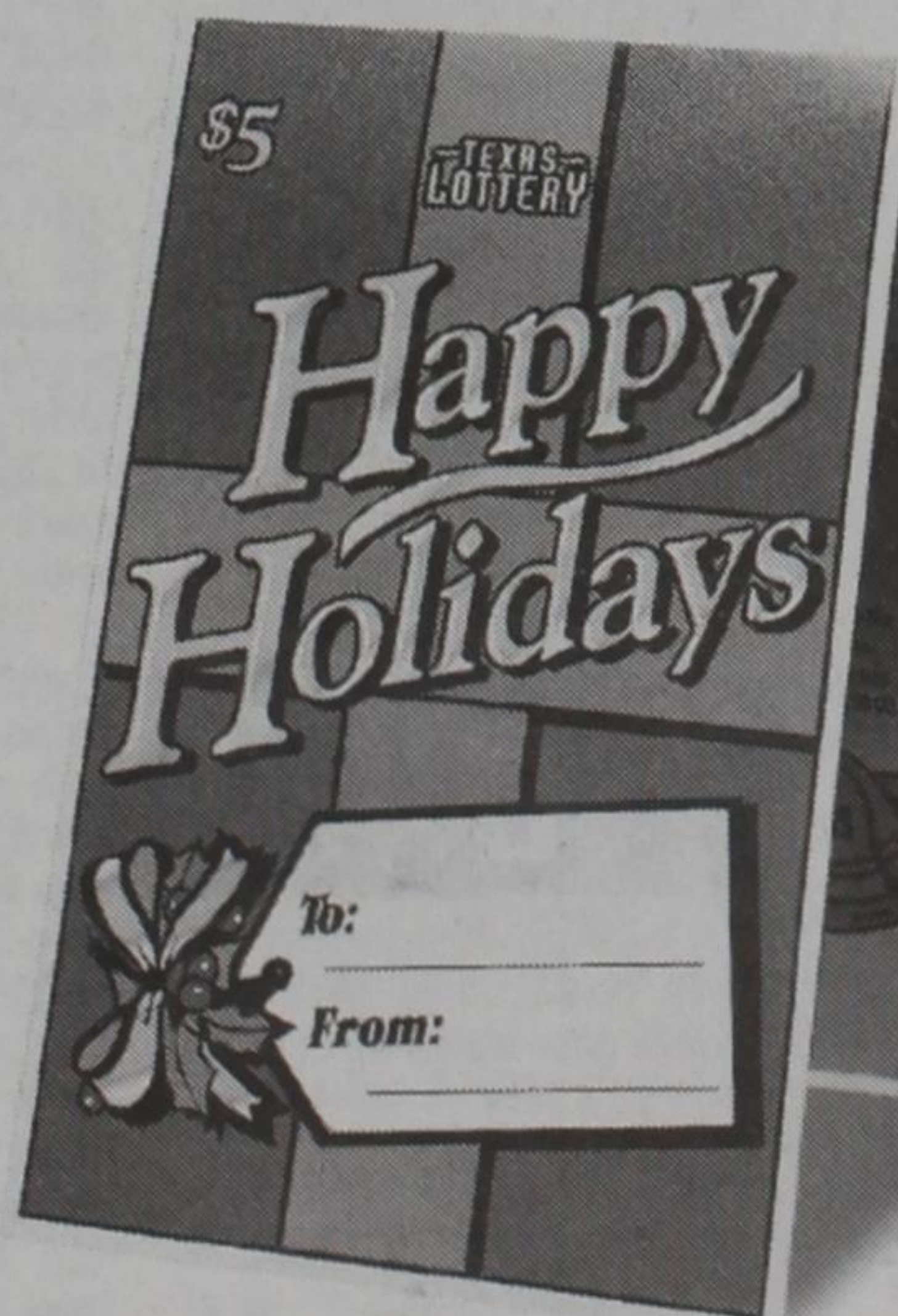
Por otra parte, Castro, que tiene ahora 70 años de edad, fue apremiado energicamente por varios dirigentes latinoamericanos para que permita una transición pacífica hacia el pluralismo político y la economía de mercado. Varios oradores se refirieron al histórico desastroso en derechos humanos del gobierno de Castro y a la falta de libertades civiles, especialmente los presidentes Menem, de la Argentina, y Frei, de Chile. El segundo estaba sentado junto a Castro durante la Cena de Estado de clausura, mientras que el Presidente de España, José M. Aznar, amonestó a Castro sobre una transición a la democracia tal como la ocurrida en España después de Franco.

La siguiente escala de Castro fue Italia, donde, como en cualquier país libre, la prensa planteó asuntos importantes sobre la situación de los derechos humanos en Cuba, junto al descontento con el embargo estadounidense. También se enfocó sobre la edad de Castro, la falta de un mecanismo de sucesión en Cuba y la necesidad de efectuar una transformación hacia el pluralismo.

Por último, la entrevista de Castro con el Papa Juan Pablo II probó ser una bendición mixta. Castro pasó 38 años, primero expulsando sacerdotes y cerrando escuelas y organizaciones religiosas, y después persiguiendo a los que continuaron siendo abier-

Continued Page 5

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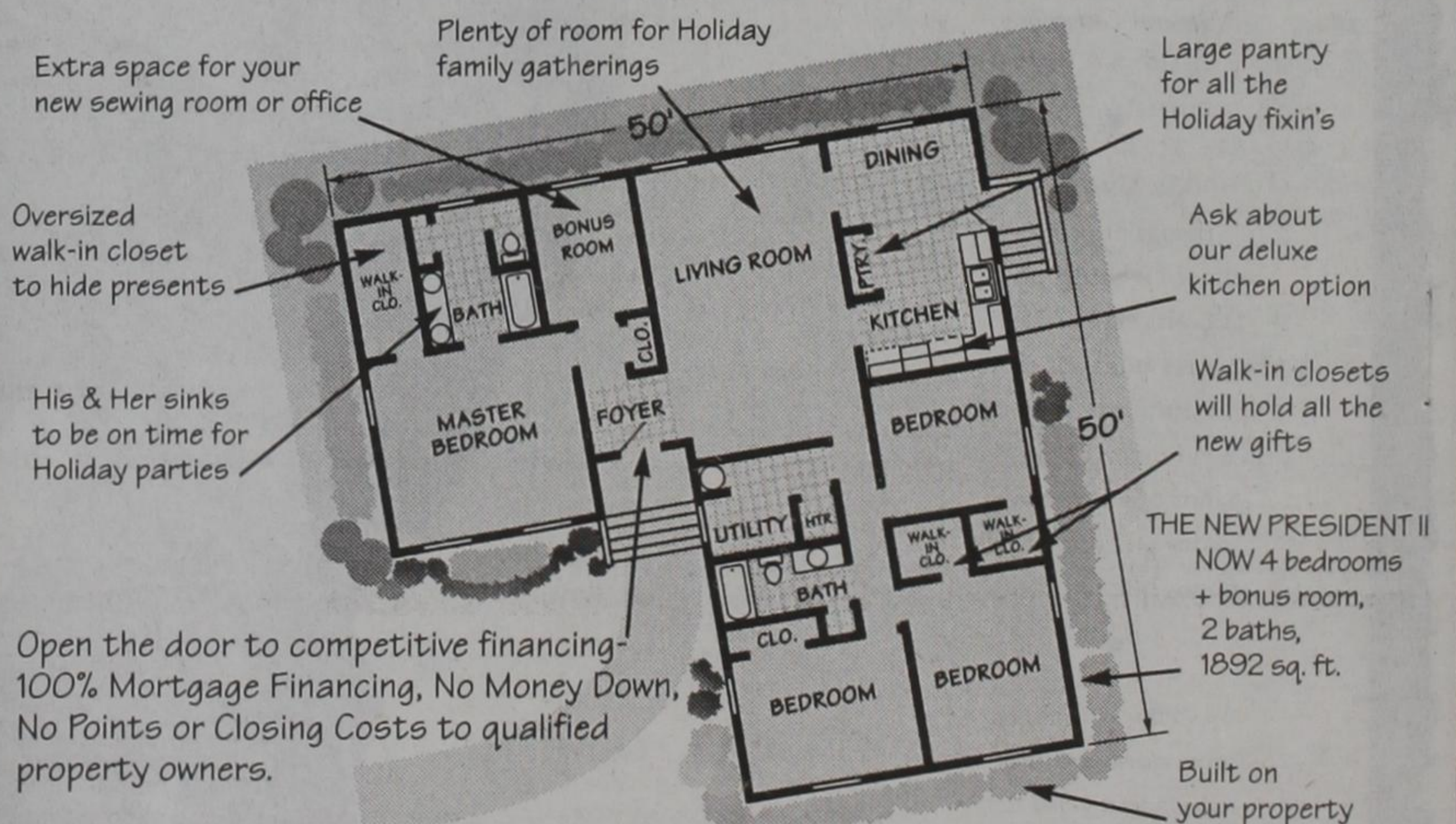


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Minorities
From Page 1

Clinton, are looking for representation.

"You don't ever hear Caucasian groups saying that they are fighting against each other for a piece of the pie, but people seem to frame things like that when it comes to us," said Lim Youngberg, director of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus Institute.

The group is pushing for Clinton to name the first Asian-American to a Cabinet post.

"We shouldn't be viewed as fighting each other for a piece of the pie. The whole 100 percent should be up for grabs. We want the pie to be larger as opposed to fighting for crumbs on table," Lim Youngberg said.

Asian-American groups are championing former Rep. Norman Y. Mineta for transportation secretary, Chang-Lin Tien, chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley for energy secretary and Reps. Robert Matsui of California and Patsy Mink of Hawaii for unspecified positions.

Lim Youngberg said Asian-Americans, who are 3 percent of the nation's population, are beginning to flex newfound political muscle. She noted that for the first time two governors are of Asian descent.

Gary Locke became the nation's first Asian-American governor, winning election in the state of Washington, and Ben Cayetano became Hawaii's first governor of Filipino ancestry.

"We are an emerging political force," Lim Youngberg said.

With the controversy over political contributions from Democratic fund-raiser John Huang, she said appointing the first Asian-American Cabinet member would send a message "that our legitimate participation won't be marginalized," she said.

"We have suffered a lot this year with the unfair portrayals and the controversy," Lim Youngberg said. "Some of our community are fearful the contribution situation is smearing all of us."

The benefits of a diverse Cabinet go beyond mere symbolism, said Lisa Navarrete, a spokeswoman for the National Council of La Raza.

"With Pena and Cisneros, we had a hand in helping shape policy. We are losing

that," Navarrete said. "We know they had input on the immigration bill and the administration held its ground on areas like not throwing the kids of immigrants out of schools. The law wasn't as bad as it might have been if they weren't there."

Blacks considered to have the best chance of getting Cabinet posts include Seattle Mayor Rice and Detroit Mayor Archer for housing secretary and presidential assistant Herman for labor.

Each group can lay claim to helping the president on Election Day.

Polls in New York showed 70 percent of Asian-Americans there voted for Clinton, while 61 percent of Asian-Americans in California supported him, Lim Youngberg said.

Hispanics, who gave Clinton 62 percent of their votes in 1992, gave him 72 percent this year, according to the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

Clinton won 84 percent of black votes, up slightly from the 82 percent he got four years ago, according to the Joint Center.

"We understand the president has a number of pressures on him," Navarrete said. "Women's groups, African-Americans, Asians and Hispanics can all make a legitimate claim that they were helpful or even made a major difference in his election."

While not specifying any names, Navarrete said her group would like at least two Hispanics in the Cabinet.

"Even President Bush had two," Navarrete said of Bush appointee Manuel Lujan at the Department of the Interior and Lauro Cavazos Jr., a holdover from the Reagan administration as education secretary.

"Bush is the one who made history having two Hispanics there even though he didn't enjoy the same support from the community that President Clinton has," Navarrete said. "We want to see him top that."

Mexican Law Delights Advocates

By ANITA SNOW

MEXICO CITY - Immigrant rights advocates were delighted Wednesday by a new law allowing Mexicans living abroad to retain inheritance and other rights in their homeland even if they become citizens of another country.

About 5.5 million Mexican citizens living in the United States could be affected by the law, approved Tuesday night by the lower house, the Chamber of Deputies. It received Senate approval earlier.

"This is the best solution that the Mexican government has ever offered for the problems of Mexican immigrants," said Primitivo Rodriguez, an immigrant rights advocate who advised the chamber.

"This will help Mexicans living in the United States incorporate themselves into American society while still retaining their rights, their culture as Mexicans."

The law recognizes the political importance of Mexicans living in the United States. It is designed to lift barriers that have kept millions of Mexicans from seeking American citizenship and becoming a powerful political bloc, especially in U.S. border states.

It has broad implications in the United States, where many Mexicans with legal residency have been reluctant to take that last step and become U.S. citizens.

Rodriguez said the main factor discouraging Mexicans from becoming U.S. citizens has been the loss of inheritance and property rights in Mexico. Now Mexicans who become U.S. citizens won't have to relinquish the family ranch or be prevented from inheriting property.

Once American citizens, they could vote and have a huge political influence in states like California and Texas where immigration issues are

prominent. They also could help elect Hispanic candidates.

"We are elated and we want to congratulate the Mexican Congress for taking a bold step in the right direction," said Lydia Camarillo, executive director of the Southwest Voter Registration Project in San Antonio, Texas.

"Once Mexicans living in the United States become citizens and start voting, they will finally get the respect and dignity they deserve," she said.

The law is expected to be ratified as early as this week by two-thirds of Mexico's 31 state legislatures and signed by President Ernesto Zedillo.

The only dissenting vote Tuesday came from Tenorio Adame of the left-center Democratic Revolution Party.

"We are not depriving any Mexican of his nationality, it is they (the migrants) who are renouncing it," he said.

The law will not allow Mexicans living outside of the country to vote in Mexican elections, but that could be changed by new legislation.

Mexicans living north of the border also fear losing their culture - their Mexican-ness - if they become U.S. citizens, because the citizenship oath requires renouncing allegiance to other countries.

Under the new law, Mexican-born people would remain Mexicans in the eyes of the Mexican government even if they become citizens of another country.

"When I lived in the United States, I never thought about becoming a citizen because I thought I would be betraying my culture, my family," said Rodriguez, who worked for immigrant rights in Chicago for 15 years.

"I wanted to be a full participant in American society. I thought it would be shameful to give up being a Mexican," he said.



Un Rayito De Luz

by Sofia Martinez

Alguien pregunta: ¿Porqué, hablamos a Jesucristo llamándole "Nuestro Señor"? Le llamamos "Señor", "Nuestro Señor", porque somos suyos, y le pertenecemos no solamente por habernos creado, sino también por habernos redimido, muriendo en la cruz por nosotros.

La palabra "Señor" significa, quiere decir, que tiene derechos sobre nosotros. En el lenguaje ordinario, es una

forma de cortesía, pero hablando de Jesucristo tiene su verdadero sentido en toda la extensión "Nuestro Señor", debemos siempre pronunciarla con mucho respeto y sumisión, con la intención de afirmar que dependemos de El como respeto y sumisión, con la intención de afirmar que dependemos de El como creaturas tuyas, rescatadas por el, y como discípulos suyos le llamamos Nuestro Divino Dueño. (Romanos 10, 12).

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POR PASTOR FRANK GARCÍA

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Y echando fuera el demonio, el mudo habló.

Mateo 9:33.

Al leer este pasaje se nota, en primer lugar, que algunas veces se encuentra fe firme en el Salvador donde menos se piensa. ¿Quién hubiera pensado que dos hombres ciegos llamarían al Señor "Hijo de David"? Ellos, por supuesto, no vieron los milagros que hizo, y solo lo conocían por el decir de las gentes. Mas si bien tenían velados los ojos, la mente les fue iluminada. Y así percibieron la verdad que los fariseos no alcanzaron a penetrar; Y conocieron que Jesús Nazareno era el Mesías, y que podía curarlos.

BUEN EJEMPLO DE FE

Ejemplos de esta clase nos demuestran que jamás debemos desconfiar de la salvación de alguna persona porque esté rodeada de circunstancias desfavorables para su alma. La vida de la fe no depende solo de las circunstancias externas. Porque el Espíritu Santa puede conceder fe a los ignorantes, a los pobres, a los que viven privados de casi todos los medios de gracia. Pues sin el auxilio del Espíritu Santo el pecador no podrá obtener la salvación. La Escritura dice que en el último día se presentará un espectáculo sorprendente: muchos postreros serán primeros y primeros postreros. Mateo 20:16

LA MISERICORDIA DEL SEÑOR

Nuestro Señor Jesucristo iba por todas las ciudades y aldeas haciendo obras de misericordia. Y fue testigo ocular de todos los ataques a que la carne está sujeta; y vió sufrimientos de toda especie, de todo linaje; y se asoció con enfermos de distintos clases. Ninguno era tan asqueroso que él no quisiese cuidarlo y aliviarlo. Este hecho es para el cristiano muy consolador. Pues todos estamos revestidos de cuerpos débiles y delicados. Acaso de un momento a otro se nos llama a velar al lado del lecho de un pariente o de un amigo, y tendremos que presenciar sus padecimientos y agonías; o acaso nosotros mismo seamos atacados de una grave enfermedad y tengamos que experimentar agudos dolores.

CUAN GRANDE INTERES DEL SEÑOR

Es de notarse en tercer lugar, cuán grande interés era el que sentía nuestro Señor por los que carecían de privilegios espirituales. Cuando estuvo en la tierra vió muchedumbres que estaban dispersas como ovejas sin pastor, y se conmovió profundamente. Viéndolas abandonadas por los que estaban en el deber de instruirlos, y sumidas en la ignorancia, desamparo y la degradación, apiadose de ellas. Pues ese tierno corazón no podía permanecer impassible en presencia de tal espectáculo. Y dijo a sus discípulos "Rogad pues, al Señor de la mies, que envíe obreros a su mies."

News Briefs

the personal attention, guidance and care?" Kincy said. A California official agrees.

"Ultimately it is less costly to have grandparents in charge of kids than it is to have foster parents at the state and county expense," said John Kehoe of the California Commission on Aging.

Kincy said, "There should be a separate category for grandparents and relatives of caregivers because these are not our children, there are really our foster children."

La Visita

From Page 4

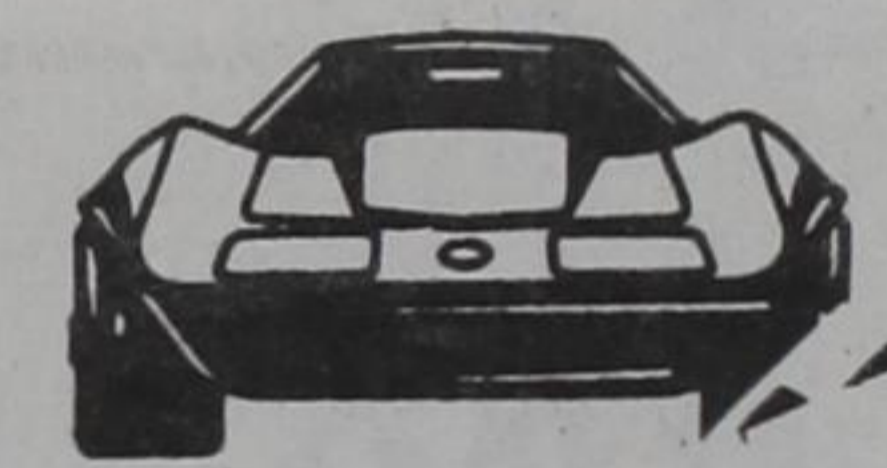
tamente miembros de la Iglesia.

El nos envió a los campamentos de trabajos forzados de la UMAP; nos expulsó de las universidades, de las aulas de clases y de las plazas del gobierno. Ahora en quiebra y aislado, se ha vuelto hacia la Iglesia Católica a la que trató infructuosamente de destruir, para que le dé algún apoyo exterior y algún espacio interior para respirar.

El Papa Juan Pablo II visitará Cuba. Pero lo hará solamente si Castro le permite mezclarse libremente con el pueblo y decir Misas al aire libre, como lo ha hecho tradicionalmente en todas las naciones de América Latina que ha visitado.

Castro debería recordar la última Misa al aire libre que él permitió - la del Congreso Católico Cubano de 1960. Más de un millón de personas se reunieron en una plaza pública de La Habana (la Plaza Cívica, llamada ahora Plaza de la Revolución). Esa demostración de unidad y devoción entre los católicos cubanos pro-

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vocó la expulsión de los sacerdotes, los cierres de las escuelas y la intervención en la Juventud Católica Cubana y todas las demás organizaciones católicas laicas. Castro no podía aceptar que una organización independiente fuera tan fuerte o más fuerte que la suya.

El embargo estadounidense ayudó a Castro a barrer sus errores económicos internos bajo la alfombra. También ayudó al mundo a hacerse de la vista gorda sobre la opresión política implantada por Castro. Pero estas tres experiencias internacionales recientes muestran que el mundo se ha cansado de Castro finalmente y que le gustaría verlo partir. Ellos quieren que el éxodo sea pacífico y ordenado. La visita del Papa puede resultar ser exactamente lo que se necesita: El último empujón.



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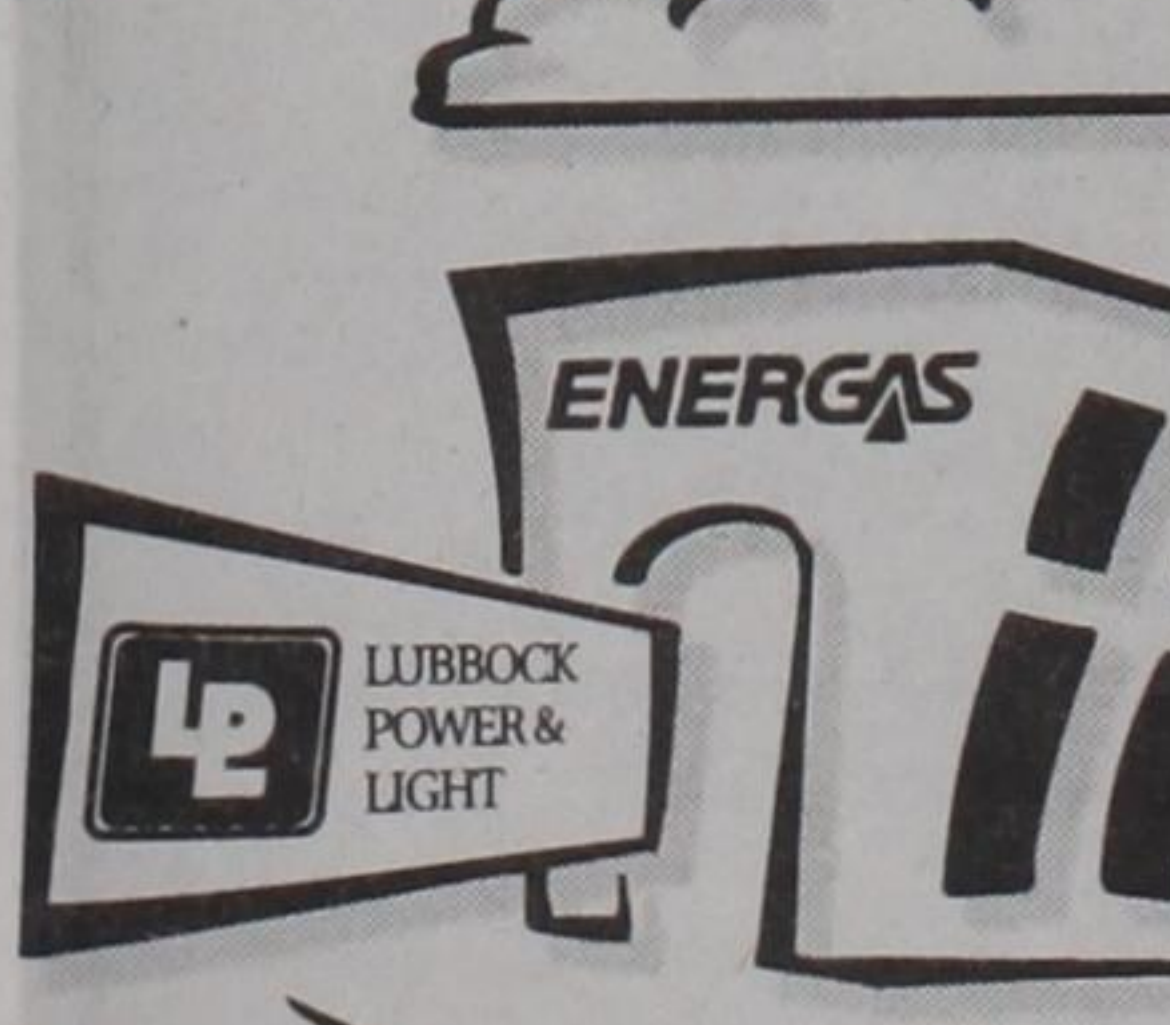
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No es necesaria la compra para participar. Abierto a individuos con direcciones postales en CA o TX. Para la participación automática es necesario completar una solicitud de Dinero Seguro con su dirección postal completa. Las solicitudes están disponibles en las oficinas postales participantes y se deben entregar antes del 6 de enero de 1997. Nulo donde esté prohibido. Para participar gratuitamente llame al 1-800-999-3897 entre las 12:01 a.m. del 2 de diciembre de 1996 y las 11:59 p.m. del 6 de enero de 1997. Una copia gratis de las reglas oficiales completas está disponible en las oficinas postales participantes, o envíe un sobre timbrado con su nombre y dirección a: "Strike It Big/Golpe de Suerte" Sweepstakes Official Rules, P.O. Box 1153, Lombard, IL 60148-8853 antes del 6 de enero de 1997.



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