

el **Editor**

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Poll: Hispanic Vote in 2004 Elections More Divided Than in Past

Jorge A. Banales

The Democratic Party has traditionally counted on substantial support from Latino voters, but this year Hispanics are very divided between Sen. John Kerry and Republican George W. Bush, according to a poll released Tuesday.

"The poll confirms the fact that the Hispanic vote is in dispute, especially in the presidential election," The Latino Coalition's president, Robert De Posada, whose organization sponsored the poll, said at a press conference.

The Latino Coalition is described as a non-partisan group, but Kerry campaign spokeswoman Fabiola Rodriguez, told EFE that "the group has strong ties to the Republican Party."

The poll, conducted by the firm Opiniones Latinas, was based on interviews with 1,000 adults between Sept. 27 and Oct. 3 and had a 3.1 percent margin of error.

In the 2000 presidential election, then-Democratic candidate Al Gore received 62 percent of the Hispanic

vote across the country, but there were regional differences in some states like Florida, where Bush fared better.

"This year, with less than a month to go before the election, Kerry only

main problems, now believe that U.S. national security is a bigger priority.

Fifty percent of Hispanics believe that Bush is a "stronger and more

decisive leader," while only 34 percent hold that opinion of Kerry, according to the Latino Coalition.

The poll also showed that 55.2 percent of those interviewed are opposed to the war in Iraq, compared to 39.2 percent who support it.

Registered to vote or not, 59 percent of Hispanics identify more with the Democratic Party, and only 29.2

percent with the Republican Party, the poll showed.

Additionally, 54 percent believe Kerry would do a better job than Bush of managing the economy and creating jobs.

The poll also showed other details about Latinos in the United States: 65.3 percent of those surveyed were of Mexican descent, while 6.1 percent were Cuban, 8.3 percent Puerto Rican, 6.7 percent South American, 6.2 percent Central American and 3.4 percent Dominican.

As for U.S. ideological labels, 35.9 percent of Latinos consider themselves "conservative," 30 percent "liberal" and 25.9 percent "moderate."

For 22.4 percent of those surveyed, unemployment, job retention and the state of the economy were the most serious problems for their families in the United States, followed by 8.2 percent who mentioned medical assistance and 7.7 percent who brought up education.

The poll also showed that U.S. Hispanics are optimists: 70.8 percent believe that their children will have a better life in the U.S. and 14.8 percent maintain the hope that they will have a standard of living similar to that of their parents. Only 11.3 percent

Bush defiende su política en Irak en intento por mejorar imagen

El presidente de Estados Unidos, George W. Bush, hizo hoy una agresiva defensa de su política exterior y económica en un intento por mejorar su imagen dos días antes del nuevo debate con su rival demócrata en las elecciones, John Kerry.

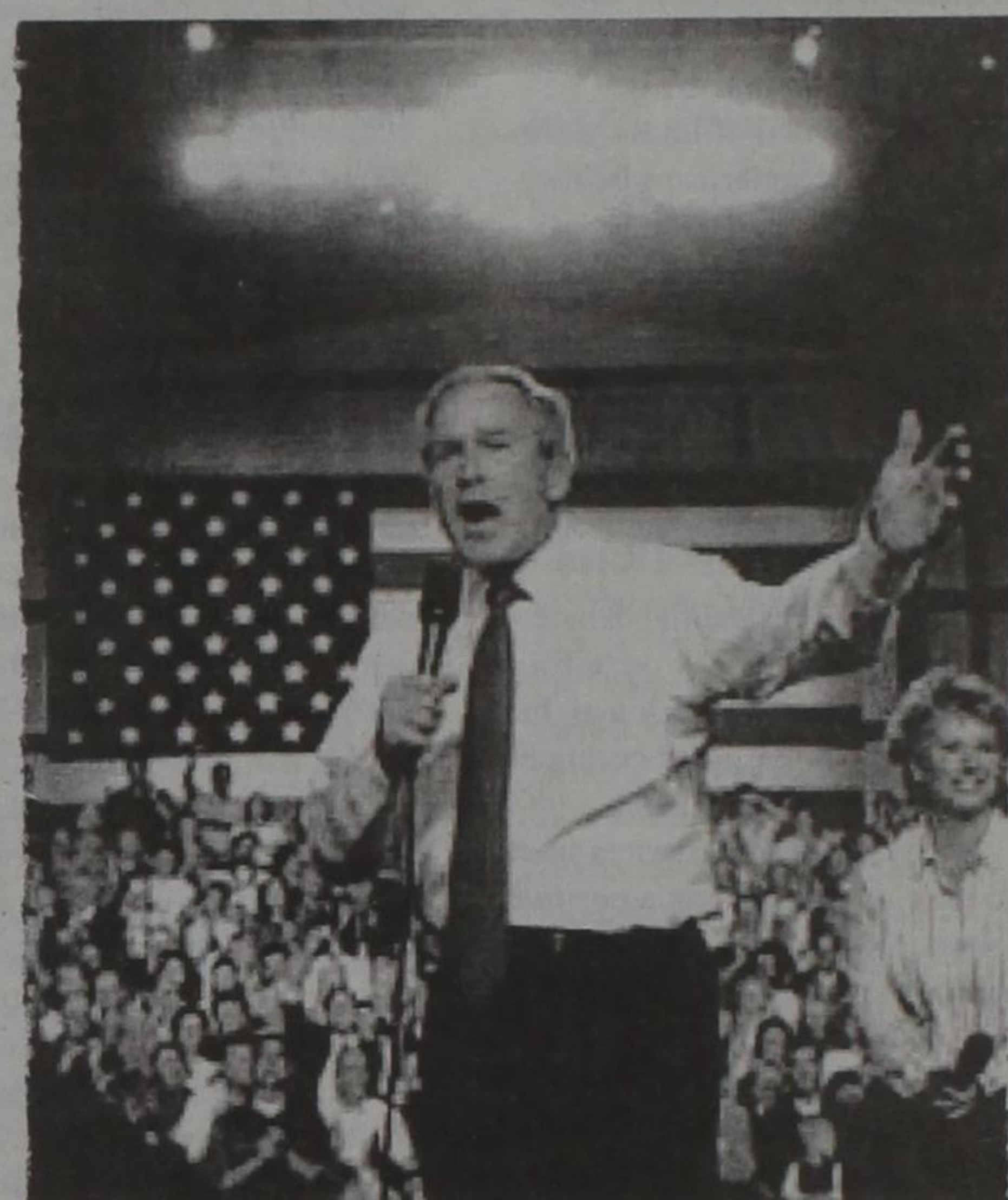
Bush pronunció hoy un discurso en Wilkes-Barre (Pensilvania) que en un principio iba a dedicar a la sanidad pública pero que la Casa Blanca indicó finalmente que se centraría en Irak, la política exterior y la economía.

Con este cambio en el programa, el presidente pretendía hacer frente al nuevo informe sobre Irak que se presenta hoy en el Congreso y que contradice su principal argumento para justificar la guerra: que ese país árabe poseía armas de destrucción masiva.

Finalmente, el "importante" discurso, como lo había definido la Casa Blanca, apenas fue otro de tantos eventos electorales en los que el presidente ha participado en las últimas semanas, que aprovechó para

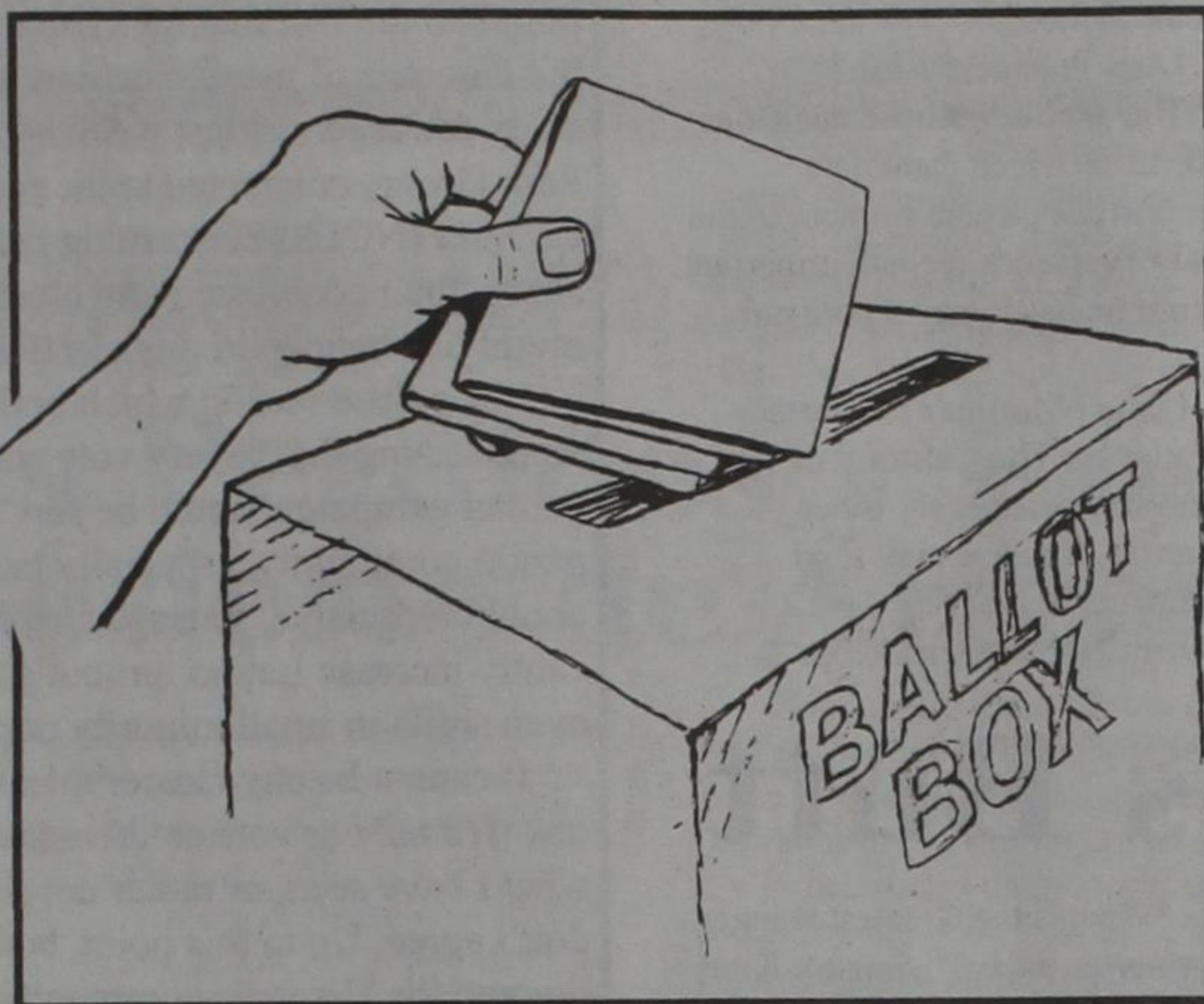
arremeter contra Kerry y acusarle de apoyar "una estrategia para la derrota".

En su intervención, Bush aludió a los atentados del 11 de septiembre de 2001 para asegurar que "en el mundo creado tras el 11-S no podíamos permitirnos el riesgo" que suponía



el régimen de Sadam Husein, debido a su historial de posesión y uso de armas no convencionales.

Dado el riesgo de que algún gobierno proporcionara armas de destrucción masiva a grupos terroristas para que perpetraran nuevos atentados a gran escala en EEUU, "un régimen se destacaba por encima de todos los demás: el de Sadam Husein", declaró. (Continúa en la página 5)



has a 9-point advantage with Hispanic voters," De Posada said, adding that Kerry is currently preferred by 47 percent of registered Hispanic voters compared to Bush's 38 percent.

"By this point in the campaign, the Democratic presidential candidate should have had a two-to-one advantage, assuring him approximately 60 percent of the Hispanic vote," De Posada said.

"This signifies a serious problem for Kerry if he needs to win in undecided states with large Hispanic populations like New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada and Florida," he explained.

De Posada was director of Hispanic Affairs of the National Republican Committee between 1989 and 1992 and headed George H.W. Bush's Hispanic publicity campaign in 1988.

However, Kerry spokeswoman Rodriguez said, "All the major polls in the country show that Sen. Kerry has firm support among Latinos, amounting to nearly 60 percent of the voters in that community."

According to the Latino Coalition poll, one thing that has benefited Bush is that the majority of Latinos, who last year considered the economy and unemployment to be the country's

Bush gets heat from both immigrants and anti-immigrants

Immigration by undocumented people was the topic of campaigns against the government of George W. Bush launched this week by the largest coalition of Latino organizations in California as well as by a feisty anti-immigrant group.

The former, the National Alliance for Human Rights, demands legalization for undocumented people while the latter, Save Our State, demands

mented immigrants, as part of their campaign dubbed "October Sunrise".

The NAHR president, historian Armando Navarrol of the University of California Riverside, told Notimex, "Bush did not only not fulfill the immigration reform he promised during his campaign, but he now allows politicians to mix the topics of immigration and terrorism."

"If we allow his re-election we're going to slip back. We have already been denied drivers licenses (for undocumented residents), they are planning to make Border patrol mobile teams, they left us without health services and without education reform, all these actions affect Latinos most," he said.

Mobilization is to begin next weekend with a march in San Bernardino and another around the middle of the month in Los Angeles.

One of the leaders in San Bernardino, Father Patricio Guillén, told Notimex that he considered the raids to detain undocumented immigrants last July measured the existing response capacity.

However, he pointed out, when they saw the rejection they got as response from different organizations they backed off, if Bush wins "there will increasingly be more of the same." (Continued Page 5)



border control.

The anti-immigrant group even gave President Bush a deadline, October 25, to "vindicate himself" increasing control of immigration at the border.

On the contrary they will deploy technological resources along the Arizona border to detain undocu-



Comentarios

by Bidal Agüero

Both the Presidential and the Vice President's Debates proved to be very interesting and informative. Most people agree that the presidential debate was won by Kerry and the other debate was pretty even or what some would call a draw. I agree with both opinions but was bothered by the lack of attention given to our biggest neighbor - South America. It amazes me that not one word was said about the policy to be followed by each of the candidates as it relates to South America or more specifically — Mexico. I guess we just have to guess.

The debate certainly showed that President Bush - as the cartoon brings out on page 2 - sure does struggle when he doesn't have a script. No wonder he seems baffled when he got news about the twin towers bombing

The local race between Stenholm and Neugebauer continues and it will be interesting to see their debate to be aired locally on UPN on Tuesday. No word yet on what the format will be and who will ask the questions but some that should be asked include:

1. What does each candidate plan to do to eliminate the 65% rate of children living in poverty in the Arnett Benson area?
2. What does each candidate plan to do to address the shortage of low income housing in Lubbock and the area?
3. What does each candidate plan to do to do about the lack of good paying jobs and the ever-increasing amount of people who are not making a decent living wage?
4. What does each candidate plan to do to about rising health costs and the fact that much of the low income population of District 19 do not have health insurance?
5. What does each candidate plan to do to communicate with a here-to-for ignored populous in District 19?

These are only five questions which should be asked but I'm sure will be ignored due to preference being given to agriculture.

The commissioner's race is once again getting attention with more credit that is deserved being given to the Republican candidate. Of course this all courtesy of the Lubbock AJ who is probably anxious to rid Lubbock of all vestiges of the Democratic Party.

We wonder if any debates are being planned to hear each of the candidates plans for Precinct 3. It would be interesting to have the Republican candidate answer many questions from his past.

Write to Bidal at eleditor@lano.net

After 30 Years

Hispanic Leader Is Retiring From Advocacy Group

By THOMAS CRAMPTON

Thirty years ago, when Raul Yzaguirre became the leader of the National Council of La Raza, the group was living off a \$500,000 grant and focused on giving a voice to Hispanics in urban areas.

Now it has \$90 million in assets, an annual budget of \$28 million, a staff of 125, and perhaps most important, is one of the nation's most prominent Hispanic-American advocacy organizations.

"Four months before taking the job, I had told a friend that I pitied the person taking over," he said in advance of his planned announcement on Thursday that he would retire as president and chief executive at year's end. "The organization had a board in disarray and an inflated sense of self-importance."

He expanded its role from concentrating on building grass-root political groupings to also include financially supporting programs in education, housing and economic development.

"Our main problem was that we did not have any institution or critical mass of talented and committed leaders at the local level," Mr. Yzaguirre said. "There was also no sense among corporate or political decision makers that our community was important or worth talking to."

Wade Henderson, the executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, of which Mr. Yzaguirre is an executive committee member, said that "Raul turned his vision into a national institution that changed the perception of Hispanic people in America."

"His departure, a bittersweet moment, ends the foundational phase of the Hispanic role in national politics," Mr. Henderson added.

Mr. Yzaguirre will be succeeded by Janet Murguía, the organization's executive director, who was a deputy manager of the Gore-Lieberman campaign in 2000.

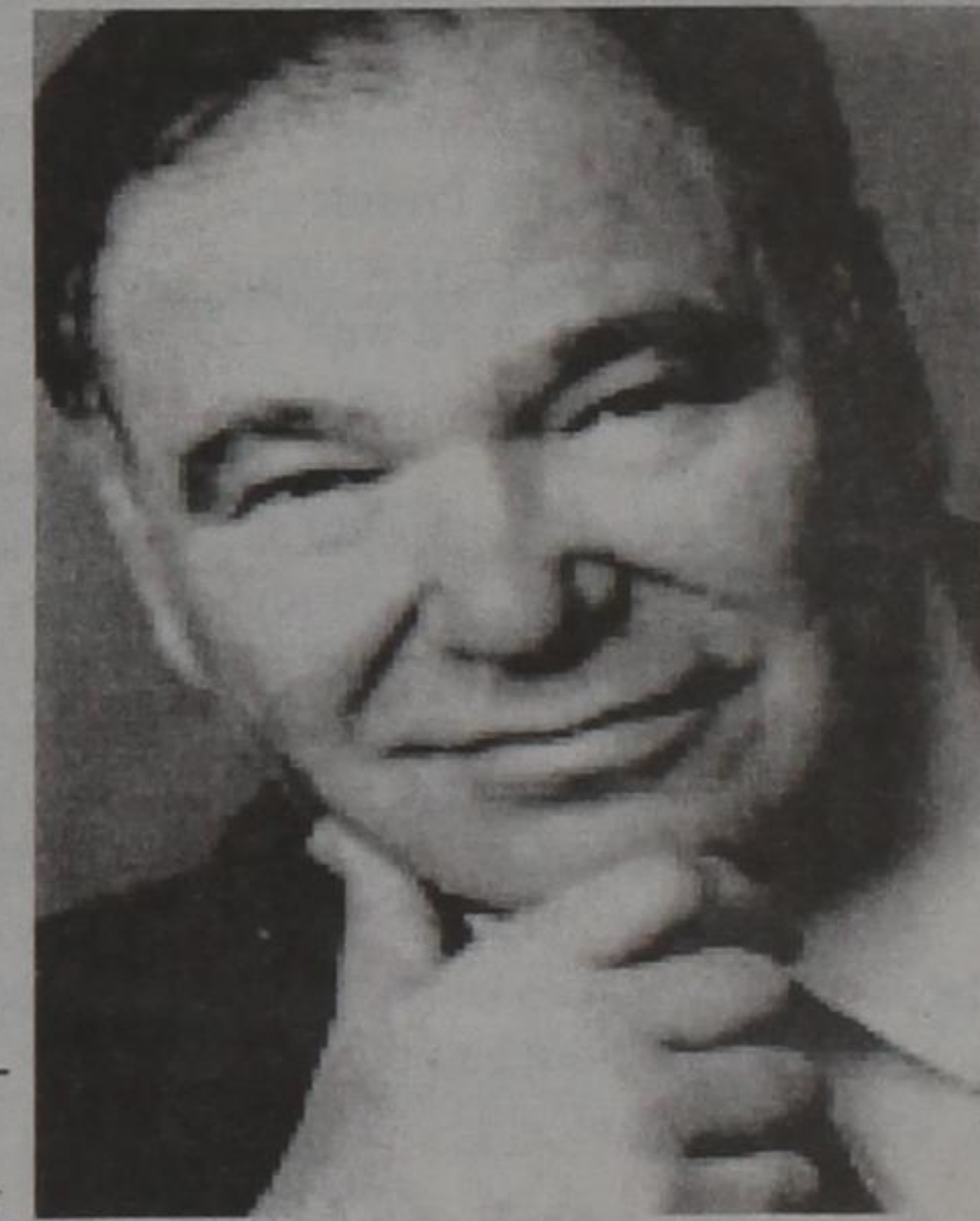
The National Council of La Raza's name comes from "the race," though Mr. Yzaguirre said it was more intended to imply the less charged term "the people."

Standing in front of a wall displaying photographs of him with Jimmy Carter and every president since, Mr. Yzaguirre said that while Democrats have long been the most strongly Hispanic party, Republicans now also recognize the power of Hispanics.

(The only nonpresident pictured on the wall is Newt Gingrich, the former Republican speaker of the House. "I put his picture there because it was so unexpected to find Newt on the same side as us.")

While increasing Hispanic political heft remains important, the most crucial battles of today center on public perception, economic issues and education, Mr. Yzaguirre said.

"Everywhere you look in the media, we are portrayed opposite to reality," Mr. Yzaguirre said. "You would think we are lazy, unpatriotic and have no family values, when the exact opposite is true to the facts."



Real Latino issues bad fit with politics

LEONEL MARTINEZ,

My colleague Andy and I are about as different as it gets. He's a conservative Republican, and I'm a staunch Democrat. He's a gun enthusiast and member of the National Rifle Association, and I don't even own a firearm. He's more than 6 feet tall, and I'm, well, somewhat shorter. So of course, we get along famously. A couple of times a week, we heave ugly black weights together at Strength and Health Barbell Club downtown, spotting for each other as we lob good-natured barbs that often touch upon partisan politics. We both know that we'll never agree, but a couple of weeks ago, Andy hit me with a tough question over lunch at El Pollo Loco: "Do you really think Kerry cares about Hispanics?"

For a few seconds, I couldn't answer. Saying someone "cares" about Latinos is, after all, quite different from saying he wants their votes. And if that momentary silence demonstrated a hint of ambivalence about presumptive Democratic presidential nominee John Kerry's commitment to Hispanic voters, I'm not alone. A Zogby poll released in late June by the National Council of La Raza shows that Hispanic Americans believe their concerns aren't being addressed by any of the political

candidates. Sixty percent of Latino registered voters indicated that the candidates are ignoring the issues most important to the Hispanic community. Those living in the nation's eastern and western states -- many of which are important to the presidential election -- were even more likely to agree with that statement.

You've heard the conventional wisdom. Latinos vote Democrat. That's an indisputable fact. Republicans attempt to wrest Hispanics from the Democratic Party by arguing that they are a better fit on social issues such as abortion and homosexual unions, and that may be true. But the Zogby Polls seem to suggest most Latinos simply don't think those issues are very important. In fact, the poll shows that Hispanic voters aren't happy with either political party. And if Hispanics are crucial to the upcoming presidential election, Kerry and Bush both better realize winning their votes will take more than showing up at mariachi festivals to munch tacos and say "buenos dias."

The poll, conducted by Zogby International, surveyed 1,000 adults representing all Latino subgroups in every region of the country.

Then what issues do Latinos feel the candidates should concentrate on?

Judging from press accounts and political activists, some might guess bilingual education, affirmative action and driver's licenses for illegal immigrants. I always bump into armchair pundits who just "know" these are burning issues for Hispanics even though their arguments are rarely backed up by data. But activists have always been more liberal than mainstream Latinos, whose concerns closely resemble those of other U.S. residents.

For example, the Zogby Poll found that the No. 1 issue for Hispanics is education, with 34 percent identifying it as their top concern. Nearly all respondents said a college education is important, and most support fairly distributing money between rich and poor school districts as well as providing enough money for preschool.

The second highest concern was the economy/jobs, followed by immigration, civil rights and health care. Despite 9-11 and the war in Iraq, the war on terrorism managed to come in only fifth on the list.

For the most part, these topics would make the top 10 list for most U.S. residents, but Hispanic opinions differ in a couple of key areas.

Concerning immigration, most

Latino voters agreed that tax-paying legal immigrants should be entitled to the same benefits and services afforded U.S. citizens.

Nothing radical there. But 82 percent of Hispanics also support legislation that would allow illegal immigrants who have lived, worked, and paid taxes in the U.S. to get on the path to citizenship.

As for as health care, a large majority of Latinos feel the nation should spend more to provide it, even if it means raising taxes.

Politicians who make a speech calling for better education will probably get applause from just about everybody. But candidates who advocate higher taxes to expand health care and push for a program to legalize illegal immigrants are liable to make a lot of enemies very quickly.

So does Kerry really "care" about Latinos?

Does President Bush? The answer to those questions depend on which candidate demonstrates a commitment to the issues Hispanics feel are important, even if he has to pay a political price.

Leonel Martinez is a former reporter for The Californian. His column appears every other Saturday. Readers may send comments or ideas to lmartinez@bakersfield.com

Negative Motivation?

By Abel Cruz

A couple of weeks ago I wrote a column about the two candidates Charles Stenholm and Randy Neugabauer, who are running for the Congressional seat from the new 19th District.

As I noted in the column, I had been in contact with the Stenholm campaign and asked if they would provide me with some information concerning their plans or campaign strategy to get Hispanic voters to the polls on November 2. At the time I wrote the column I had not heard from Stenholm's campaign staff. That all changed last week after the column ran in the September 23rd edition of El Editor.

As it turns out, I was contacted by Arti Blanco, and met with her and Jodi Zweifler, Stenholm's Communication Director.

Even after our meeting, I'm not so sure that Charlie Stenholm will be able to get the Hispanic vote that he will need if he intends to win this election. And if he is intent on winning on November 2, he will need Hispanic voters to go out in large numbers and vote Democratic.

The question remains though, has Stenholm given us a reason to vote for him? For that matter, has Neugabauer? I'll let you be the judge.

Every piece of information that I have read or researched, points to the fact that the Hispanic voter will be key in deciding the outcome of many elections around the country. In a research study released just last week by the research firm The Glover Park Group, conducted at the request of the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) concerning races in what are being called key states, their conclusion and closing statement best reflects what might just happen in this election:

"In a close race in which both Presidential campaigns are emphasizing that "every vote counts", this analysis shows that neither campaign would be served by ignoring this (the Hispanic) community, especially in states where the Latino vote could be decisive, states where external factors could significantly increase Latino turnout and states that are so close that even shifts in small minority populations can be important."

It cannot be any clearer than that, which in a close race as this one will be, our vote could make the difference. But judging by what I have seen, or rather not seen, both campaigns apparently don't agree. Up to this point, both candidates have largely ignored the Hispanic community. That may change in the last 25 days left before November 2. But whether one campaign or both can influence the Hispanic vote remains to be seen.

Past voting patterns suggest that Hispanics vote mostly for Democratic candidates. Does that mean that the Neugabauer campaign has written us off because they know that we will vote Democratic? Does it mean that the Stenholm camp has taken for granted that we will vote Democratic as our voting patterns suggest?

The much larger question is this: will Hispanic voters go out and vote at all?

In general, people have to be motivated to take some kind of action. Motivation comes in many different forms. For example, the motivation to work comes from our need to support ourselves and our families. Advertisers depend on their ads to motivate and influence our buying habits. Political campaigns and politicians are no different. What is our motivation, as Hispanic voters, to go out and vote for either candidate in this election on November 2? Are we being negatively motivated to not vote at all?

One could argue that it is our civic duty and our right as American citizens to exercise our right. Another popular argument for voting is that if Hispanics vote in large numbers, eventually, we will get politicians to listen to our voices, and our issues.

But what do you do when neither candidate shows that our vote is worth campaigning for?

To date, both camps have relied mostly on television to get their message out. The Neugabauer message is that Mr. Neugabauer is a West Texas conservative that will take his conservative Christian values to Washington. He has also relied heavily on his relationship with Bush/Cheney to appeal to the large gerrymandered Republican majority in the district. And of course, the ads will lead us to believe that the agriculture industry will cease to exist without him in Washington!

Mr. Stenholm on the other hand also touts his conservative values, his protection of family and faith, his role as savior of the agriculture interests, his independent voting record, his Blue Dog Democrat affiliation, and his longtime tenure in Congress. But he has made it a point to steer clear of the Kerry/Edwards ticket and in fact emphasizes his ability to work with both Democrats and Republicans in Congress and the Bush administration. In fact, the Stenholm campaign seems to have conceded the presidential campaign to the Republican administration. Is that what they mean when they talk about party loyalty?

The next 25 days will probably bring a smattering of ads in the local Hispanic publications and a few campaign appearances from the Stenholm camp. As for the Neugabauer campaign, I really don't expect to see much in the form of an appeal for the Hispanic vote.

Call it political dejavu. Every election cycle seems to play out in the same way. We hear all this talk about the Hispanic voter making the difference in an election, we hear politicians practice the few words they know in Spanish, they shake our hands at our Fiestas and see them riding in our Fiestas parade.

But do they really speak to us? Do they really know what issues are important to us? Do they really try and win our vote? Do they even know or care that 60% of our children living in the Arnett Benson neighborhood live below the poverty level? Think saving the farmer's way of life is high on these families issues list?

To be continued...
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Kerry Kicks President's Butt

By: Alberto Pena

The first Presidential debate which covered the war on terror and Iraq ended one week ago, but there is still widespread crying in the Republican camp.

Republican spin masters wasted no time in trying to put a positive spin on what became painfully obvious after last Thursday's Presidential Debate. The debate was the President's debate to lose and he did. The republican spin machine made me wonder if we had seen the same debate.

Senator John Kerry who is reputed to be a master debater and who has never lost a debate proved the experts right when he kicked President Bush's backside so completely that when the President stands up straight, his derrière looks down on the top of his head.

Most experts agreed that the debate was the President's to lose and Mr. Bush did in fact lose. Mr. Bush lacked the essential Presidential demeanor when answering questions. He stammered, choked, and wrestled to find the words to formulate a Presidential answer not once or twice but numerous times. He stared blankly at the camera at least four times. This was a fatal error, because on national TV a one second stare in confused silence into the camera can be an eternity. The President's facial expressions clearly showed his frustrations. Experts explain that the President is not used to being told he is wrong. He has surrounded himself with people who do nothing but validate his every move.

Senator Kerry, in contrast to Mr. Bush answered every question calmly, clearly, and confidently. This is exactly what Senator Kerry had to do to win. He had to appear Presidential and he did.

About midway through the debate each candidate had the occasion to speak respectfully of

each others family but that is where the agreement ended. It was the stark differences between the two that really interested voters and which became apparent almost immediately.

Senator Kerry stated that the President's preemptive strike in Iraq helped the recruiting efforts of the terrorist organizations and that Iraq has tied up America militarily and financially. The President's policies have actually strengthen the terrorist organization. Senator Kerry offered a plan which calls for a larger international coalition in the war against terror that will allow US forces to begin leaving Iraq in six months. The President stated that American can fight terror with the existing coalition and has given up trying to get other nations to be willing participants in the coalition. He came across as someone who has given up on America's traditional allies and plans to fight the global war alone despite the Billions in cost and in defiance of repeated calls for a larger force to deal with the Iraqi insurgency. The President stated simply that he plans to stay the course.

President Bush made the claim that the world is safer without Saddam Hussein. Senator Kerry stated that the President was ignoring the reality of the increasing insurgency in Iraq. The Senator contended that terrorist attacks increased each month, that American pays 90% of the cost of the war, and that Americans suffer 90% of the casualties in Iraq. The American strategy in Afghanistan is also wrong according to Senator Kerry. The Bush administration policies practically allow war lords to produce 75% of the world's opium. According to Mr. Kerry, President Bush made a "Colossal Error in Judgment" and

continues to pursue the wrong strategy in both countries. President Bush stated that he plans to stay the course. Vice President Dick Cheney reaffirmed the President's position to stay the course, during Tuesday's debate saying, "If we had to do it all over again, we would not change a thing. We would do it exactly the same way we did it."

In the end, President Bush came across as someone who is out of touch with reality. He continued to insist that all is well in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is true that both nations are scheduled to have elections in the near future, but the reality is that Afghanistan is ruled by warlords and Iraq has the problem of a growing insurgency. The President continues to ignore these two realities.

The fact is that the American voter is fully aware of the increasingly deteriorating state of the war in both countries. The President's failure to accept the truth about the war is convicting. He is either lying about the war or he is in complete denial.

The most important question asked by the facilitator, Jim Lehrer

was "What is the Greatest Danger to America today?" Senator Kerry stated that it was nuclear proliferation in North Korea and in Iran. Senator Kerry stated that he would deal with both problem nations. The President's response was to stay the course.

As part of his debate strategy the President did in fact stay the course. Throughout the entire 1 hour and 12 minutes debate, the President continued repeating a well rehearsed line, "The Senator is Inconsistent."

On the fashion side, Kerry was definitely the winner. The President actually looked a bit scruffy. He should seriously consider firing his barber. A word of gratitude is owed to the person or persons who selected the ties worn by the candidates. Bush in blue tie and Kerry in red gave the debate a refreshing comedic flavor. News organizations score the candidates likely wins showing red for Bush and blue for Kerry. In their choice of ties, the candidates wore the other's color.

The next debate will be on October 8, 2004 and will cover all topics.



"I'M SORRY SPORT, I CAN'T GO WITH YOU THIS TIME, BUT IF YOU'RE REAL BRAVE AND YOU ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS, WE'LL GO FOR ICE CREAM AFTERWARDS."



"Which is the bigger risk for the Bush campaign . . . his Iraq policy or a format where he's thinking on his feet unscripted?"

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The Farmworkers Angry Champion

By Dick Meister

Before César Chávez, there was Ernesto Galarza to lead the seemingly endless struggle to bring economic and social justice to this nation's farmworkers. But even many who have followed that struggle may have forgotten Galarza, dead for 20 years now.

I recall him clearly. His shining black hair and fierce, penetrating gaze. His angry, intense words and slashing speeches against those who resisted demands for reform. His scholarly writing, novels, poetry and his teaching.

Galarza's was one of the loudest and, surely, most unusual of the voices that have been raised in behalf of the farmworker. He had a PhD, wrote a half-dozen books and numerous pamphlets and articles, and taught at all levels, from elementary school to university. Yet he also was an active union organizer, a key leader in laying the groundwork for the emergence in California of the farm labor movement led by Chávez.

Galarza came to California's fields in 1948 as an officer of the American Federation of Labor's National Farm Labor Union. He

had grown up in California, after his family fled from the chaos of the Mexican revolution of 1910, and had worked on farms as a teenager. But Galarza had left that behind long before to head off to college on a scholarship and, eventually, to Columbia University for a doctorate in Latin American affairs.

After that, he worked 11 years for the Pan American Union in Washington, D.C., until, characteristically, he became outraged over what he felt was the organization's acquiescence in the exploitation of Latin American workers by U.S. interests and resigned to take the AFL job.

Although primarily an intellectual, Galarza initially played an activist's role as the leader of several strikes. But he was completely thwarted by the federal government's *bracero* program, which enabled growers to import penniless, undemanding Mexicans to replace U.S. workers who struck or otherwise sought better treatment. So within a few years, Galarza shifted his efforts entirely to trying to abolish the *bracero* program, abandoning the weapon of direct economic action for the intellectual's weapon of words.

"There was no choice," Galarza reasoned. "Without a frontal attack on the *bracero* program, nothing was possible. Farmworkers couldn't be organized, they couldn't have a union, they couldn't have any rights, as long as the program existed."

The battle raged for more than a dozen years, an exhausting and often frustrating and lonely battle for Galarza. He spoke out endlessly, before legislative committees and elsewhere. He issued hundreds of reports thoroughly documenting the abuses of U.S. and Mexican workers alike under the *bracero* program, making as many enemies as friends with his angry intractability and harsh charges against growers, politicians, government officials and others.

He spared no one, not even AFL leaders, who gave him only slight backing and frequently counseled caution and compromise. "Labor fakirs back east," Galarza called them.

By 1960, his union was gone. "No money, no organizers, no support," Galarza noted candidly. Incredibly frustrated and near exhaustion, he turned mainly to writing and teaching. But finally, in 1964, public pres-

sure that Galarza had played a key role in generating led Congress to kill the *bracero* program. It's no coincidence that 1964 was the year in which Chávez began his organizing drive. For Galarza was correct: The existence of the *bracero* program had made organizing impossible.

By the time of Galarza's death at age 78 in 1984, the Chávez-led United Farm Workers had become an effective, nationally-supported union. It's true enough that the farm labor system still relies heavily on unorganized, desperate and poverty-stricken immigrants, as in the days of the *bracero* program. But thanks to the UFW, many workers nevertheless have had a chance to seek -- and many have won -- the "decent economic conditions and social stability" that Ernesto Galarza spent so much of his life demanding for them.

(Dick Meister is co-author of "A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers" - Macmillan). Contact him by e-mail at dickmeister@aearthlink.net

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El Campeón Iracundo de los Trabajadores Agrícolas

Por Dick Meister

Antes de César Chávez estaba Ernesto Galarza para dirigir la aparentemente eterna lucha para llevar la justicia económica y social a los trabajadores agrícolas de esta nación. Sin embargo, hasta los muchos que han seguido la lucha pueden haber olvidado a Galarza, muerto ya hace veinte años.

Yo lo recuerdo claramente. Su cabellera brillosa y negra y mirada feroz, penetrante. Sus palabras iracundas e intensas y discursos mordaces contra los que se resistían a las exigencias de reforma. Su obra académica, las novelas, poesía y docencia.

La voz de Galarza fue una de las más fuertes, y de hecho, menos típicas de las voces que se han levantado a favor del trabajador agrícola. Tenía un doctorado, escribió media docena de libros y numerosos folletos y artículos, enseñó todos los niveles, de la primaria hasta la universidad. Con todo esto, también fue organizador de sindicato activo, un dirigente clave en abrir el camino para el surgimiento en California del movimiento agrícola dirigido por Chávez.

Galarza llegó a los campos de cultivo de California en 1948 como funcionario de la Federación Norteamericana del Sindicato Agrícola Nacional de Trabajo. Se había criado en California, después que su familia huyera del caos de la revolución mexicana de 1910, y como adolescente trabajó en el campo. Pero hacía mucho que eso lo había dejado atrás Galarza al irse a la universidad con una beca y, eventualmente, a la Universidad de Columbia para doctorarse en asuntos latinoamericanos.

Después de terminar los estudios trabajó durante 11 años en el Sindicato Panamericano en Washington, D.C., hasta que, como era característico en él, se enfadó con lo que percibía era la conformidad de la organización con la explotación de trabajadores latinoamericanos por parte de intereses estadounidenses y dejó el sindicato por un puesto con la Federación Norteamericana de Trabajo (AFL por sus siglas en inglés).

A pesar de ser primordialmente un intelectual, Galarza jugó el rol de activista inicialmente como el líder de varias huelgas. Pero se le frustraron por completo los planes con el programa *bracero*, del gobierno federal, que permitió que los cultivadores importaran a mexicanos indigentes y dóciles para reemplazar a los trabajadores estadounidenses que hacían huelga o buscaban mejor trato. Por ende, dentro de unos pocos años, Galarza cambió de rumbo completamente y se dedicó a intentar abolir el programa *bracero*, abando-

nando el arma de acción económica directa por el de las palabras del intelectual.

"No tuve opción", razonó Galarza. "Sin hacerle un ataque frontal al programa *bracero*, nada era posible. Los trabajadores agrícolas no podían ser organizados, no podían tener un sindicato, no podía tener derechos, en tanto existía el programa".

La batalla duró más de doce años, y fue difícil y muchas veces frustrante, una batalla solitaria para Galarza. Dio voz a los problemas sin tregua, ante comités legislativos y otros organismos. Emitió cientos de informes que documentaban minuciosamente los abusos de los trabajadores mexicanos y estadounidenses bajo el programa *bracero*, lo cual le conseguía tantos enemigos como amigos con su intransigencia iracunda y acusaciones severas contra los cultivadores, políticos, funcionarios del gobierno y otros. No perdona a nadie, ni a los dirigentes de la AFL, quienes le dieron poco apoyo y con frecuencia le aconsejaban ser cauto y conciliador. "Los faquires de trabajo del este", los llamaba Galarza.

Para 1960 se había desaparecido su sindicato. "No había ni dinero, ni organizadores, ni apoyo", notó con candidez Galarza. Increíblemente frustrado y cerca a desplomarse de fatiga, se volvió más que nada a la redacción y la docencia. Pero al final, en 1964, la presión pública de la cual tuvo Galarza un rol clave en generar llevó a que el Congreso eliminara el programa *bracero*.

No es coincidencia que 1964 fuera el año que Chávez comenzó su movimiento organizador. Porque Galarza tuvo razón: que existiera el programa *bracero* hacía imposible organizar a los trabajadores.

Ya para la época del fallecimiento de Galarza en 1984, a los 78 años, el Sindicato de Trabajadores Agrícolas que dirigió Chávez se había vuelto un sindicato efectivo, con apoyo nacional. Es cierto que aun el sistema de mano de obra agrícola depende mucho de los inmigrantes pobres, desesperados y sin organizar, como en los días del programa *bracero*. Pero gracias al Sindicato de Trabajadores Agrícolas, muchos de los trabajadores han tenido la oportunidad de buscar -- y muchos han ganado -- las "condiciones económicas decentes y estabilidad social" que Galarza dedicó tantos años de su vida en asegurar.

(Dick Meister es co-autor de "A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers" - de la editora Macmillan. Comuníquese con él por correo electrónico a: dickmeister@aearthlink.net) © 2004, Hispanic Link News Service. Distribuido por Tribune Media Services International.

Objetos Perdidos y Encontrados en el Desierto de Arizona

Por Zita Arocha

Una exposición de arte en El Paso, Texas, realizado este mes, con el tema del sendero hacia el norte recorrido por miles de inmigrantes indocumentados que atraviesan el árido desierto Sonora en Arizona, captura con inusitada emoción el costo humano de nuestra política nacional migratoria fallida.

La exposición, titulada "Lost and Found: Reflections on the Passage of Mexican Migrants Through the Sonora Desert", del artista irlandés Maevie Hickey, quien a recolectado miles de artículos descartados por los inmigrantes viajeros durante el duro recorrido de mil millas. Jarrones vacíos, zapatos y ropa ajados, identificaciones arrugadas, fotografías de familia, un tubo de pasta de dientes, un frasco de perfume vacío, hasta la bicicleta de un niño.

Nos obliga a ver los objetos descartados no como "basura" sino como la necesaria consagración de un hito para los miles de inmigrantes mexicanos, centroamericanos y otros que dejan atrás familia y entornos familiares para venir a Estados Unidos a trabajar y en busca de oportunidad.

Cada objeto descartado representa el desplazamiento de la

vieja identidad del inmigrante. El paso por el desierto se vuelve la transición a una nueva identidad.

Lo más conmovedor es una exposición de diapositivas de fotos de familia -- un chiquillo que abraza a un perro negro a la orilla de un río, una adolescente sonriente vestida de traje largo, blanco, posando frente al campo de una escuela, una mujer pequeña, de unos 40 años, con grandes aretes, aferrando una cartera de plástico de pie en medio de un camino sin pavimentar. Hickey, que visita con frecuencia la frontera entre los Estados Unidos y México, descubrió el rollo de fotos sin revelar en el aluvión del río San Pedro, en el sur de Arizona, al realizar su investigación para la exposición.

La identidad de las personas fotografiadas es un misterio que inspira la imaginación. Yo aventuraría que el señor de mediana edad en dos de las fotos es el padre quien se prepara para hacer el viaje al norte. Tomó las fotos en visperas de su partida para recordar a su familia. En el correteo por partir, no le dio tiempo revelar el rollo. Además, con el apuro por llegar a su destino en los EEUU, se le perdió el rollo en el desierto.

La exposición conmovedora es un necesario contrapunto a la desagradable retórica pre-eleitoral sobre la inmigración ilegal y la necesidad de proteger nuestras fronteras de los "invasores" y terroristas en potencia. La diatriba la repite casi todas las noches Lou Dobbs de CNN, y resulta atractiva a los nativistas entre nosotros.

Aunque el presidente George W. Bush y los dirigentes políticos de ambos partidos impulsan un nuevo programa de trabajadores temporeros dirigido a los inmigrantes ilegales y que beneficiará en mayor parte a los empleadores, la dimensión de nuestra política migratoria malograda no es un factor dentro de la discusión muchas veces emotiva.

Me senti algo mortificada al levantar un ejemplar de la revista Time del 20 de septiembre, días después de ver la exposición. El titular, escrito por periodistas respetados Donald Barlett y James Steele, se llama "America's Border" (La frontera de los Estados Unidos) con el subtítulo "Even after 9/11 it's outrageously easy to sneak in." (Incluso después del 11 de septiembre es demasiado fácil pasar a ocultas).

El artículo es un contrapunto sin sentimiento a la interpretación sensible de Hickey de lo descartado por los migrantes. Según los periodistas de Time, los inmigrantes ilegales "dejan detrás montones repugnantes de basura personal" y "convierten el terreno en un gran inodoro". Los escritores calculan que unos 190,000 "ilegales", como los describen ellos, y han llegado a los Estados Unidos este año.

Un detalle importante que no cubre el artículo de Time es que unos 2,000 seres humanos han muerto deshidratados y enfer-

mos al cruzar la frontera suroeste de México en los últimos seis años -- una crisis humanitaria muy seria de la que hacen caso omiso la mayoría de los legisladores en Washington, D.C.

La contraposición del artículo de Time con la exposición de arte en la Universidad de Texas en El Paso son las dos caras de una misma moneda de inmigración -- el monumental fracaso de una política de migración nacional que no "protege" ni el país ni la vida humana.

Es una política nacional esquizofrénica que le guía el ojo a la dependencia consistente y creciente de los empleadores en los inmigrantes ilegales que nos limpian las oficinas, nos cuidan los hijos y nos cosechan la comida, que a su vez obvia las muertes del desierto: es una política que engendra dicotomías interesantes como ésta: mientras los helicópteros de la Patrulla Fronteriza registran el desierto en busca de inmigrantes ilegales, los grupos humanitarios pasan en avión tirando comida y agua para salvarles la vida.

Por esto es que la exposición "Lost and Found" viene tan a pelo y es tan necesaria en esta encrucijada histórica. Le pone un rostro humano a la continua tragedia humana que trasciende la política migratoria nacional e internacional y las fuerzas del orden de la frontera.

Ojalá obligue a nuestros políticos a ver los rostros humanos bajo la "basura" del desierto.

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Undocumented Workers What's the Problem

By Raymond Rodriguez

"Sin el pobre, el rico no puede vivir" is an old Spanish adage.

In a way, it sums up the dilemma the United States faces concerning the problem of undocumented Latino immigrants. We can't live with them and we can't live without them.

Most estimates place their number at about eight million. Alas, alas, what to do?

Every proposed solution has merits and demerits. No sooner does an idea surface than it is minutely analyzed and alternately praised and denounced. Suggestions range from opening our borders to all comers to building a Fortress America to deny entry to all foreigners.

A major problem exists. All agree. On a solution, no one agrees.

The fact that 300 migrants perished while trying to cross our southwestern deserts last year arouses some sympathy and compassion. But it doesn't prompt us to work together to achieved a viable alternative.

It's a political hot potato. No one is willing to pursue it seriously during a presidential election year. Any proposed step that carries favor with Latino voters and liberals antagonizes conservative voters. It's a "damned if you do, damned if you don't" situation.

This became very apparent when AgJOBS, a modest bill creating a way for undocumented agricultural workers to eventually apply for legal residency, was introduced in Congress in response to a trial balloon floated by the White House. Finally, it appeared, there would be some action. But in spite of strong bipartisan support for the bill, it was stalled in committee and not allowed to come up for a vote, reportedly at the direction of President Bush.

In wooing Latinos and early on, seeking a common cause

with Mexico President Vicente Fox, Bush repeatedly stated his commitment to resolve our mutual migration problems. His lack of follow-up action made it clear a greater consideration was appealing conservative and nativist voters on the issue.

The Democratic team of John Kerry and John Edwards, also courting the Latino vote, voice compassion. Kerry has told Latino audiences that he will address the issue of amnesty within 100 days if elected, but he provides no substantive details.

Latinos may recall the promises made by Bush four years ago.

Whether children of undocumented immigrants should be allowed to pay in-state college tuition in states where they were educated and raised has gener-

continued on p. 6

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Benson covets Heisman, but beating OU wouldn't hurt



leted into mind-numbing detail by the time you sit down for tonight's file.

Hosts don't even ask questions anymore, preferring to press emotional buttons by screaming, "The Chargers! Your reaction..."

Benson choosing the hardware over the hated rival kind of hung in the air for three weeks. Columnists opined on it as an eyebrow raiser. But here it is Oklahoma week and, well, some of the Lennon rules still apply. It's funny how quickly a throwaway comment can become sacrilege.

"If I could win the football game entirely by myself, both offense and defense, punt returns, kickoffs, kicking field goals, do everything," Benson said during the interview. "then I'd take the win over OU."

Heisman-Watch

1. Kyle Orton, QB, Purdue
2. Cedric Benson, RB, Texas
3. Braylon Edwards, WR, Michigan

"But for me personally, the hard work I've been through, growing up as a kid and the dream I've had, I'd love nothing more than to win the Heisman."

Give the kid credit for honesty, if not a precise understanding of his surroundings. There are Texas loyalists who would sell their left, uh, gut to beat Oklahoma. The Sooners' current four-game winning streak in the

Red River Shootout is an ignominious wart on the Texas program. It needs to be burned off and disposed of.

Twice Oklahoma has hung at least 60 on the 'Horns. Two conference titles and a national championship have been built on top of those Texas carcasses.

Someday, maybe even Saturday, Texas will beat Oklahoma. Benson does understand that a Heisman lasts a lifetime, unless you're O.J. and you need the money.

Texas -- the team -- is trying to end an embarrassing streak, win a conference title and challenge for a national championship. Those goals won't ever change and will eventually be accomplished no matter what happens Saturday in Dallas.

Benson is merely speaking from the heart.

He came to Texas, in part, because it pumped out Heisman winners like Earl Campbell and

Ricky Williams. When Benson moved past Campbell on Saturday into second place on the school's all-time rushing chart, "he had tears in his eyes," coach Mack Brown said.

More than that, Benson really could win the Heisman. He is vastly improved as a senior averaging 186.5 yards per game. His total of 746 yards is better than 86 I-A schools. Only one other Longhorn back has rushed for at least 100 yards in four consecutive games to open the season.

There is breakaway speed that wasn't there. Texas leads the nation in rushing, which pretty much sums up what Oklahoma will have to do to make it five in a row. And what Benson will have to do to win the Heisman.

Carry the 'Horns -- along with some Oklahoma defenders -- on his back.

"He's not working like he

doesn't want to win against OU this week," Brown said.

Benson has been derided by some for not having his priorities straight. Coaches stress team-team-team. But what does it say when that same coach abruptly leaves the players he recruited for a \$1 million contract somewhere else?

Then it's suddenly me-me-me -- or what any of us would do in that situation -- take care of ourselves.

It was a Heisman show that night. What was Benson supposed to say? The host gulped hard and gave Benson an out by asking the question again. The running back fully understood what he was saying. Benson did say later he'd much rather win a national championship than a Heisman.

"I didn't say I wanted to lose to OU," Benson said.

Priorities? Benson could have jumped to the NFL after 2003.

but stayed because he wanted to play in games like this. He has a lot of experience at life-or-death football struggles. Benson grew up participating in the high school version of Texas-OU -- Midland Lee vs. Odessa Permian.

If you're not familiar with it, you soon will be. It is part of the basis of the movie Friday Night Lights, which opens nationwide 24 hours before Benson takes the field in Dallas.

You couldn't have scripted it better, unless, of course, Texas wins the game two months before Benson wins the Heisman.

"I didn't grow up wanting to beat Oklahoma," Benson said explaining himself to the Austin American-Statesman. "I know it's a big thing around here and I want to play my (backside) off, but the fans have got to understand."

"What would they want to do, knowing how great an opportunity it is to win the Heisman?"

By Dennis Dodd

"We're more popular than Jesus now." -- John Lennon, March 4, 1966

"I'd rather take the Heisman Trophy." -- Cedric Benson, Sept. 14, 2004

In Texas, it's hard to tell which statement was more heretical.

Cedric Benson has 746 yards rushing, better than 86 of 117 I-A team rushing totals (AP). The state, like the rest of the South, eventually stopped burning Beatles records. Even the Vatican forgave Lennon, whose statement caused a major stir 30 years before conservative talk radio even debuted.

Different time, different stir. Same basic reaction.

Benson, the nation's leading rusher, recently said during a radio interview that he would rather win the Heisman than beat Oklahoma.

First, remember this is an age when merely uttering the words "Pete Rose" is good for three hours worth of calls from Todd in Scarsdale. This morning's press conference has been fil-

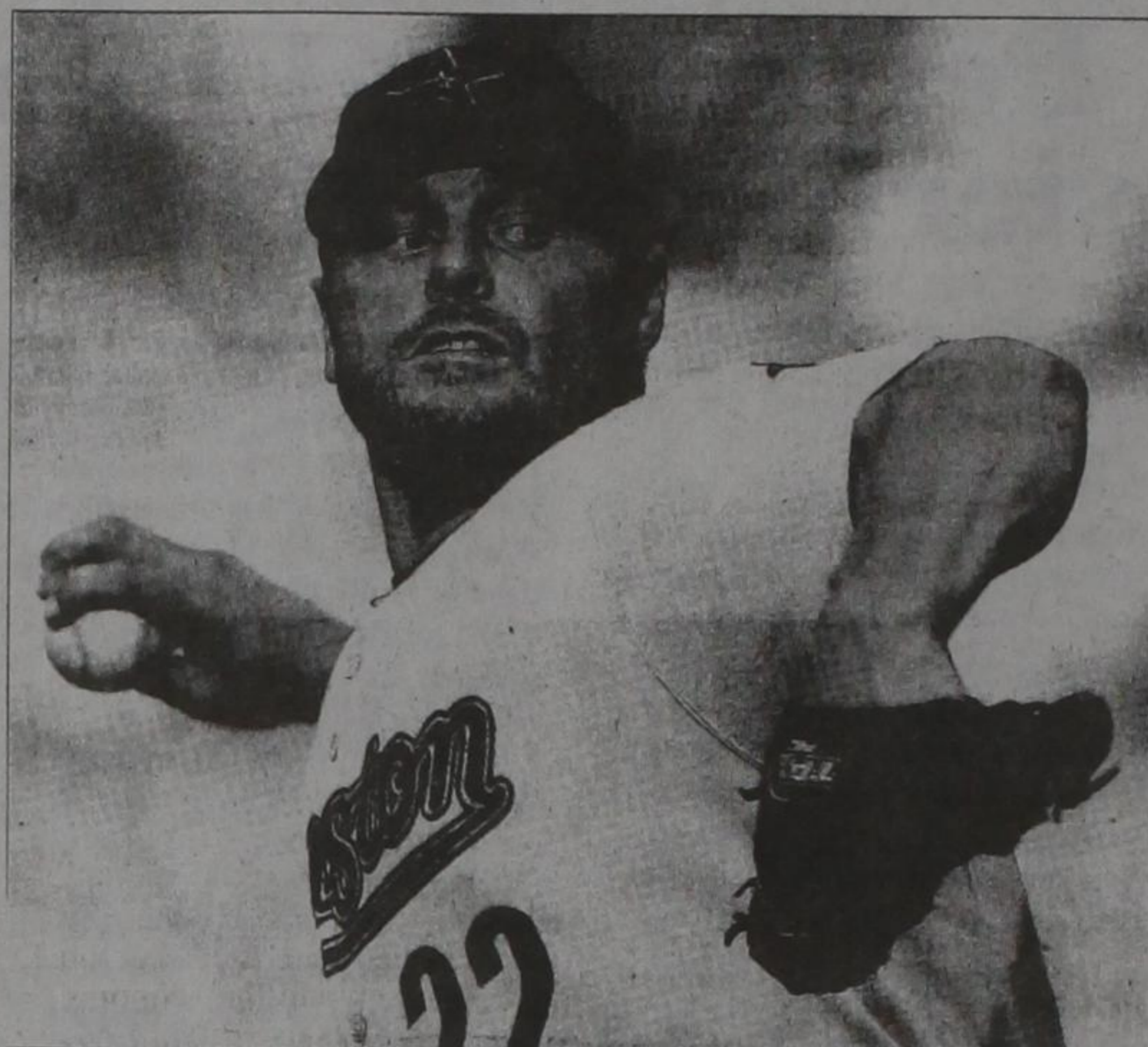
Houston rompe racha de seis derrotas en postemporada al vencer a Atlanta

ATLANTA, Georgia. — Roger Clemens supo salir de problemas en varias ocasiones, mientras que Brad Ausmus, Lance Berkman, Carlos Beltrán y Jason Lane batearon sendos jonrones para vapulear ayer 9-3 a los Bravos de Atlanta en el primer partido de la Serie Divisional de la Liga Nacional.

Por primera vez en 15 partidos de Series Divisionales, los Astros anotaron nueve carreras en un partido y además es la primera ocasión que anotan más de siete en postemporada desde el 12 de octubre de 1980 en que lo hicieron en la Serie de Campeonato de la Nacional ante Filadelfia.

Houston ha perdido tres de sus últimas cuatro series de postemporada ante los Bravos, la más reciente en el 2001. Mucha de la culpa recayó en Craig Biggio y Jeff Bagwell, el corazón del equipo por más de una década.

Bagwell cumplió finalmente con su primer batazo de extrabase, un doble productor que le dio



Roger Clemens battled a moving strike zone and balky mound to give the Astros seven determined innings in Game 1.

ventaja definitiva a los Astros en la tercera entrada ante el derrotado Jarret Wright.

Clemens exhibió los estragos de un virus estomacal que no le permitió lanzar su último partido de la temporada, al regalar seis boletos, todos en las primeras cuatro entradas, y la mayor cantidad que concede desde 1998.

Sin embargo, también mostró firmeza al lanzar siete entradas, concedió dos carreras limpias y ponchó a siete rivales, para dar a los Astros su primer triunfo en postemporada después de seis derrotas al hilo.

El derrotado fue el también abridor Wright (0-1), quien permitió tres de los cuatro cuadrangulares, buenos para seis anotaciones, todas limpias.

El puertorriqueño Beltrán lideró el ataque del equipo texano al batear de 3-3 con un jonrón y dos impulsadas.

El segundo encuentro de la serie —al mejor de cinco partidos— será hoy en el mismo escenario con Mike Hampton (13-9) en la lomita por los Bravos y Roy Oswalt (20-10) por los Astros.

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Gastan Menos en Educar Minorías

Por ANGEL GONZALEZ

Los distritos escolares con más minorías reciben menos dinero por estudiante que los distritos poblados principalmente por blancos no hispanos, según un estudio publicado el viernes por The Education Trust.

En Texas, la diferencia es de 1,411 dólares por cabeza al año. Los distritos con pocas minorías reciben en promedio 7,275 dólares por estudiante, mientras los distritos con mayor población minoritaria reciben 5,864 dólares por estudiante. El promedio nacional es de 1,099 dólares, a favor de los distritos con menos minorías.

Hay de qué preocuparse. Sobre todo porque, según los autores del estudio, los estudiantes que viven en la pobreza — como es el caso de muchas minorías — requieren aproximadamente un 40 por ciento más de inversión monetaria para producir el mismo resultado académico que los alumnos de clase media.

"Los estudiantes de bajos ingresos tienen barreras al éxito académico: sus familias tienen 2 o 3 trabajos y no tienen tiempo ni dinero para contratar a tutores en caso de que los niños tengan problemas con alguna materia", dijo Kevin Carey, autor del estudio. "Si no podemos igualar el juego para ellos, no les estamos dando la oportunidad de triunfar".

El estudio, basado en información del censo sobre cada uno de los 14,000 distritos escolares de la nación para el año escolar 2001-2002, determinó que en casi todos los estados los distritos pobres reciben menos dinero para las escuelas de distritos ricos. La discrepancia promedio a nivel nacional es de 1,348 dólares, a favor de los ricos; En Texas, la discrepancia, para el año 2002, era de 936 dólares. Sólo pocos estados, como Delaware, Alaska, Massachusetts, Nuevo México y Georgia escapan a la regla.

"El hecho de que no haya impuesto estatal en Texas limita la habilidad del estado de suplir fondos para la educación y balancear las diferencias en riqueza local", dijo Carey.

En los distritos con alta representación de minorías, la discrepancia es mayor, debido al hecho de que los blancos no hispanos que viven en la pobreza generalmente lo hacen en medios rurales, donde hay menos estudiantes y más recursos per cápita, según Carey; mientras que las minorías pobres viven en zonas urbanas de alta densidad y pocos ingresos.

Según el autor, la solución es incrementar la proviniencia de



fondos federales y estatales para las escuelas públicas, y depender menos de los impuestos a la propiedad. Las propiedades en las zonas prósperas traen más dinero a las arcas de los distritos escolares que aquellas en zonas pobres; he allí el origen de la desigualdad, según Carey.

En Texas, donde el 43.2 por ciento del financiamiento escolar viene del estado, el problema se agrava ante la posible reforma del sistema de financiamiento de la educación pública, conocido como "Robin Hood" — donde los distritos escolares ricos se ven obligados a pasar recursos a los distritos escolares pobres. Un juez determinó recientemente que "Robin Hood" viola la constitución del estado — y la decisión, que fue apelada, está actualmente sujeta a supervisión del tribunal supremo de Texas.

"Asumo que eso haría que las cosas se hicieran peores", dijo Carey.

Sin embargo, los opositores de Robin Hood —reunidos en la Asociación Texana de Administradores de Escuelas — también defienden la idea de que el estado ponga más fondos en la educación pública, para compensar a los distritos con menos recursos.

El presidente George W. Bush subrayó que la extensión del recorte de impuestos ayudará a la recuperación de la economía. Mientras el candidato presidencial demócrata, John Kerry, prometía en New Hampshire ampliar las investigaciones sobre células troncales, el presidente George W. Bush promulgaba la ley que amplía hasta 2010 la reducción de algunos impuestos considerados de importancia capital para la clase media.

El aspirante demócrata a la presidencia, acompañado por el actor y activista Michael J. Fox,

acusó a Bush de tozudez por ignorar hechos científicos al negarse a ampliar la investigación de células troncales.

Fox, que padece el mal de Parkinson, una condición degenerativa de los nervios, ha impulsado los esfuerzos para que California apruebe una iniciativa sobre el tema. En efecto, los californianos deberán pronunciarse en noviembre sobre una proposición que destinaría miles de millones de dólares a ese tipo de investigaciones. Nancy Reagan, viuda del difunto presidente Ronald Reagan, es una fuerte partidaria de la ampliación de esas investigaciones.

Kerry denunció que Bush, en nombre de "una ideología de extrema derecha", sacrificó las esperanzas de hallar curas de enfermedades que se obtendrían a raíz de investigaciones con células troncales.

Menos impuestos Bush por su parte, firmó en Des Moines, Iowa, el cuarto recorte impositivo en cuatro años. Iowa es uno de los estados más disputados en estas elecciones y Des Moines, la capital, es un área demócrata de un estado que Bush perdió en las elecciones de 2000 por un escaso margen.

"La ley que firmo esta mañana llega en el momento adecuado para el país", dijo Bush en una breve ceremonia, en la que pronunció un discurso dirigido a la clase media, la mayor beneficiaria de esta medida.

Como ejemplo, dijo, "si no hubiésemos actuado, una familia de cuatro personas con unos ingresos de 40 mil dólares tendría un aumento en sus impuestos federales de 900 dólares".

Según sus cálculos, son unos 94 millones de estadounidenses los que tendrán que pagar una factura fiscal más baja el próximo año porque "dejaremos

unos 50,000 millones de dólares en las manos de la gente que los ganó", añadió.

El Presidente subrayó que la extensión del recorte de impuestos, que en principio vencia a finales de este año, ayudará a la recuperación de la economía. Por otro lado, la aprobación del proyecto de ley gozó del apoyo bipartidista en ambas cámaras del Congreso, aunque los republicanos se apoderaron del tema.

Pero éste es sólo un primer paso "esencial", según Bush, quien defendió que esta medida se convierta en permanente para evitar que dentro de unos años se pase la factura a los pequeños empresarios, granjeros y familias medias.

Bush no mencionó en ningún momento a Kerry, quien reiteradamente le ha acusado de mantener una política impositiva que favorece a los ricos en detrimento de los ciudadanos comunes.

Embajadores A las críticas de Kerry al Presidente se sumó un grupo de 186 ex embajadores de EU que hizo público su apoyo al candidato demócrata y atacó duramente la política exterior de la actual Administración.

Los diplomáticos, que han servido en administraciones demócratas y republicanas, coincidieron al afirmar que es "imprescindible" un cambio de gobierno si se quiere reforzar la seguridad nacional.

Asimismo, el senador republicano de Rhode Island, Lincoln Chafee, anunció que no votará por Bush, aunque tampoco lo hará por Kerry.

Encuestas A 29 días de las elecciones del 2 de noviembre, ambos candidatos están empatados en 49% de las intenciones de voto, lo que confirma los pronósticos de elecciones reñidas, según una encuesta difundida ayer por CNN-USA Today.

No obstante, Kerry sigue atrás de Bush según encuestas del Instituto Pew y de ABC/Washington Post.

En la encuesta de Pew, Bush recibe el 48% de las intenciones de voto, contra 41% de Kerry.

Pero 58% de los electores interrogados por el Pew sostienen que el gran vencedor del debate televisado del jueves fue John Kerry.

Por otra parte, según un sondeo de la cadena de TV ABC y el diario Washington Post, Bush tiene 51% contra 46% de Kerry. El 52% de los electores que prevé ir a votar estima que John Kerry salió vencedor del primer debate. (Información de los servicios de La Opinión)

Bush gets heat from both immigrants & anti-immigrants

from front page

In contrast, the Orange County group promoting armed vigilante groups detaining undocumented immigrants in southern Arizona. The American Border Patrol, announced they will evaluate the progress of border control along the Arizona-Mexico border.

"The October Sunrise project will include the use of high technology, including a recognition remote-control glider, infra-red sensors and cameras," according to the portal for the organization led by Glenn Spencer.

The anti-immigrant leader stated the on October 25 they will publish their opinion on whether the Bush administration

is seriously planning to control the border or their efforts are a mere joke.

The SOS group, which elaborated California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 ten years ago, and got it approved in a 1994 referendum, reproached the Republican Party their failure to support them in reviving the proposition this year, a decade after it was first approved.

California Republican leaders, even Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, abstained from giving their approval to the proposition this year, and the new version of Proposition 187 failed because it did not garner the signatures needed to place it on the ballots for the November 2 election.

Bush Defiende su Política en Irak

viene de la primera pagina

El régimen de Sadam Husein, afirmó el presidente estadounidense, contaba con una largo historial de posesión y uso de armas de destrucción masiva, de odio a Estados Unidos y estaba incluido en la lista del Departamento de Estado de naciones patrocinadoras del terrorismo internacional.

En línea con lo que ha prometido incansablemente a lo largo de la campaña electoral, Bush prometió que Estados Unidos "seguirá a la ofensiva" y no descansará hasta que no haya llevado a los terroristas ante la justicia.

Entre los logros de su gobierno en materia de seguridad, citó la renuncia de Libia a su programa de armas de destrucción masiva y que, según él, "tres cuartas partes de los dirigentes de la red Al Qaeda han sido llevados ante la justicia".

En cambio, aseguró, "en la guerra contra el terrorismo, el senador Kerry propone políticas y doctrinas que harán a EEUU más débil y al mundo un lugar más peligroso".

Bush dedicó también buena parte de su discurso a defender su política económica, uno de los grandes blancos de los ataques demócratas en la campaña electoral.

Si resulta reelegido, prometió, "Estados Unidos se convertirá en el mejor lugar del mundo para lanzar una nueva empresa".

Según Bush, que abogó por hacer permanentes en un nuevo mandato los recortes fiscales aprobados en sus primeros cuatro años, en los últimos me-

ses su gobierno ha conseguido crear "más empleos que el Reino Unido, Alemania, Francia, Canadá y Japón juntos".

El discurso de Bush llega en un momento en el que el gobierno de EEUU trata de recuperar la iniciativa a apenas dos días del nuevo debate televisado entre el presidente y el candidato demócrata en San Luis (Misuri) el viernes.

Kerry se impuso en el primer debate, el pasado jueves, con una serie de críticas a la política presidencial en Irak, y ha logrado recuperar la ventaja que Bush había cobrado en las encuestas desde el pasado agosto.

El informe que presenta hoy ante el Congreso el responsable de la misión de EEUU para la búsqueda de armas prohibidas en Irak, Charles Duelfer, aporta argumentos a Kerry al poner de manifiesto que esos arsenales no existían y que la amenaza que representaba ese país árabe antes de la guerra era cada vez menor.

El portavoz de la Casa Blanca, Scott McClellan, declaró hoy que Sadam Husein "mantenia la intención y la capacidad" de producir armas prohibidas y era "sólo cuestión de tiempo" que retomara la fabricación de esos arsenales.

Al informe de Duelfer se suman las afirmaciones del ex administrador estadounidense en Irak Paul Bremer, que ha indicado que Estados Unidos no desplegó las tropas suficientes en Irak tras la caída de Sadam Husein y ha pagado "un precio muy caro por ello".

Choque frontal de Cheney y Edwards en Debate

Por Louise Daly

Los candidatos a la vicepresidencia de Estados Unidos chocaron frontalmente la noche del martes en un debate en torno a la guerra en Irak, el republicano Dick Cheney defendió la invasión al país árabe y su rival demócrata John Edwards lo calificó como "un desastre".

El caso de Irak surgió desde el inicio de los 90 minutos de debate televisado en una universidad de Cleveland (Ohio, norte), el único duelo que los enfrentará, en el medio de dos confrontaciones entre el presidente George W. Bush y el candidato demócrata Edward Kerry.

Con voz grave, Cheney sostuvo que las operaciones en Irak deben ser vistas como parte de una guerra global contra el terrorismo luego de los atentados sufridos el 11 de septiembre de 2001 por Estados Unidos e insistió que el ex dictador Sadam Hussein era una distinguida amenaza que tenía lazos con la red islámica Al-Qaeda.

Edwards fue severo al replicar que "no hay vínculos entre los atentados del 11 de septiembre y Saddam Hussein. Y usted recorre el país sugiriendo que hay una relación que no existe".

El vicepresidente afirmó que "el mundo es mucho más seguro hoy porque Saddam Hussein está preso".

El compañero de Bush replicó sin embargo que "nunca había sugerido que hay un nexo entre Irak y los atentados del 11 de septiembre", como le criticó Edwards.

Pero Cheney dijo que "hay pruebas que establecen claramente la conexión entre Irak y el terrorismo" en razón de "la tec-



nología secreta que Saddam Hussein desarrolló y utilizó durante años".

El compañero de Kerry atacó de frente a Cheney y al presidente Bush: "todavía siguen sin ser sinceros con los estadounidenses" sobre los motivos de la guerra en Irak. "No soy sólo yo quien ve el desastre que existe en Irak", sostuvo Edwards.

Cheney replicó a las críticas de Edwards sobre la violenta insurgencia en Irak y Afganistán que impide democratizar esos países, expresando que hace 20 años la situación era similar en El Salvador y que sin embargo hubo elecciones.

"Hace 20 años teníamos una situación similar en El Salvador. Teníamos una insurgencia guerrillera que controlaba la tercera parte del país y 75.000 personas murieron. Y tuvimos elecciones libres", dijo Cheney.

"Yo estuve ahí como observador de parte del Congreso (de EEUU). La voluntad humana por la libertad, la determinación de esa gente por votar fue increíble. Los terroristas (del Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional) podían llegar y dis-

parar en los lugares de votación, tan pronto como ellos se iban, los votantes regresaban y no dejaron que les negaran el derecho a votar", expresó.

"Ahora El Salvador está mejor. El poder de este concepto es enorme. Esto es aplicable en Afganistán y se aplicará en Irak", dijo Cheney aludiendo a la sangrienta guerra civil salvadoreña que terminó con una negociación en 1992.

La tensión aumentó considerablemente al surgir la mención del escándalo Halliburton, el grupo de servicios petroleros que el republicano Cheney administraba antes de sumarse al gobierno en 2000.

Cheney se vio desconcertado, sonrió, pero no ingresó en la polémica.

Trece minutos más tarde Edwards volvió al tema y dijo que cuando Cheney era director ejecutivo de Halliburton "pagaron millones de dólares en multas por proporcionar información falsa sobre su compañía".

"Hicieron negocios con Libia e Irán, enemigos declarados de Estados Unidos", acotó.

"Ahora están bajo investiga-

ción por haber sobornado a funcionarios extranjeros durante ese periodo. No sólo eso, tienen un contrato sin licitación de 7.500 millones de dólares en Irak", remarcó el demócrata.

Cheney se vio claramente irritado por la mención de Halliburton y acusó a Edwards y a Kerry de "tratar de tirar una cortina de humo".

Kerry, quien ganó el primer debate de la campaña y se prepara para su segundo round con Bush el viernes, dijo que Edwards "estuvo absolutamente espectacular..." esos tipos (Bush y Cheney) sólo pueden responder con fealdad y distorsión", puntualizó Kerry.

La prensa de Estados Unidos evitó comprometerse en designar a un vencedor. Dos sondeos tras el debate daban resultados contradictorios: para uno Cheney es vencedor (43% contra 37%), para otro es Edwards (53% contra 46%).

USA Today señaló que "Edwards fue obligado a defender en varias ocasiones al candidato demócrata, reduciendo las oportunidades de criticar al presidente Bush".

"Si los famosos electores indecisos atienden un verdadero debate sobre posiciones y filosofías diferentes, han sido servidos la noche pasada", señaló el New York Times.

Por su parte, Washington Post señaló que "si Cheney es considerado como vencedor, podría frenar los lamentos que siguieron tras el desempeño de Bush la semana pasada; si es Edwards (el vencedor) reforzará el impulso que John Kerry ha ganado tras el primer debate".

Cheney, Edwards Clash on Iraq in Debate

By Louise Daly

Vice President Dick Cheney and Democratic rival John Edwards clashed late Tuesday on Iraq, terrorism, and the economy in their only debate, trading frequently personal attacks 28 days before the November 2 election.

Facing the first question of the televised 90-minute exchange, Cheney said Saddam Hussein had "an established relationship with Al-Qaeda" and defiantly declared: "What we did in Iraq was exactly the right thing to do."

With millions of Americans watching, Edwards seized on Cheney's claim of links between Saddam and Osama Bin Laden's network and charged: "Mr. Vice President, you are still not being straight with the American people."

"There is no connection between the attacks of September

11 and Saddam Hussein," said Edwards. "And you've gone around the country suggesting that there is some connection. There is not."

Political analysts agree that vice presidential debates, which date back only to 1976, usually have little impact on the battle for the top job, but Tuesday's debate drew added significance from polls showing a tightening race.

But the absence of a clear, knock-out blow heightened expectations for the second televised face-off on Friday between US President George W. Bush and Democratic rival John Kerry.

The White House also found itself besieged by new charges from a former top aide that it sent too few troops to Iraq and

from fresh doubts about links between Saddam and Al-Qaeda -- a key justification for the March 2003 invasion.

Instant polls after the debate produced a split decision. ABC News gave Cheney a 43-35 percent edge over Edwards while Fox News had the North Carolina senator on top at 53-46 percent.

Edwards, 51, hoped to build

up Kerry's new momentum following what was widely seen as a victory over Bush in the first of their three televised debates last week.

Cheney, 63, tried to stop Kerry in his tracks by questioning his fitness to command the US-led global war on terrorism, while making the case that deadly

continued on page 6

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O Perdidos y Encontrados en el Desierto de Arizona

Por Zita Arocha

Una exposición de arte en El Paso, Texas, realizado este mes, con el tema del sendero hacia el norte recorrido por miles de inmigrantes indocumentados que atraviesan el árido desierto Sonora en Arizona, captura con inusitada emoción el costo humano de nuestra política nacional migratoria fallida.

La exposición, titulada "Lost and Found: Reflections on the Passage of Mexican Migrants Through the Sonora Desert", del artista irlandés Maeve Hickey, quien a recolectado miles de artículos descartados por los inmigrantes viajeros durante el duro recorrido de mil millas. Jarrones vacíos, zapatos y ropa ajados, identificaciones arrugadas, fotografías de familia, un tubo de pasta de dientes, un frasco de perfume vacío, hasta la bicicleta de un niño.

Nos obliga a ver los objetos descartados no como "basura" sino como la necesaria consagración de un hito para los miles de inmigrantes mexicanos, centroamericanos y otros que dejan atrás familia y entornos familiares para venir a Estados Unidos a trabajar y en busca de oportunidad.

Cada objeto descartado representa el deslizamiento de la vieja identidad del inmigrante. El paso por el desierto se vuelve la transición a una nueva identidad.

Lo más conmovedor es una exposición de diapositivas de fotos de familia - un chiquillo que abraza a un perro negro a la orilla de un río, una adolescente sonriente vestida de traje largo, blanco, posando frente al campo de una escuela, un mujer pequetísima, de unos 40 años, con grandes aros, aferrando una cartera de plástico de pie en medio de un camino sin pavimentar. Hickey, que visita con frecuencia la frontera entre los Estados Uni-

Undocumented Workers - What's the Problem

ated divisive debate both at federal and state levels.

Another political dilemma concerning undocumented immigrants is whether to recognize as legitimate *matricula consular* cards, identification issued by Mexican consulates to their nationals. Other Latin American consulates are beginning to imitate the practice. The cards may be used for a variety of functions, such as opening bank accounts, that require valid identification.

Opponents say that terrorists may use the cards to carry out their evil deeds. They claim also that recognition of the cards represents the first step toward legitimizing individuals' illegal entry.

Another pressing issue, not only in California but in other states as well, is the question of granting undocumented immigrants the right to apply for drivers' licenses. Former Governor Gray Davis signed the measure passed by that state's legislature, but it was quickly rescinded when current Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger promised to make it his first order of business to get rid of it.

Schwarzenegger initially said that he would support a revised version of the bill if it contained certain legal safeguards against terrorist infiltration, but when those were added and the legislature passed a new bill, he vetoed it.

An estimated 80 percent of California's farmworkers lack legal documents. The state's multibillion dollar agricultural business could not survive without them. Produce prices would probably triple and our tables would be barren of fruits and vegetables.

There is no denying the extent to which we rely on cheap labor. But critics cry that the concept of cheap labor is a fallacy given the financial strain they claim it places on our social services. In California, 40 percent of all babies born in county hospitals are born to mothers who are here illegally, they point out.

Now families *sin papeles* - without papers - have migrated to every state in the union in search of opportunity and stability. What was once viewed as a "problem" of the Southwest has become national in scope. Cities like New York have established an Office of Immigration Affairs.

No popular, equitable solution is on the horizon. In fact, for many employers who welcome cheap, docile workers and for politicians in search of bogeymen to rant against, the problem is the best solution.

(Raymond Rodriguez, a retired university professor residing in Long Beach, Calif., is a contributing columnist with Hispanic Link News Service. He may be reached by e-mail at rayrodriguez@earthlink.com)

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dos y México, descubrió el rollo de fotos sin revelar en el aluvión del río San Pedro, en el sur de Arizona, al realizar su investigación para la exposición.

La identidad de las personas fotografiadas es un misterio que inspira la imaginación. Yo aventuraria que el señor de mediana edad en dos de las fotos es el padre quien se prepara para hacer el viaje al norte. Tomó las fotos en visperas de su partida para recordar a su familia. En el correteo por partir, no le dio tiempo revelar el rollo. Además, con el apuro por llegar a su destino en los EEUU, se le perdió el rollo en el desierto.

La exposición conmovedora es un necesario contrapunto a la desagradable retórica pre-eleitoral sobre la inmigración ilegal y la necesidad de proteger nuestras fronteras de los "invasores" y terroristas en potencia. La diatriba la repite casi todas las noches Lou Dobbs de CNN, y resulta atractiva a los nativistas entre nosotros.

Aunque el presidente George W. Bush y los dirigentes políticos de ambos partidos impulsan un nuevo programa de trabajadores temporeros dirigido a los inmigrantes ilegales y que beneficiará en mayor parte a los empleadores, la dimensión de nuestra política migratoria malograda no es un factor dentro de la discusión muchas veces emotiva.

Me sentí algo mortificada al levantar un ejemplar de la revista Time del 20 de septiembre, días después de ver la exposición. El titular, escrito por periodistas respetados Donald Barlett y James Steele, se llama "America's Border" (La frontera de los Estados Unidos) con el subtítulo "Even after 9/11 it's outrageously easy to sneak in." (Incluso después del 11 de septiembre es demasiado fácil pasar a ocultas).

El artículo es un contrapunto sin sentimiento a la interpretación sensible de Hickey de lo descartado por los migrantes. Según los periodistas de Time, los inmigrantes ilegales "dejan detrás montones repugnantes de basura personal" y "convierten el terreno en un gran inodoro". Los escritores calculan que unos

190,000 "ilegales", como los describen ellos, y han llegado a los Estados Unidos este año.

Un detalle importante que no cubre el artículo de Time es que unos 2,000 seres humanos han muerto deshidratados y enfermos al cruzar la frontera suroeste de México en los últimos seis años - una crisis humanitaria muy seria de la que hacen caso omiso la mayoría de los legisladores en Washington, D.C.

La contraposición del artículo de Time con la exposición de arte en la Universidad de Texas en El Paso son las dos caras de una misma moneda de inmigración - el monumental fracaso de una política de migración nacional que no "protege" ni el país ni la vida humana.

Es una política nacional esquizofrénica que le guía el ojo a la dependencia consistente y creciente de los empleadores en los inmigrantes ilegales que nos limpian las oficinas, nos cuidan los hijos y nos cosechan la comida, que a su vez obvia las muertes del desierto: es una política que engendra dicotomías interesantes como esta: mientras los helicópteros de la Patrulla Fronteriza registran el desierto en busca de inmigrantes ilegales, los grupos humanitarios pasan en avión tirando comida y agua para salvarles la vida.

Por esto es que la exposición "Lost and Found" viene tan a pelo y es tan necesaria en esta encrucijada histórica. Le pone un rostro humano a la continua tragedia humana que trasciende la política migratoria nacional e internacional y las fuerzas del orden de la frontera.

Ojalá obligue a nuestros políticos a ver los rostros humanos bajo la "basura" del desierto.

La exposición "Lost and Found" por Maeve Hickey se encuentra en el museo Centennial de la Universidad de Texas en El Paso, hasta el 24 de noviembre. Viene patrocinada por el Centro de Estudios Interamericanos y Fronterizos, museo Paso al Norte, y el Comité de Herencia Hispana.

(Zita Arocha es subdirectora del Centro Sam Donaldson para los Estudios de la Comunicación en la Universidad de Texas en El Paso. Comuníquese con ella a: zarocho@utep.edu)

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Lost and Found on the Arizona Desert

By Zita Arocha

An art exhibit in El Paso, Texas, this month about the northward trek of thousands of undocumented immigrants across the stark Sonora desert in Arizona captures with unusual poignancy the human cost of our nation's failed immigration policy.

In the show, called "Lost and Found: Reflections on the Passage of Mexican Migrants through the Sonora Desert," Dublin artist Maeve Hickey has collected myriad items discarded by the traveling immigrants during the harsh thousand-mile journey. Empty water jugs, worn shoes and clothes, crumpled ID papers, family photographs, a tube of toothpaste, an empty perfume bottle, even a child's bicycle.

She forces us to see the tossed objects not as "trash" but as necessary rites of passage for the thousands of Mexican, Central American and other immigrants who leave behind family and familiar surroundings to come to the United States for work and opportunity.

Each dropped object represents a shedding of the immigrant's old identity. The desert passage becomes the transition to a new one.

Most moving is a slide show of family snapshots - a little boy hugging a black dog against a riverbank, a smiling teenager in a long, white dress posing in front of a school yard, a tiny woman, about 40, with large hoop earrings, clutching a plastic handbag and standing in the middle of a dirt road. Hickey, a frequent visitor to the U.S.-Mexico border, discovered the undeveloped roll in the San Pedro River Wash in Southern Arizona while doing research for her exhibit.

The identity of the people in the photos is a mystery that in-

spires imagination. My guess is that the middle-aged man in two of the photos is a father about to head north. He took the pictures on the eve of his departure to remember his family. In his haste to leave, he did not have time to develop the roll. And, in his haste to reach his U.S. destination, he lost his film in the desert.

The touching exhibit is a needed counterpoint to the nasty pre-election rhetoric about illegal immigration and need to protect our borders from "invaders" and potential terrorists. The tirade is repeated almost nightly by Lou Dobbs on CNN, and quite appealing to the nativists in our midst.

Even as President George W. Bush and bipartisan political leaders push for a new temporary worker program for illegal immigrants that will mainly benefit employers, the human dimension of our broken immigration policy is not a factor in the often-emotional discussion.

I was chagrined when a few days after seeing the art show I picked up a copy of Time magazine's Sept. 20 issue. The cover story, by respected white journalists Donald Barlett and James Steele, is titled "America's Border" and carries the subtitle, "Even after 9/11 it's outrageously easy to sneak in."

The story is an unsentimental counterpoint to Hickey's sensitive interpretation of the migrants' desert trash. According to the Time reporters, the illegal immigrants "leave behind revolting mounds of personal refuse" and "turn the land into a vast latrine." The writers estimate that 190,000 "ilegales," as they describe them, have already made their way into the United States this year.

An important detail left out of the Time piece is that nearly

2,000 human beings have died from dehydration and disease crossing the southwest border from Mexico in the last six years - a serious humanitarian crisis ignored by most inside-the-Beltway policymakers.

The juxtaposition of the Time story and the art exhibit at the University of Texas at El Paso are two sides of the same immigration coin - the monumental failure of a national immigration policy that winks at employers' steady and growing reliance on illegal immigrants to clean our offices, take care of our children and harvest our food, but ignores the deaths in the desert: a policy that engenders interesting dichotomies like this one: while Border Patrol helicopters scour the desert for illegal immigrants, humanitarian groups are airdropping food and water to save their lives.

This is why the "Lost and Found" is so timely and necessary at this historical crossroads. It puts a human face on an unfolding human tragedy that transcends national and international immigration politics and border enforcement.

Perhaps it will force our politicians see the human faces beneath the desert "trash."

"Lost and Found" by Maeve Hickey is on exhibit at the Centennial Museum at the University of Texas at El Paso through Nov. 24. It is sponsored by the Center for Inter-American and Border Studies, Paso al Norte Museum and Hispanic Heritage Committee.

(Zita Arocha teaches journalism at the University of Texas, El Paso. She may be reached at zarocho@utep.edu)

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Cheney, Edwards - Clash Debate

from page 5

chaos in Iraq will not derail progress towards elections planned for January.

"If I had it to recommend all over again, I would recommend exactly the same course of action," the vice president said defiantly. "I'm confident that, in fact, we'll get the job done."

Edwards accused the Bush administration of letting Bin Laden, "the man who masterminded the greatest mass murder and terrorist attack in American history," slip away.

Edwards also accused the White House of focusing on Iraq

at the expense of dealing with nuclear crises with Iran and North Korea.

As Cheney and Edwards prepared for their high-octane exchange, the Bush administration's strategy drew fire from an unlikely source: the former US civilian overseer of Iraq, Paul Bremer.

Bremer complained in a speech to insurance professionals that "we never had enough troops on the ground" after Baghdad fell, a shortfall that left the Iraqi capital prey to "horrid" looting.

"We paid a big price for not

stopping it, because it established an atmosphere of lawlessness," Bremer said.

In a statement sent later to The Washington Post, Bremer stressed his support for the US strategy in Iraq, however.

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld dealt another blow to the principle rationales for the Iraq war by telling foreign policy experts that he had seen no "strong, hard evidence" linking Saddam to Al-Qaeda.

Rumsfeld later issued a statement saying there had been a misunderstanding. But he did not disavow the comment. AFP

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