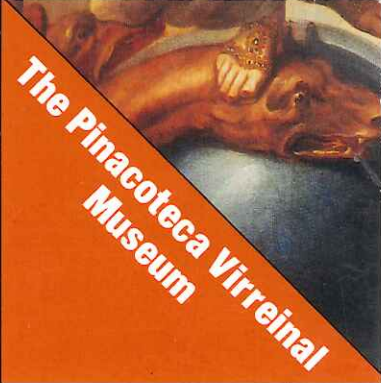


Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES



The Pinacoteca Virreinal
Museum

CISEUA • UNAM

Diego Rivera and José María Velasco

The English-Only movement in the U.S.

The boom in Hispanic-American fiction

Canadian studies in Mexico



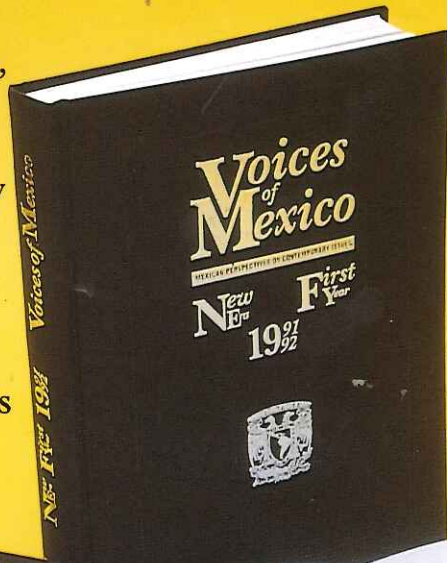
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Voices of Mexico

MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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Voices Mexico

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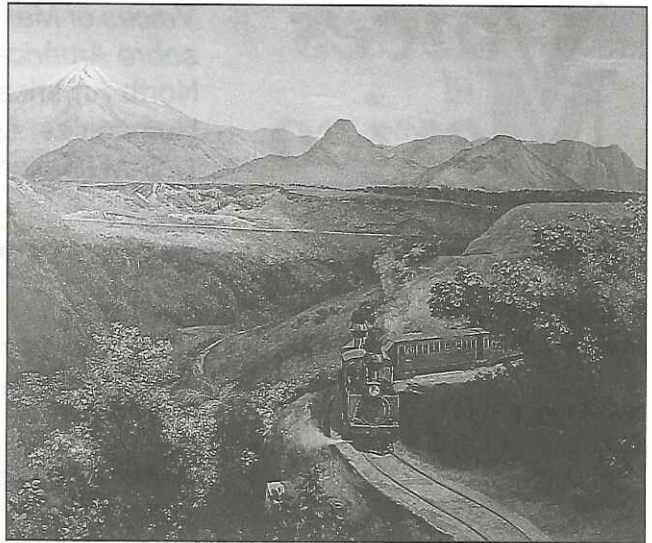
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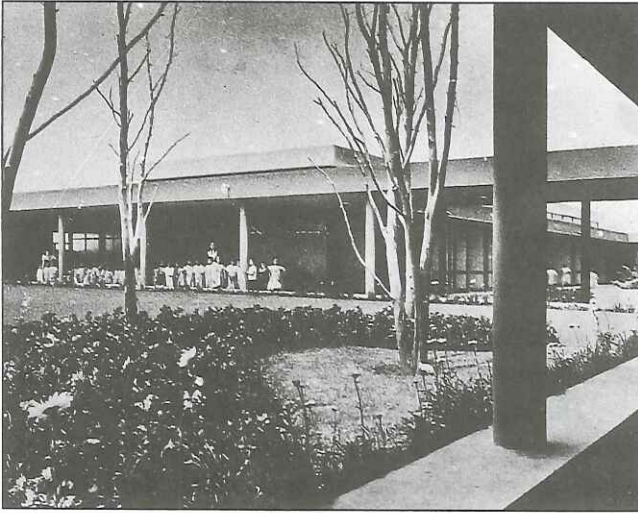
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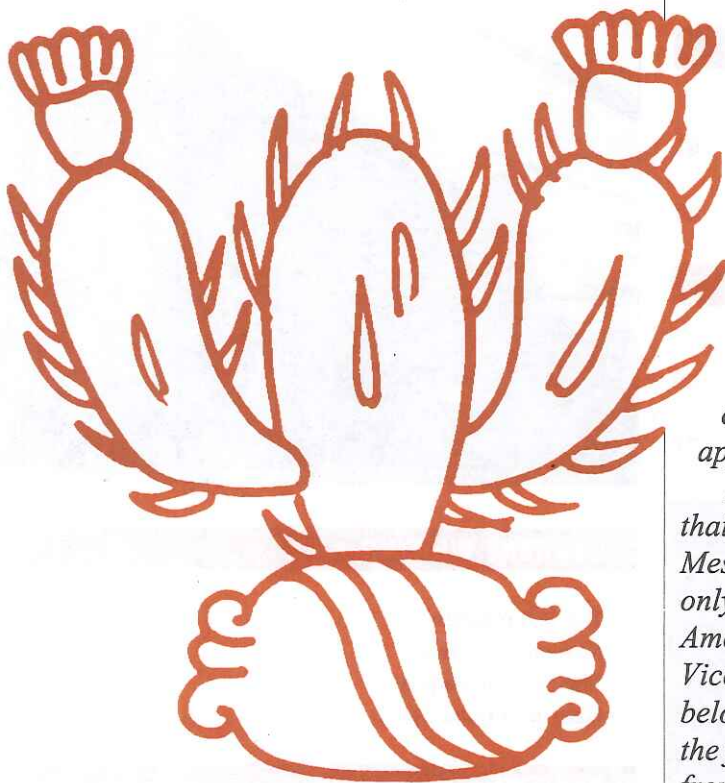
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Cover: *Diego Rivera, Dream of a Sunday afternoon in the Alameda Central (mural detail)*. Reproduction authorized by the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature.
Photo by Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.

Our voice



This issue of *Voices of Mexico* marks the second anniversary of our magazine's new series. The eight issues published in this new series have focused on topics of current interest, particularly those affecting Canada, the United States and Mexico. We have touched on issues of joint concern such as pollution, the drug trade and worker migration, as well as economic questions like foreign investment, trade, the foreign debt and discussion of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Specialists representing a wide range of opinions have contributed their views on these topics, as befits a university magazine such as ours. We have also published a number of articles on the history of Mexico, a history whose richness is appreciated world-wide.

Archeology has revealed astonishing cultures that flourished in the past in the region known as Mesoamerica; these cultures are comparable only to the Inca empire that arose in South America. The three centuries—known as the Viceregal or Colonial period—when Mexico belonged to the Spanish empire are striking for the fusion of European cultures brought over from Spain with those of the indigenous peoples. The process of *mestizaje* (the mixture of peoples) has continued through the present day.

With regard to the period from Mexico's Independence up to today, each issue of the magazine has included articles on museums that show a slice of this country's fascinating history; we have highlighted works of the great painters of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, creators of the Muralist movement—the repercussions of which were felt around the world.

In this issue we publish an article on the Pinacoteca Virreinal Museum, which exhibits works from the Colonial period's most important schools of painting, which bring together the artistic sensibilities of our two great cultural currents.

We also refer to the noteworthy contributions of pre-Hispanic authors, who through the peculiar hieroglyphic writing of their codices help us learn about, and admire the culture of, pre-Colonial times.

One of the best-known painters of modern times is Diego Rivera; his daughter Guadalupe is the author of the article on this master, whose genius made a lasting mark both in Mexico and abroad.

After the 1985 earthquake the National Medical Center was reconstructed, and 21st Century was added to its name. This center, which contains the most important and up-to-date devices for safeguarding patients' health, bears witness to an indomitable will to overcome catastrophes.

In our previous issue we referred to the murals which grace the walls of our beautiful university. In this issue we focus on the sculptures which grace the campus grounds. Side by side with spacious classrooms, UNAM provides students, professors and researchers enjoyment of the power of our country's art.

*On the world-wide problem of drugs, we reprint the first part of the introduction by Peter H. Smith to the book *Drug policy in the Americas*, which sheds light on one of the most serious scourges of diplomatic relations in our hemisphere: drug trafficking. Mexico upholds its hypothesis that if there were no drug*

consumption, there would be no production and trafficking of drugs.

One of the architects who created University City (the main UNAM campus) was Mario Pani. On the occasion of his recent death, in this issue we remember him for his outstanding professional work. We also pay homage to Blas Galindo, who enriched Mexican symphonic music with his tireless creative ability.

We mourn the passing of two distinguished and world-renowned figures: Mario Moreno, better known as "Cantinflas," whose many motion pictures made an impact around the world; and Cesar Chavez, the Mexican-American leader who left us the heritage of his estimable organization for defense of the labor and human rights of people of Mexican descent in the country to our north.

The Center for Research on the United States of America (CISEUA) has changed its name to Center for Research on North America (CISAN) in order to include Canada in its field of study. In this issue, Mónica Vereá explains the far-ranging implications of this change.

When we look over the tables of contents of our first eight issues, we are pleased to observe the variety of articles on current issues, together with commentary on Mexican art, history and sociology—the basis of national identity in an increasingly interrelated world. Since so many of these texts are worth saving for the future, the issues from the first year of the magazine's new series have been collected in a bound volume; others will follow. ❧

Hugo B. Margáin
Editorial Director.

Canadian studies in Mexico: a new challenge

On May 19, the Council of the National University of Mexico (UNAM) approved the proposal to change the name of the Center for Research on the United States (CISEUA) to the Center for Research on North America (CISAN).

At the University Council's plenary session, I put forward the following reasons why the name of the center should be changed.

The recent world changes that have occurred at breath-taking speed confirm the need to study this hemisphere in depth in order to achieve greater understanding.

Our university is therefore required to provide analyses, alternatives and answers that contribute to national and regional development, in accordance with the current world-wide phenomenon of globalization that has given rise to a new order of powerful economic blocs.

Although knowledge of the United States is increasing, there are still considerable gaps concerning basic factors that go beyond the strictly bilateral approach. While knowledge of the United States is still far from adequate, ignorance about Canada is much more widespread.

Very little has been written by Mexican researchers about the situation in Canada and the latter's relationship with Mexico. There is still a great deal to be done to establish a minimum basis of general knowledge about Canada.

Canada's vast territory, its multi-racial population, economic structure, legal and political system and social complexity are some of the many subjects for research from a multi- and inter-disciplinary perspective.

Our new economic and political relationship with Canada will doubtless transcend the present and become a much more solid relationship. It is important to note that if the trilateral Free Trade Agreement is signed, our relationship with Canada, hitherto virtually unknown to Mexican society, will rapidly intensify.

Even if the agreement is not signed, the current rate of increase in economic, political and diplomatic exchanges has been so fruitful and significant that attention will be drawn to the fact that bilateral relations between Mexico and Canada are already different from what they were before.

Including Canada as a formal object of study at the Center will also affect our approach to studying Mexico-U.S. relations, since research projects aimed at analyzing the different aspects and key players of complex border relationships in particular and bilateral relationships in general are already underway.

Given current conditions, Canada, the third member of the region, will necessarily influence both the readjustment of a bilateral relationship to a new member and also the new, solid trilateral relationship that will obviously have to



be assessed using different methods of analysis.

The latter will no doubt lead to new ideas, points of view and even different answers and solutions than those of the past.

I am certain that North America's economic integration should be consolidated at the same time as specialized teams of personnel are being organized in all three countries. These groups should be able to propose medium- and long-range initiatives allowing their countrymen to understand and enjoy the benefits provided by this form of integration.

This in turn leads us to the urgent need to open an area of Canadian studies, as part of the second stage of our Center's academic development, almost four years after its creation. We think that as part of UNAM, the center is ideally qualified to carry out research on Canada and will continue to maintain the high standards achieved in its research on the United States.

This center of formal research, that will not only be the first of its kind at the National University of Mexico, but also in Mexico, will help encourage innovative, in-depth studies of Canada through different multi- and interdisciplinary perspectives as well as being an

ideal place to promote academic

activities on the North American region as a whole. Our long-term aim will obviously be to analyze the region as a whole, from

a regional and global point of view.

We already have a number of academic contacts at Canadian institutions that have supported us in international seminars such as "Canada in Transition," held in November 1992, with the financial support of the Canadian government and its embassy in Mexico.

Some Canadian academic institutions have offered to accept our academic staff, through a program of research fellowships, to enable them to carry out the necessary interviews and consultations for their research projects.

Finally, the Center has an ongoing program for training researchers on U.S. and bilateral issues that uses publications, refresher courses, specialized seminars and credited courses to keep Mexican academics abreast of Canadian issues ❧

Mónica Vereá Campos
Director of the Center for
Research on North America, UNAM.

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Colonial Mexican painting and the Pinacoteca Virreinal Museum

Virginia Armella de Aspe *

The Pinacoteca Virreinal¹ is a beautiful and unique museum, located in the downtown Mexico City district known as the “Historic Center.” Its beauty derives both from the works on exhibition and the building in which they are exhibited, whose main hall used to be the Church of San Diego, featuring a nobly proportioned baroque nave and architecture dating from the 18th century.

It is unique for the harmony between its contents and the building which contains them; for the spaciousness of its interior, which we sense as soon as we enter the museum; and for the artistic importance and great scale of its almost 300 paintings, which were created during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the first decades of the nineteenth century.

While the pictures we encounter in the museum may strike us as distinctly European—as indeed they are, from an aesthetic viewpoint—these works are testimony to the encounter between master painters of the Old and New Worlds, as well as to

¹ *Pinacoteca Virreinal* means “art gallery of the viceregal period,” i.e., the period in which Mexico was a colony governed by a viceroy appointed by the Spanish crown.

* Curator of the National Institute of Fine Arts’ Pinacoteca Virreinal Museum.



Luis Juárez, *The Archangel Michael* (oil on masonite, 1.72 X 1.53 m).

the evolution of the fine arts that occurred in Mexico during the century following the Spanish conquest.

In the 16th century, the collaboration of artists from the New World with those from the Old gave



José de Ibarra, Guatemala's Virgin of Carmen (oil on canvas, 1.39 X 1.04 m).

rise to a number of noteworthy aesthetic phenomena. The high artistic level that painting had reached in Mesoamerica (i.e., Mexico and adjacent regions) by the time the Europeans arrived can be seen in pre-Columbian codices and murals. The technique consisted of tracing flat figures, frequently outlined in black, and filling the figures in with the colors indigenous artists knew how to produce and apply.

While pre-Columbian artists were unfamiliar with the use of oil for dissolving colors, they used the juice of the maguey cactus (which when fermented produces the popular alcoholic beverage *pulque*) for the same purpose. They used sticky cactus sap to make the paint adhere to walls. In order to prepare wall surfaces for painting, they applied a type of stone called *quimaltizatl*, which when ground and kneaded produced a

smooth, glossy stucco. As "canvases" for smaller-format paintings, artists used animal skins, maguey cactus papyrus, paper made from the *amate* (Mexican fig tree), and cotton textiles.

More than 250 Mesoamerican codices have been preserved, although only sixteen of them are pre-Hispanic and of those sixteen only two are presently in Mexico. Nevertheless, reproductions are available, allowing us to judge these works artistically: we find in them an abstraction that reaches the essential line of form, denoting a high degree of artistic power, and overwhelmingly joyful color. They are, moreover, of undeniable anthropological interest.

The painters who came from Europe in the 16th century were masters who, through years of study, had assimilated the technique and art of preparing materials, as well as drawing, composition, perspective and color. They had a great aesthetic sense testifying to the particular artistic period Spain was passing through at that time, influenced by Italian Renaissance paintings, German



Anonymous, The lord of great power (oil on canvas, 1.73 X 1.09 m).



Sebastián López de Arteaga, Madonna and child (oil on canvas, 0.93 X 0.98 m).

engravings, and the panel works created in Flanders—akin to illuminated manuscripts in their perfection and detail, with brilliant colors and varnishes resembling enamel work.

The mutual recognition of artistic quality between Old and New World painters began as soon as the Spaniards set foot on Mesoamerican soil, as Bernal Díaz del Castillo, participant in and chronicler of the Spanish conquest, noted: "... many Indians from the surrounding towns came on a pilgrimage to the island of Cozumel... and Cortés called for a large amount of lime, which was abundant in that town, and for Indian masons; and a very clean altar was built, upon which we placed the image of Our Lady...." A few days later they returned to the same location to repair their ship: "... we returned to the port from which we had left and we unloaded the cassava

cakes, and we found the image of Our Lady and the Cross very clean... and this made us glad."

This narrative shows the artistic sense of the Indians, who had safeguarded the painting as a precious object. How did they see this image, so different in its aesthetic and meaning from the drawings in their codices?

Some days later the Spaniards reached Cempoala, where they found Moctezuma's tax collector, whose name was Tendile. Díaz del Castillo observed: "... he brought with him great painters, and there are such in Mexico, and he ordered them to paint naturally the face and visage and body and features of Cortés, and of all the captains and soldiers, and ships and sails, and horses and Doña Marina and Aguilar, and even two greyhounds, and gunshot and balls, and all of the army we had brought, and he took this to his lord."



Miguel Cabrera, Virgin of the Apocalypse (oil on canvas, 3.38 X 3.53 m).

Three Franciscan friars from the Convent of Ghent arrived in 1523. When the “twelve” arrived one year later, together they began construction of the Convent of San Francisco in Mexico City, with a school attached named “San José de los Naturales” (Saint Joseph of the Natives), in which instruction was given in doctrine, grammar,

“counting,” and all trades and arts, in accordance with the students’ aptitudes.

The class in painting was given by a friar named Diego Valadés, born in the Mexican city of Tlaxcala, who published a book entitled *Rethorica Cristiana*, which he illustrated himself with beautiful Renaissance-style engravings.

Regarding the Indians who learned to paint in this school, Bernal Díaz commented: “... many Indians native to these lands have learned all the trades that there are in Castile, and very well.... Such a renowned painter as the very ancient Apelles and those of our times who were called Berruguete and Michelangelo... would not, with their delicate paintbrushes, produce the works... that are made by three Indians, Mexicans, who are masters of this trade, who call themselves Aquinas and John of the Cross and ‘Ringlet’.”

Thus it was that painting, which in the beginning served as a substitute for language as a means of communication between men of such different cultures, evolved through intermingling, by means of collaboration among Spanish and Indian painters, all of them responsive to the call of art.

Pre-Hispanic masters made their mark on this collaboration through their knowledge of coloring agents and other materials. In the beginning, the oil of the chia plant substituted for olive oil in the fabrication of oil-based paints; panel paintings were carried out on wood from the *tampincerán* or *ayacahuite* trees; the cochineal plant was found to be the best source for all shades of crimson, and the reverse sides of panel paintings were reinforced with stripped-down maguey leaves. These leaves were applied with a glue extracted from the bulb of a tropical orchid, and arranged so as to go against the grain of the wood.

For their part, the Spaniards contributed through teaching the artistic advances they had made in drawing, composition and color. They also taught the secrets of foreshortening and other perspective effects giving the impression of volume. One of their most important contributions was to pass on the



Cristóbal de Villalpando, Nuptials (oil on canvas).

traditional iconography of the Catholic religion for the representation of the mysteries of faith as well as Biblical scenes and personages.

Iconography had taken shape and developed over the centuries. But iconography spread with the discovery of metal engraving, making it possible to reproduce images which were brought to the Americas in the form of the illustrations in the breviaries that monks brought with them as their only baggage.

The manuscript division of Washington's Library of Congress holds a document entitled *Codex of Huejotzingo* and dated 1531. It contains an image of Indian imprint and European iconography. The explanatory note states: "One of the first representations of 'Madonna and Child' made in the Americas." In this picture we note foreshortening in the drawing of the human figure, which proves that the *tlacuilo*, or wise man who painted the codex, had already assimilated the advances made by European drawing technique.

In New Spain, as Mexico was known during the Colonial period, painting was usually done in family workshops installed in the master painter's home. The painter and his family would live on the upper floors, while the ground floor was given over to the workshop.

In accordance with custom, the painters' guild had a religious confraternity for its members, with a patron image as titular head of the guild. The patron image was the Virgin of Socorro who was worshipped in the Church of San José de Gracia. A century after the Conquest it was moved to the church of the Convent of Santa Inés, where tablets can still be found indicating that the remains of Juan Rodríguez Juárez, Miguel Cabrera and other famous painters are resting there.

The paintings' style varied over time, in line with historical events,



Manuel Talavera, Saint Rosalie (oil on canvas, 1.49 X 1.11 m).

changes in the predominant conception of the world, and the progression of great artistic figures, who, as was to be expected, were widely copied. In Mexico, during the 300-year period covered by the museum, works were produced which reflected the influence of the

Renaissance and particularly of the Italian masters, Leonardo Da Vinci, Michelangelo and Raphael.

This was followed by the style conventionally called Mannerism, denoting the modification of the classical canons. This style served as a transition between Renaissance and



Nicolás Correa, Mystic nuptials of Saint Rose of Lima (oil on canvas, 1.64 X 1.44 m).

Baroque, under the continued influence of the Italian masters.

In the Pinacoteca Virreinal Museum's permanent exhibition, this style is represented by Andrés de Concha, who arrived in Mexico in 1568; Baltasar de Echave Orio, known through his works beginning in 1580; Luis Juárez, a Mexican-born disciple of Echave Orio and officer of his workshop; Alonso López de Herrera, born in Valladolid, Spain, in 1579 (the date and place of this painter's birth have been the subject of some confusion, but the research of Carlota Creel has enabled us to state them with certainty); and Baltasar de Echave Ibia, son of Baltasar de Echave Orio—as well as four paintings whose authorship remains unknown.

Next in the list of styles is the Chiaroscuro Baroque, originated by Michelangelo Merisi, known as "Caravaggio" after the Italian town where he was born. In the second third of the seventeenth century, this style, with its rather dramatic representations, was perfectly adapted to the Counter-Reformation and the dissemination of religious sentiment. The outstanding master of this school in Mexico was Sebastián López de Arteaga, who arrived in 1648, dying seven years later. Pedro Ramírez and Baltasar de Echave Rioja (grandson of Baltasar de Echave Orio) were continuators of this artistic trend.

The artist rightly considered the best painter of the Colonial epoch is José Juárez, son of the Mannerist painter Luis Juárez. His work, while adhering to the European Baroque school, displays a highly personal and original style. Juárez was undoubtedly familiar with, and inspired by, the work of Zurbarán. Yet the originality of his composition and the artistic quality of his work demand that his paintings, seven of which are in the Pinacoteca Virreinal Museum's collection, be judged on their own merits.

Another phase of the Baroque style which produced notable works of art was that adopted by Antonio Rodríguez, a disciple of José Juárez. Rodríguez married Juárez's daughter; their sons Nicolás and Juan Rodríguez Juárez became famous masters in their own right. This artistic phase comes to an end with Hipólito de Rioja, whose work, while belonging to the purest Non-Chiaroscuro Baroque school, is full of joy and movement; and Juan Tinoco, a painter of unknown origin who worked in the city of Puebla. Tinoco's *Biblical Battle* is so remarkable that it deserves to be



Andrés de Concha, Saint Cecilia (oil on wood, 2.90 X 1.92 m).



Miguel Cabrera, Virgin of the Apocalypse (detail, oil on canvas, 3.38 X 3.53 m).

displayed in the Escorial Palace's hall of battles.

The next Baroque group, which manifests specific national characteristics, is made up of entire families of painters. The Rodríguez Juárez brothers belong to this group, as do Juan and Nicolás Correa and the exceptional artist Cristóbal de Villalpando. These painters worked during the final quarter of the 17th century and the first quarter of the 18th.

During that period, New Spain was passing through a distinct and crucial phase of its history. While Zurbarán and Murillo sent some of their works here to be sold by agents, there were no longer any European painters in the colony. Moreover, the painters of New Spain were becoming increasingly aware of how different they were from Spaniards newly arrived in the colony.

The mathematician, cosmographer, poet and master painter Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora was the first to put this into words: "As I am neither Spaniard nor Indian, what then am I?" His answer, which accepted that being Mexican meant belonging to a distinct entity with its own anthropological roots, gave voice to a new-found national pride.

Around the time that Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz² was writing her

² Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-1695) was a Carmelite nun who became one of the most famous and beloved writers in the history of Mexico.

sonnets in the Náhuatl language, Cristóbal de Villalpando painted his great picture representing the Plaza of Mexico City (ca. 1698); Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez painted the first series of depictions of the “castes” or racial mixtures existing in Mexico; Diego Correa made a great map of the city; Juan Rodríguez Juárez devoted himself to painting the common people, among them Indians and “castes”; and the illustrious painter Juan Correa, a mulatto, painted himself into his religious pictures as the figure closest to the each painting’s main personage, proudly depicting the dark skin color of his “caste.”

By coincidence, the thirty-second Viceroy of New Spain, appointed to govern the colony in 1697, was the Count of Moctezuma. His title powerfully evoked the pre-Hispanic past, to which he lent prestige through the pictorial representations he often sponsored.

One of the works in the Pinacoteca Museum’s holdings which symbolizes this moment in Mexico’s history is the medium-format oil on canvas painted by the master Juan



Luis Juárez, *The Annunciation* (oil on wood, 1.24 X 0.85 m).



Baltasar de Echave Ibia, *St. John the Evangelist* (oil on canvas, 2.05 X 1.24 m).

Correa around 1700 and entitled *The angelic musicians*. The artist was clearly inspired by a work of Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. But there is an essential difference: Correa painted one of the angels—precisely the one closest to the baby Jesus—as a mulatto, and another, who is seen playing drums, as a *mestizo* (person of mixed Indian and European parentage).

In this work, the master sought to present “a celebration of Mexico’s racial diversity,” as the art historian Markus Burke aptly notes when referring to paintings of the “castes.”

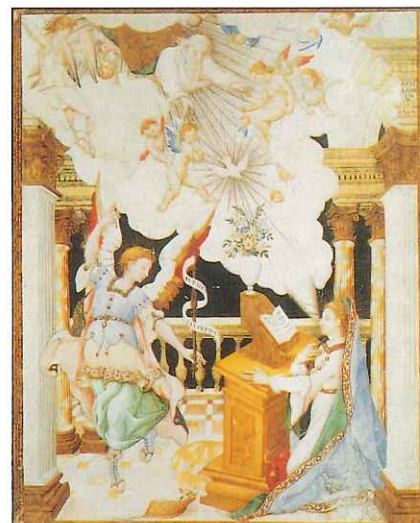
A young man born in Guadalajara came to the city to learn the painter’s art. His name was José de Ibarra. According to one of his writings he was a student of Juan Correa, but I have found a document proving that he was also a craftsman in the workshop of the Rodríguez Juárez brothers. Ibarra had a long life, enabling him to serve as the link between the group we have been discussing, which we will call the Nationalist Baroque school, and the

group that followed it, headed by Miguel Cabrera and other distinguished masters, during the middle of the 18th century.

As an aid to composition and iconographic correctness, this group often based itself on engravings brought over from Europe and preserved to this day; some of these engravings, in the Rococo style, were made by the brothers Klauber. Nevertheless, these artists’ works differ significantly from these engravings.

This group carried out two important projects. The first was to give their individual professional opinions on the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. These judgments were compiled by Miguel Cabrera in a volume entitled *Maravilla americana y conjunto de raras maravillas* (Marvel of the Americas and ensemble of rare marvels). This group of master painters is known by the name “marvel of the Americas.”

The other project was founding a Painters’ Academy, which represented a new means of apprenticeship in Mexico. While such academies had been established in some parts of Europe during the preceding century, the Mexican academy was founded only one year after the Academy of



Luis Lagarto, *The Annunciation* (watercolor on vellum, 0.25 X 0.21 m).



Luis Lagarto, Virgin of the Rosary with two saints, St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Catherine of Siena (watercolor on vellum, 0.30 X 0.25 m).

San Fernando in Madrid, and simultaneously with the Academy of San Carlos in Valencia, Spain. Although the Mexican academy was short-lived—closing after three years due to a lack of funding—it was a laudable and fruitful enterprise.

Both the volume on the Virgin of Guadalupe and the document establishing the Painters' Academy record the names of the master painters involved in these projects. The most notable of these painters, with works conserved and exhibited in the Pinacoteca Virreinal Museum, are José de Ibarra, Miguel Cabrera, Juan Patricio Morlete Ruíz, Francisco Antonio Vallejo, Nicolás Enríquez, and José de Alcívar.

The foundation of the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico was preceded by the arrival from Spain of Don Jerónimo Antonio Gil, a distinguished engraver born in 1732 in the city of Zamora and trained in the Academy of San Carlos in Valencia, Spain. After

winning an engraving contest, he was appointed Engraver of the Mint in Mexico. He was accompanied by his two sons as well as two disciples.

Gil had also been commissioned by the Spanish Crown to establish an Academy of Engraving. This academy was established on the premises of the Mint, and met with such success that Gil—in view of the noisy surroundings and the high number of students attending classes—requested royal sponsorship for the foundation of a new academy which would teach not only engraving but painting, sculpture, gold- and silver-work.

He spoke with Don José Fernando Mangino, superintendent of the Mint in Mexico City, and won his approval for the project. Together they presented the request to the king, and after receiving part of the necessary funds, the academy was founded; classes began in 1785. For various reasons, the original teachers left the academy, but they were soon replaced by Don Rafael Ximeno y Planes as director of painting classes, Manuel Tolsá for sculpture, and Joaquín Fabregat for engraving.

The style disseminated by the newly arrived masters was Neo-Classicism, which had originated with the discovery of the ruins of the Roman cities of Pompeii and Herculano, buried by the lava of Mount Vesuvius in the fourth century A.D. The discovery of these cities was sponsored by Carlos III when he was viceroy of Naples and his half brother Ferdinand VI was king of Spain. It was natural that the monarch who had discovered these vestiges of Classic art, so harmonious, delicate and refined, would adopt their aesthetic and spread it to Spain's dominions overseas.

Liberalism and the French Revolution, which led to a break from the style associated with monarchy and the Catholic Church, spurred the development of Neo-Classicism. This trend was soon copied throughout the world. In Mexico this shift in styles

went hand in hand with a shift in political conceptions, since the idea of independence began to grow after the Spanish monarchy fell under the blows of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Rafael Ximeno painted portraits of his associates Tolsá and Gil, which the Pinacoteca Virreinal Museum conserves and exhibits with pride. The museum also exhibits five of this master's small-format oils on canvas as well as a number of paintings by his Mexican disciples and contemporaries: a plan by Tolsá for the construction of a Neo-Classical altar in the Church of Santa Teresa la Nueva; the famous *Portrait of Doña María Luisa Gonzaga Foncerrada y Lavarrieta*, by José María Vázquez; *Don Manuel Justo Bolea* and *The blessing of the table*, oils on canvas by José de Alcívar; *Saint Ann and the Virgin as a child*, oil on canvas, and *The prophet Elijah in the desert*, watercolor on paper, by Don Francisco Eduardo Tresguerras.

In addition to the undoubted aesthetic pleasure provided by the beauty of the works on exhibition, a visit to the Pinacoteca Virreinal Museum is an encounter with the history of Mexico, as seen through the eyes and reflected in the works of her best artists.

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The English-Only movement in the U.S.

Ten years ago, the "U.S. English" organization was founded in Washington, D.C., under the auspices of three well-known representatives of the "new conservatism." California Senator S. I. Hayakawa, a linguist of Japanese descent born in Canada, Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, honorary chairman of "Arizonans for Official English," and William J. Bennett, Director of the Federal Education Department in the Reagan administration, promoted the idea that bilingualism is the main threat to the integrity of the Anglo-American republic.

There are historical precedents for this movement. Edward M. Chen, in his article "'English Only' breeding bigotry in the U.S.," states:

"The current English Only movement is not unprecedented; it bears great similarity to the racist nativist movements which arose in response to the wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe between 1890 and 1914.

"The Federal Immigration Commission issued a report in 1911, striking a contrast between 'old' and 'new' immigrants, in which it argued that the former had mingled quickly with native-born Americans and became assimilated, while the 'new' immigrants from Italy, Russia, Hungary and other countries were less intelligent, less willing to learn English, or had intentions of not settling permanently in the United States. These arguments are strikingly similar to those advanced by the current English Only movement.

"In response, English literacy requirements were established as conditions for public employment,

naturalization, immigration and suffrage, in order to exclude those perceived to be of lower class and 'ignorant of our laws and language.' The New York Constitution was amended to disenfranchise over one million Yiddish-speaking citizens, by a Republican administration fearful of Jewish votes. The California Constitution was similarly amended to disenfranchise Chinese voters."

Among the arguments advanced by English Only proponents, this comment by Senator Hayakawa is particularly noteworthy:

"During the six years I served as a United States Senator, I realized that our country was heading toward a crisis that no one seemed willing to address. We have unwisely embarked upon a policy of so-called 'bilingualism,' putting foreign languages in competition with our own. English has long been the main unifying force of the American people. Yet now, prolonged bilingual education in public schools and multilingual ballots threaten to divide us along language lines.

"English is under attack in America.... It's frightening.... We are plunging into a bilingual society. Or, more accurately, we are being pushed into a bilingual society. And I believe that if this continues, we face grave consequences as a society. Former Mayor Maurice Ferre of Miami demonstrated the aggressiveness of the bilingual movement when he said, 'You can be born in a Cuban hospital, be baptized by a Cuban priest, buy all your food from a Cuban grocer, take your insurance from a Cuban broker and pay for it all with a check from a Cuban bank. You can get all the news in Spanish, read the Spanish daily paper, watch Spanish TV, listen to Spanish radio. You can

There are various organizations which advocate English as the mandatory, official language of the U.S. population and its territory. This movement gains strength with each passing day and, although it may appeal to common sense, runs the risk of becoming a "modern Inquisition" against all those immigrants whose native language is not English.

A text based on *The crossroads of language: an essay on official English, the defense of native Spanish and the de-colonization of Puerto Rico* by Pedro Juan Rúa, Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, 1992, 101 pp.

go through life without ever having to speak English at all. English is not necessary in order to be a citizen.”

Gerda Bikales, a German immigrant, focuses the fight more directly on Spanish: “The Hispanic minority, which constitutes 75 percent of the students in bilingual education programs at present, has grown to over 20 million people, thus making the United States the country with the fourth-largest Hispanic population in the world. If we allow this to continue, we will create a permanent under-class in this country for the first time in history, something which could be very dangerous.”

Besides “U.S. English,” there are other organizations which advocate the establishment of English only; they include the “English First” group, whose headquarters are in Sacramento, California, and whose board of directors includes state legislature senators and representatives; the “Council for Inter-American Security,” the “American Ethnic Coalition,” and “The Pioneer Fund,” among others.

According to Pedro Rua, these organizations compete among themselves, but forget their differences when the following goals are at stake:

1. The approval of the “English Language Amendment” to the U.S. Constitution, which would institutionalize the official status of English. Short of this, they seek an equivalent federal law or state-by-state legislation to the same effect.
2. A Supreme Court judgement which would re-interpret the Constitution and effectively decree English to be the official language, linking this measure with the definition of U.S. citizenship. Or, short of this, a Supreme Court decision overturning federal, state and territorial laws which promote bilingualism and multilingualism.
3. The repeal of education laws and legislation in public service regulations which promote bilingual education in elementary and secondary schools.
4. The application of the English Only guidelines.

“The current English Only movement bears great similarity to the racist nativist movements between 1890 and 1914”

The movement appears to focus its attention on Hispanic immigration, as can be observed in the introduction written by Iowa Senator Steve Symms—a proponent of the Senate “English Language Amendment”—to the 1985 “Special Report” on the issue.

The report, entitled “On creating a Hispanic America: a nation within a nation?”, was prepared by the “Council for Inter-American Security.” The following are highlights from the text:

“Of all our minorities, Hispanics are the youngest, fastest growing and most concentrated in urban areas...; Chicano, or Mexican-American activists of the 1960s and 1970s resurrected the dream of a Hispanic homeland in the southwestern United States... called Aztlan...; the dream has never died. Indeed, forces outside our national boundaries could very well help Aztlan become a reality...the deteriorating economic conditions of those countries and the ease with which people can vote with their feet by simply walking north. Yet at home, we have a federally-sponsored program which helps promote a distinct Hispanic identity, preserve the Spanish language and engender a separatist mentality: bilingual education.

“The movement appears to focus its attention on Hispanic immigration”

“Dutch criminal psychologist Dick Mulder has said that ‘there is a danger that the language situation could feed and guide terrorism in the U.S.’ Therefore, bilingual education and the ideal of Aztlan as a potential Hispanic homeland has national security implications.... Hispanic Americans have a fertility rate far greater than the Anglo-American majority or the Black minority. This, combined with the large numbers of illegal Hispanic immigrants and cemented by common linguistic cultural ties, could spell trouble for the United States.”

“Official English” victories

The state of Virginia, one of the “cradles” of the Anglo-American nation and home to several of that nation’s Founding Fathers, was the starting point of the current English Only movement. In 1981, the state legislature approved “Official English” legislation, with hardly any opposition.

This same statute was approved in 1984, in the states of Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee, and in 1986 in Georgia. In the same year, a referendum was held in California. The results of “Proposition 63,” which was approved by 73 percent of the voters, allowed the state constitution to be amended to declare English to be the official state language.

businesses, ranging from hospitals to bottling plants, are requiring that their employees speak English on the job.... The bulk of the legal challenges to such restrictions involve conversations among employees. Civil rights lawyers say it is impossible to estimate the number of businesses that have imposed such restrictions.”

Further on, the article states: “Two of the cases pursued by the agency (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Washington) involve language restrictions in southern California. In one, Aida Dimaranan, a Filipino nurse, has accused Pomona Valley Hospital of barring the use of her native language on the job.

“Official English does not require agencies to start referring to the city at the end of the Golden Gate Bridge as ‘St. Frank’ ”

“In the other, Leonor Hernández, a clerk/typist at a Sears Roebuck Co. billing office in Los Angeles, has filed suit against Sears over a rule forbidding her to speak Spanish on the job.

“The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, a rights group, is now pursuing at least eight other language discrimination cases.... In addition to California... complaints of language discrimination have been raised in a number of other states, including Florida, Texas, Illinois and Arizona.”

Two years previously, the Colorado state Senate enacted strict regulations governing state universities, which prevented the hiring of any professors who did not have a full command of English (“proficiency”), and Robert R. Oliva, a Cuban researcher at Florida International University, discovered a large number of cases of job suspensions or terminations due to English-only guidelines.

Researchers Ralph L. Quiñones and Francisco F. Coronel of Loyola Marymount University in California confirm that there are growing obstacles to the marketing of Hispanic products, which not only affect Spanish-language publicity campaigns —some radio stations which feature broadcasts in Spanish have been closed due to the withdrawal of financial backing— and sales and purchase procedures at some Spanish-speaking businesses located in the United States, but have also affected products from Latin American countries.

Puerto Rico = Quebec?

In April 1988, at the First International Conference on Comparative Linguistic Law in Montreal, Canada, a noteworthy event took place. While Puerto Rican scholar Luis Muñiz Argüelles was reading his conference paper, he was interrupted by Gerda Bikales —the Executive Director of “U.S. English”— who told him that the United States, and she herself, would do everything in their power to handle Puerto Rico in such a way as to prevent a repetition of the English-speaking Canadian experience with French-speaking Quebec.

Eight months previously, A.W. Maldonado wrote in *El Reportero*: “The great fear (of Official English) is that on the premise that Hispanics do not need to learn English in order to live and work in the United States, another country will be created within the existing one —something similar to the Canadian situation.”

The metaphor of “Puerto Rico = Quebec” has been employed by various figures and media: Republican Patrick Buchanan used it in May 1990; it appeared in a *Detroit-Michigan News* editorial one month later; in July, it appeared in the *National Review*, whose Senior Editor is William J. Bennett; towards the end of the same month, it appeared in *Newsweek*; at the end of 1990, columnist James J. Kilpatrick wrote, “Puerto Ricans... does anyone hear an echo of Quebec?”

In 1991, Gerda Bikales announced her departure from “U.S. English,” in order to form an organization specifically dedicated to meeting the threat of a Caribbean Quebec, called “The Emergency Committee on Puerto Rican Statehood and the Status of English in the United States.”

Moreover, James Michener, author of such best-sellers as *South Pacific*, *Centennial* and *Hawaii*, has written a novel entitled *Texas* in which he argues: “For a nation like

“Children of immigrants wind up adopting the native language of their country of residence as their own native language ”

the United States, which has a workable central tongue used by many countries around the world, the conscious introduction of linguistic separation and its subsequent encouragement through the expenditure of public funds, is equivalent to creating and provoking a threat which in time could destroy this nation, as other nations with linguistic problems have been destroyed.”

Conclusions

It is understandable for a nation to wish to preserve its culture and traditions. However, every virtue, when carried to extremes, becomes a vice, sacrifices a certain amount of respectability, and at a certain point, runs the risk of becoming ridiculous.

One such example is given in an article by Gail Diane Cox in the *National Law Journal*: "Immediately after the vote (on California's Proposition 63) state bureaucrats, desperate for a practical translation applicable to their daily work, flocked to the State Attorney General's office for counsel. His legal opinion... said Official English does not require state agencies to redraft their multi-lingual welfare forms, stop advertising state lottery tickets on salsa music stations, or start referring to the city at the end of the Golden Gate Bridge as 'St. Frank.'"

According to Pedro Juan Rua, the English Only movement embodies the exclusionary aspirations of an ethnic group which wants to advance itself from being the largest, to being the only, ethnic presence in the nation.

In this regard, it is worth quoting a comment by the fourth President of the United States, James Madison, author of *The Federalist Papers*: "Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been and ever will be pursued until it is obtained, or until liberty is lost in the pursuit. In a society under the forms

of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign as in a state of nature, where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger."

Certainly English is the language which should be in official use in the United States. However, this fact should not be twisted by guidelines which, rather than defending English as the vernacular, constitute a new form of "witch-hunt."

The more a language comes into general use, the more people will learn it for their own convenience. Just as we leave our economy in the hands of market laws, so we should trust in the ability of the language used in any country to emerge unscathed, without the need to resort to force or fomenting ethnic hatred. It has been noted, for example, that the children of immigrants wind up adopting the native language of their country of residence as their own native language.

Discrimination and intolerance only encourage the deterioration of those nations which promote such attitudes. Thus, while a great nation is founded upon cooperation between its inhabitants, it may destroy itself if it promotes hatred among its citizens ❧

Marybel Toro Gayol
Managing Editor.

Time

Oh, the Present Tense,
fluid instant, which passes
so rapidly, that he who praises you
begins in the present and ends in the past!

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz

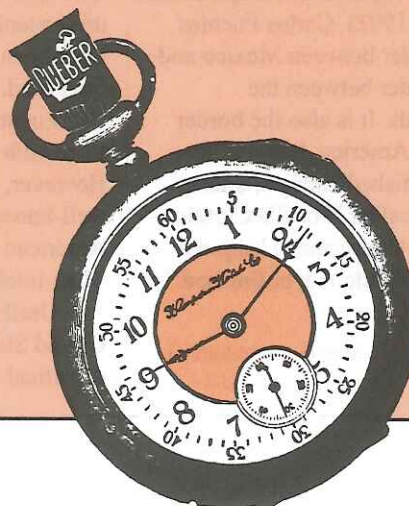
What then is time? If no one asks me, I know; if I wish to explain it to one that asketh, I know not; yet I say boldly that I know that, if nothing passed away, time past were not; and if nothing were coming, a time to come were not; and if nothing were, time present were not.

St. Augustine

What is "Time"?
It came out of the future
Which didn't exist yet
Into the present
That had no duration
And into the past
Which ceased to exist.

Graham Greene

Great books of the western
world, vol. 18, p. 93.



Lust in translation: the boom in Hispanic-American fiction

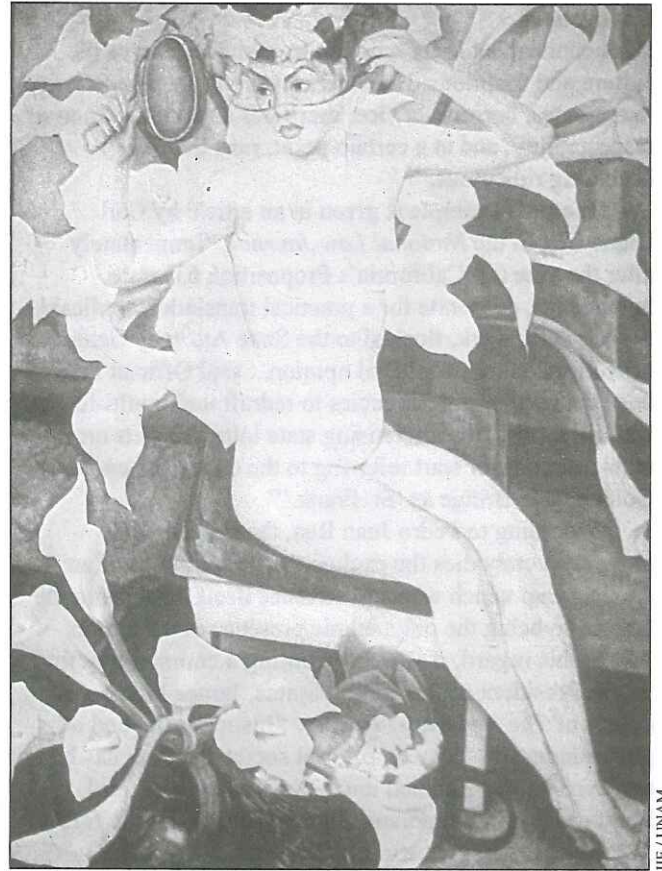
Ilán Stavans *

Whether the river is called the Río Bravo or the Rio Grande depends on who the observer is, his or her vantage point, and on which side of the topographical accident he or she is situated. This accident divides not only the cities of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, Brownsville and Matamoros, but also the United States and Mexico. By a synecdoche of Latin America, it is one river with two names—both of them, curiously enough, in Spanish.

As its name suggests, the river is both broad and aggressive, fearful and vast. But it is also something more: a scar, a wound that will not disappear, a bleeding gash.

In the final chapter (entitled “Hispanic U.S.A.”) of his ambitious work, *The buried mirror: reflections on Spain and the New World* (Houghton Mifflin, 1992), Carlos Fuentes states: “The two thousand mile border between Mexico and the U.S.A. is the openly visible border between the developed and the developing worlds. It is also the border between Anglo-America and Latin America. But it is an unfinished border, made up of unfinished barriers, ditches, walls, barbed-wire fences—the so-called ‘Tortilla Curtain’—which are hastily erected by North Americans to keep out this Hispanic immigrant, and then abandoned, unfinished.”

* Mexican novelist and critic; teacher of Latin American Literature at the City University of New York.



Diego Rivera, *The lady of the veil* (1946).

Fuentes, the “intellectual *axólotl*” (salamander) par excellence—whose array of masks make him, depending on the situation, a diplomat, novelist, political advisor, professor, cultural commentator or Hollywood superstar—prides himself on being a bridge that spans the abyss, a connecting fiber between two cultures.

His skill with languages, his admirable ability to interpret both cultures from within and without, make him a necessary interpreter; a kind of cultural translator of the Ambrose Bierce variety. (It was Bierce, in *The devil's dictionary*, who gave the following definition: “*Interpreter*. One who enables two persons of different languages to understand each other by repeating to each what it would have been to the interpreter’s advantage for the other to have said.”)

Fuentes is an intellectual who, when he speaks to and from both sides, invents both the message and himself. However, there is a whole group in addition to Fuentes, less well-known perhaps, but even more necessary: the Hispanic-American writers. They too are bridges, connecting fibers. Their intellectual physiognomy is also that of the *axólotl*.

Until quite recently, the ethnic minority known in the United States as “Hispanic” was considered a mere statistical abstraction. Although the 25 million legal and

undocumented residents of different origins scattered throughout the country may have had some political weight, they had no artistic presence, and even less so a literary one.

During the 1970's their homogeneity and ideological solvency were doubtful, but this is no longer the case. According to the 1990 census, Hispanics are now the second most rapidly growing ethnic group, after Asians. A minority of such size and strength will sooner or later stamp its world outlook on the social mosaic, and I am sure this process has already begun.

Nevertheless, let's take things one at a time, step by step. Perhaps the most pressing problem is one of nomenclature: Hispanic or Latino? In English, while the former is an adjective, people use it as a noun. This term is generally heard among conservatives, frequently appearing in legal documents and political discourse.

The latter term emerged from within the community; it reflects a liberal tendency, and is used particularly in artistic circles. Consequently, Edward James Olmos and Gloria Estefan are Latinos, while Congressman José Serrano is Hispanic.

Since the adjectival form does not necessarily reflect gender, feminists believe it is necessary to speak of "Latinos" and "Latinas," that is, men and women. There are also those who, like anthology editor Gloria Anzaldúa, suggest replacing both Hispanic and Latino with Mestizo... and Mestiza.

In Spanish, the categorical term used in both printed and television news reports is *hispano* and not *hispanico*.¹ Latino is only heard when there is an "Anglo" within earshot. There seems to be no way out from this linguistic labyrinth that can satisfy everyone.

As for myself, I prefer the term "Hispanic-American writer." Even though it is too long, it not only defines and designates, but places a hyphen between its letters, a dash which embodies the very image of the scar or wound.

If just a short time ago the different subgroups were spoken of separately —Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, etc.— the current trend is to catalogue them all under the same heading and brand them with the same seal. Yet this unifying urge is not new... it actually comes from Latin America, and the term is a broad one which, since the mid-nineteenth century, has covered the wide stretch of geography extending from Ciudad Juárez and Matamoros to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego.

Do we ever think of Leonardo Sciascia, Marie Serrault, and Camilo José Cela as European writers, as a whole, rather than as Italian, French and Spanish writers?

¹ Translator's note: In Mexican Spanish, *hispano* is generally used to refer to people, while *hispanico* is the adjective used to refer to anything of Spanish origin.

Evidently, this way of thinking does not apply among Hispanic-North Americans. Today, it is fashionable not to separate them, but to gather them all together. And once they are gathered together, they must be referred to by a group name which includes and covers all.

The next topic for discussion is linguistic. Despite the anti-official status conferred on it by the "English Only" laws promoted in various states during the 1980's, after English, Spanish is the most important national language north of the Río Bravo.

James Crawford's book *Hold your tongue* (Addison-Wesley, 1992) discusses this topic in considerable detail. He points out that in large cities such as Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, and New York, Spanish is an essential language, so much so that the Federal Government has to print its official publications in Spanish in order to reach Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, Colombians, Mexicans, etc.

Telephone directories are published in English and Spanish for the people from the barrio. There are two cable television networks —Telemundo and Univisión— which broadcast programs in Spanish to several million viewers across the country, with barely a word of English.

Those who suspect that, in the twenty-first century, people in the United States who do not speak the language of Cervantes will become marginalized, might not be altogether wrong. Even though English will perhaps still be the language of commercial exchange, Spanish will spread everywhere over the vast expanse of the northern hemisphere.

Several Hispanic-American writers and poets have already made this syntactic and lexical dilemma their own. If Spanish symbolizes the past for this ethnic minority, then English is the language of the present and, above all, the future. When they choose the language of Shakespeare and reject that of Quevedo, the writers emerging from Hispanic communities desire, consciously or unconsciously, to get their names into the showcase of American literature. They look (and there is no reason why they shouldn't) for their audience and their market within the country and language where they live.

This linguistic dilemma obviously creates an existential struggle within the poet's psyche: by accepting one code, is the other violated? When seen from a sociological point of view, this is not really the choice they face, since most of these writers were educated in English, at least in terms of formal education. Their case is unlike that of Vladimir Nabokov or Joseph Conrad, who, close to the age of forty, decided to write in only one language.

In fact, a handful of novelists, including Rolando Hinojosa, the Chicano author of *Klail City* (Arte Público Press, 1981), and the Guatemalan Victor Perera, author of *Rites: a Guatemalan childhood* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), have —as part of a desire to return to

the womb— re-learned or simply re-adopted Spanish and are now almost perfectly bilingual.

Plagued by contradictions, this struggle is both comical and painful. Gustavo Pérez-Firmat, a Cuban poet and academic critic who teaches at Duke University, has written a poem which, in view of this dilemma within the new wave of Hispanic-American writing, holds an astonishing meaning and force. The poem is entitled "Dedication" and appears in the *Los atrevidos* anthology (Ellas/Linden Lane, 1988), edited by Carolina Hospital:

*The fact that I
am writing to you
in English,
already falsifies
what I wanted to tell you.
My subject
how to explain to you
that I
don't belong to English
though I belong nowhere else,
if not here,
in English.*

However, I will limit my comments to the topic I originally embarked upon: Hispanic-American fiction *per se* and not the vehicle through which it is expressed. For decades, Chicano, Cuban-American, and "NewYoRican" literature has been growing, but its widespread publication by companies such as Arte Público Press (APP) in Texas and The Bilingual Press in Arizona is a recent phenomenon. These two publishing ventures are managed, respectively, by Nicolás Kanellos and Garik Keller (famed as "the dynamic duo" or "the Two K's").

But things are changing. For the first time ever, big New York publishing houses are paying attention to a number of Hispanic-American authors and have agreed to group them together, with a certain amount of splashy publicity, in a literary "boom," similar to that which accompanied the rise to fame of Latin Americans such as Gabriel García Márquez, Julio Cortázar and Mario Vargas Llosa.

For the first time ever, a handful of Mexicans, Caribbean islanders, Central and South Americans have to be translated into Spanish, so they may be read south of the Río Bravo, in cities such as Montevideo, Bogotá and San José... and the translations are full of candor and passion. The roles are reversed; yesterday, it was from Spanish to English, today, it is the other way around.

One must start by differentiating: Cubans in Florida respond to certain influences and stimuli which are different from those affecting their Chicano counterparts in California. The life experiences of the so-called *gusanos* ("worms" —a term for anti-Castro Cubans) in Little Havana, the circumstances which led to their arrival in the United States, and their social mobility, are all very different from their

pocho counterparts in East L.A. who crossed the Río Bravo one or two generations ago and who, somehow or other, have adapted to the specific reality of the West Coast. Similarly, the Puerto Ricans in New York who arrived during the fifties and sixties, who hold U.S. passports and live in a very particular socioeconomic and cultural milieu, can hardly be compared to Nicaraguans living in Washington, D.C. Thus, to speak of a Hispanic-American boom is to speak of a heterogeneous conglomerate, an unequal amalgam, united only by an ancestral tongue.

In 1989, the *Biographical dictionary of Hispanic literature in the United States - The literature of Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and other Hispanic writers* (Greenwood) appeared. It is a somewhat anachronistic and even chaotic volume which, for editorial reasons, excluded Chicanos. In this work, Nicolás Kanellos includes Herberto Padilla and Matías Montes-Huidobro alongside Hijuelos, and Piri Thomas next to René Marqués, leading one to ask: Is there really no distinction between a Hispanic-American writer and a Spanish or Caribbean exile living in the United States?

Padilla, author of *En mi jardín pastan los héroes* (In my garden graze the heroes; Arcos-Vergara, 1981), is a Cuban dissident living in Princeton, New Jersey, while Marqués, the playwright to whom we owe *Los soles truncos* (Truncated suns) and other works, lived in New York —as José Martí did in Florida— and later returned to his native land. Montes-Huidobro teaches in Hawaii, while Thomas is a nomad who travels from Connecticut to San Francisco and back again, on a schedule and for reasons which no one has been able to fathom.

The first three of these authors never considered themselves Americans and the very suggestion would certainly offend them. Thomas, on the other hand, is as American as Toni Morrison or Saul Bellow. How, then, are we to establish a dividing line? Who belongs to this literary new wave and who doesn't? Nowadays, it is logical and even necessary to refer to the various writers belonging to this ethnic minority —each with his or her own cultural peculiarities— as part of a whole.

The zero hour, the convergence, occurred in 1989 when Cuban-American Oscar Hijuelos, who in 1983 had published an autobiographical novel of little interest entitled *Our house in the last world* (Persea, 1983), came out with *The mambo kings play songs of love* (Farrar, Strauss and Giroux).

Critical acceptance was not just enthusiastic; it was explosive. Both domestic and international sales were remarkably high. And the following year, the book was awarded the Pulitzer Prize —the first for a Hispanic-American author.

Since then, agents have been on the look-out, trying to land another novel which matches this pattern, and the interest of the mass media is also high. Hijuelos opened

the floodgates of another boom. Other successes have begun to appear, including Cristina García and Julia Alvarez (*How the García girls lost their accents*, Algonquin Books, 1991).

Chicano writers were on American soil long before the pilgrims of the Mayflower. Texas, New Mexico, parts of California and other territories in the Southwest were sold to the United States towards the middle of the last century, when, in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Antonio López de Santa Anna ceded those lands for 15 million dollars.

Chicano literature is as old as its people's history. It was not until the end of the 1950's, however, that an important publisher came out with a Mexican-American novel in English: *Pocho*, by José Antonio Villarreal (Doubleday, 1959). The novel centers on a rural farm worker whose implied identity conflicts remain to some extent unstated. "Published in English" is perhaps the operative phrase here, because a rich oral tradition, which found its highest expression in the folk ballads of the Mexican Revolution, existed long before.

In fact, many books—such as *With a pistol in his hand: a border ballad and its hero* (University of Texas, 1958) by Américo Paredes, which narrates the story of desperado Gregorio Cortés and his problems with the law stemming from an unintentional crime committed due to a verbal misunderstanding—have their roots in that same oral tradition, which they codify and adapt in written form. But most of the *corridos*—descendants of medieval troubadours' ballads—were written in Spanish or Spanglish, also known as *pachuco* slang.

Villarreal chose the language of Milton because, in his own words, "I received all of my education in English." Whether consciously or not, the change in language, from Yiddish to Spanish, by the Argentine Alberto Gerchunoff—who in 1910 wrote *Los gauchos judíos de la Pampa* (The Jewish gauchos of the Pampa)—set the tone and provided the model for later generations of writers, from César Tiempo to Marcos Aguinis, Mario Szychman and Gerardo Mario Goloboff. After Villarreal, as after Gerchunoff, there is no turning back.

Aside from those already mentioned, any list of well-known Chicano writers must include Tomás Rivera (... *Y no se lo tragó la tierra*, [And the earth did not swallow him], APP, 1987), Rudolfo Anaya (*Bless me, Ultima*, Quinto Sol, 1972), Victor Villaseñor (*Rain of gold*, 1991), Gary Soto (*Living up the street*, Strawberry Press, 1986), Arturo Islas (*The rain god*, Alexandria Press, 1984), Raymond Barrio (*The plum plum pickers*, Bilingual Review Press [BRP], 1969), John Rechy (*City of night*, Grove Press, 1984), Ron Arias (*The road to Tamazunchale*, BRP, 1987), Ana Castillo (*The Maxquiahuala letters*, BRP, 1986), Aristeo Brito (*The*

devil in Texas, BRP, 1991), and Denise Chávez (*The last of the menu girls*, APP, 1986).

I would like to discuss three of the most controversial of these authors: essayist Richard Rodríguez, lawyer Oscar "Zeta" Acosta, and "The Masked Man," Danny Santiago.

In his controversial and moving autobiography *Hunger of memory* (David R. Godine, 1982), Richard Rodríguez attacks the problem of bilingual education as it has been instituted in the United States since the 1970's. He considers it a fiasco of unequalled proportions. Rodríguez says that to allow Spanish-speaking children to take math, chemistry or anthropology in Spanish until their English improves enough to digest these subjects in English, does not foster a more rapid education, but rather produces a linguistic duel, a deep inner confusion in the student, who ends up not knowing if he or she should communicate in Spanish or in English, or in Spanish *and* English. The child does not know which is the public language and which the private.

Rodríguez also criticizes the current attitude of commiseration toward minority groups as embodied in Affirmative Action programs which offer scholarships and aid for self-improvement—in fact, Rodríguez calls himself the "Scholarship Boy"—while at the same time distancing these groups from their original culture. Assimilation into the dominant culture, he assures us, is only achieved after a long process involving guilt and remorse. On the first page of his book, he writes:

I have taken Caliban's advice. I have stolen their books. I will have some run of this island.

Once upon a time, I was a "socially-disadvantaged" child. An enchantedly happy child. Mine was a childhood of intense family closeness. And extreme public alienation.

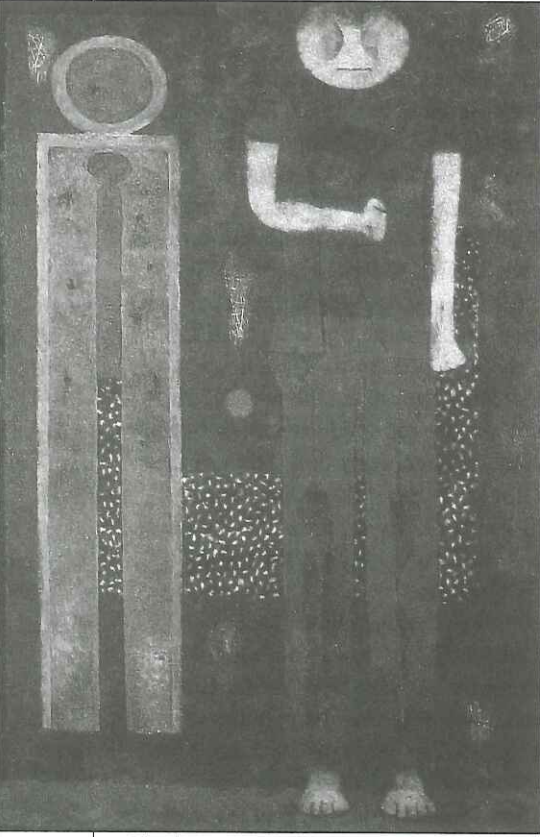
Thirty years later I write this book as a middle-class American man. Assimilated.

Rodríguez's case is fascinating because he seems to attack the root of Hispanic-American culture, although a more thorough reading of *Hunger of memory* proves the contrary. The fact that the author has been the target of continuous attacks makes the loyalty of a minority group to its own culture somewhat clearer.

Due to his almost mythical characteristics and fable-like contributions, Oscar "Zeta" Acosta is another important example. He was born in 1936 in El Paso, Texas, to a father who commanded the family "like a ship," forcing the young Acosta to learn English "quickly" and to socialize with Anglos. As a result, his Spanish disappeared almost completely, something that as a mature writer he could never forgive.

Moreover, his childhood contact with the Caucasian population made him feel like a *vato vendido* (a sell-out), a traitor, a Doctor Faustus. In order to heal this emotional

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This linguistic dilemma obviously creates an existential struggle within the poet's psyche: by accepting one code, is the other violated? (Rufino Tamayo, Ghost and man.)

explosive style is openly rebellious: he constantly attacks himself and others, laughs at his surroundings, and uses animal images to refer to the people of his race ("cockroaches," "buffaloes," etc.).

During the mid-seventies, Acosta mysteriously disappeared in Mazatlán, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, and some kind of criminal CIA action has always been suspected. This and other shocking elements in his life story, and his artistic legacy, have placed him in the ideological and aesthetic vanguard of Chicano literature.

Finally, it is worth devoting a paragraph to Danny Santiago. When his first and only novel, *Famous all over town* (Simon and Schuster), appeared in 1983, the critical reaction was one of immediate adulation. The book was considered a masterpiece and an astonishing debut.

Chato Medina, the hero, is a courageous resident of a violent, almost uninhabitable East L.A. neighborhood. As his family disintegrates, his friends introduce him to the underworld and crime. The book—which received the Richard and Hilda Rosenthal Foundation Award from the American Institute of Arts and Letters—had, on the overleaf, a micro-biography of the author, without a

pain, he enlisted in the Air Force. It did him little good. Later, he graduated from law school, and worked with leaders of the 1960's Chicano movement, especially Cesar Chavez and Rodolfo "Corky" González.

His only two books, *The revolt of the cockroach people* and *The autobiography of a brown buffalo* (Straight Arrow Press, both reprinted by Vintage in 1991), are true literary gems which describe his search for an individual and collective identity. His

photograph. The biography stated that the author was born in California and that his short stories had been printed in highly acclaimed national magazines.

A young star was born. However, success had a sadly bitter aftertaste. A journalist and former friend of Santiago, perhaps spurred by revenge, made Santiago's real identity known to the *New York Times*. His real name was Daniel James, and he was not a Chicano writer but an Anglo educated at Andover and Yale, sixty-some years old, who had written librettos for Broadway musicals as well as scripts of dubious quality for Hollywood, most of which were about monsters and other aberrations.

James joined the Communist Party in the 1930's and was investigated during the McCarthy era; he was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee because of his leftist affiliations. Out of work, James looked for another identity to protect himself, and a Chicano identity seemed free from all suspicion. (In fact, James' case brings to mind other American writers who, for one reason or another, wrote in English on Hispanic topics: John Syles—*Los gusanos*, Harper Collins, 1991, Thomas Sánchez—*Mile zero*, Knopf, 1989, and Mike Nichols—*The Milagro beanfield war*, Holt and Reinhart, 1974, as well as Stephen Crane and Ernest Hemingway. None of these writers, however, invented a new identity for themselves.) Beyond the stylistic value of his work, in a nation immersed in bloody racial conflict, Danny Santiago is the antithesis of a model that points to the authenticity of artistic creation.

Before and after Oscar Hijuelos, the Cuban-American community has produced Virgil Suárez (*Latin jazz*, Ballantine, 1989), Roberto Fernández (*Raining backwards*, APP, 1988), Elías Miguel Muñoz (*The greatest performance*, APP, 1991) and, most recently, Cristina García (*Dreaming in Cuban*, Knopf, 1992).

All of these writers have devoted their efforts to creating a literature-in-exile, a counterpart to the literature created by José Lezama Lima or Alejo Carpentier in Cuba. The difference between the two strains is almost always obvious: one is baroque, the other is not; one is historical and the other, autobiographical.

As regards Puerto Ricans and NewYoRicans, I would like to mention one of the founders of Puerto Rican literature in the United States: Jesús Colón, author of *A Puerto Rican in New York and other sketches* (1965).

Perhaps the most representative voices, the precursors, those which have had the widest range and scope, belong to Nickolasa Mohr (*The Bronx remembered*, APP, 1986) and Piri Tomas, author of innumerable volumes, among them *Down these mean streets* (Knopf, 1967), a sort of autobiographical narrative which discusses and analyzes the vicious circle of poverty

in Puerto Rican communities, his own experience with addiction, Anglo stereotypes, and more.

Among the successors to Nickolasa Mohr and Piri Tomas are Edward Rivera (*Family installments*, Penguin, 1984), Ed Vega (*Mendoza's dreams*, APP, 1991), Carole Fernández (*Sleep of the innocents*, APP, 1991), Judith Ortiz-Cofer (*The line of the sun*, University of Georgia, 1989), and Edwin Torres (*Carlito's way*, Dutton, 1975).

The list is long. The fact that most of the titles are autobiographical is easily explained. In the showcase of American literature, when each new wave of immigrants starts out on the road to adaptation, it dreams of leaving a record of its triumphs and miseries. The Germans, the Irish, the Italians, the Jews, the Asians all did it, and now the Hispanics are following the same path.

They wish to be recognized, to feel they have their own place in a land which opens its doors to the newcomer. In Piri Thomas' work, this demand appears in the form of curses and oaths:

Vee-ah! Wanna know how many times I've stood on a roof-top and yelled out to anybody: "Hey, World — here I am. Hallo, World — this is Piri. That's me. I wanna tell ya I'm here — you bunch of mother-jumpers - I'm here, and I want recognition, whatever that mother-fuckin' word means."

Anthologies of short stories and excerpts from novels have proliferated as a response to the Chicano movement of the 1960's. The most important of those dedicated to Mexican-Americans are: *The Chicanos: Mexican-American voices* (Penguin, 1971) by Ed Ludwig and James Santibáñez, and *Aztlán: an anthology of Mexican-American literature* (Knopf, 1972), edited by Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner.

After these, the anthology of poet Tino Villanueva, *Chicanos — Antología histórica y literaria* (Chicanos — an historical and literary anthology; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1980), appeared — the only one, as far as I know, to be published in Spanish. There is also Edward Simmen's *North of the Rio Grande: the Mexican-American experience in short fiction* (Penguin, 1992). The most recent work is Ray Gonzalez's compilation, *Mirrors beneath the earth* (Curbstone, 1992).

As regards Cuban writers, there is *Los atrevidos: Cuban-American writers* (selection and introduction by Carolina Hospital), while Puerto Rican literature is represented in Faythe Turner's *Puerto Ricans at home in the U.S.A.* (Open Hand Publishing, 1991).

But it was only after Hijuelos' success in 1989 that anthologies began to multiply at a rapid pace. Among those covering the entire spectrum are *Broadsides: literature of the United States Hispanos* (Bilingual, 1990), edited by Gary Keller, and *Short fiction by Hispanic writers in the United States* (APP, 1992), edited by

Nicolás Kanellos, which, though not the first, are certainly the most representative. In addition, Virgil Suárez compiled *Iguana dreams: new Latino writing* (Harper Collins, 1992) and Harold Augenbraum and I have done the same in *Growing up Latino: memoirs and stories* (Houghton Mifflin, 1992).

An impressive amount is being produced in this field, and bibliographical works have also been multiplying. In 1976 Francisco A. Lomelí and Donald W. Urioste had already compiled their *Chicano perspectives in literature: a critical and annotated bibliography* (Pajarito Publications). In 1990, Marc Zimmermann's research for the Chicago Public Library resulted in the first version of *U.S.-Latino literature: an essay and annotated bibliography* (Machol/Abrazo, 1991).

If today a Hispanic-American writer exists, then one would have to speak also of a reader (who does not necessarily belong to that ethnic group) who follows and judges him or her, as well as a critic.

Up until now, criticism has almost always come from academic circles. For some time now, John Bruce-Novoa has studied Chicano literature, and his book *La literatura chicana a través de sus autores* (Chicano literature through its authors; Siglo XXI, 1983), which employs the personal interview technique, is a literary mural of voices which explain, analyze, contextualize and make pronouncements.

Héctor Calderón and José David Saldívar edited *Criticism in the borderland — Studies of Chicano literature, culture and ideology* (Duke University, 1991), which includes a series of important essays on Tomás Rivera, Ana Castillo, and Arturo Islas.

The burning, pressing need at this point is for a voice from within, yet at the same time apart from the university environment, a voice that will be close to the average reader and far from worn-out academic phraseology. This voice would be more or less equivalent to an Edmund Wilson, who could ponder the issue and draw a map of the intellectual topography of the new literary boom, not only for specialists, but for all readers.

Río Bravo and Río Grande... an abyss, a scar, a wound that doesn't disappear, a bleeding gash. The bridge, the connecting fiber is the Hispanic-American writer, an *axólotl* like Carlos Fuentes who is, at the same time, an average, common and legitimate citizen of the United States, as well as an extension or a tendril of Latin America.

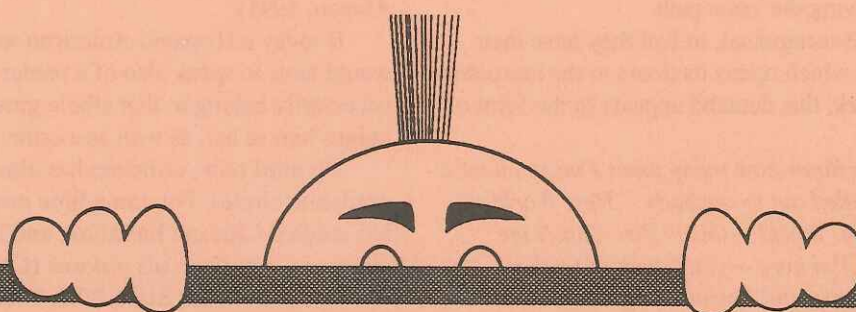
These writers and their concerns, their vision of the world, will profoundly and definitively influence the way in which we understand the Hispanic culture of tomorrow, especially on the U.S. side of the border. Thanks to their literature, we will be transformed — and perhaps someday, thanks to this new boom, the Río Bravo and the Río Grande will come to be known by the same name ❧

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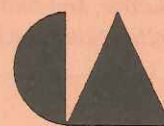
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Museum of International Contemporary Art Rufino Tamayo, an avantgardist view of art.

TO THE WORLD

Topolobampo: a new port on the Pacific

*Alejandro Mercado Celis **

The potential impact of the implementation of a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Canada, the United States and Mexico has been exhaustively analyzed by specialists in the three nations. Unfortunately, there is still a considerable disparity between analyses regarding the local and regional implications of this agreement.

A geographic perspective is important, since NAFTA will affect economic sectors in different ways; some sectors will benefit from the changes, others will suffer, while a third group will be forced to restructure so as to meet new challenges.

The idea that economic activity occurs in several very specific areas throughout the nation should be added to these analyses. Some industries are concentrated in a single region or city.

Just as the capacity for reorganization and restructuring differs from industry to industry, it also varies from region to region. This is especially evident if we examine the real potential of each region as regards the integration or attraction of new economic activities generated by the free trade agreement.

It is important to note that the present geographical distribution of Mexico's economy—apart from the growth experienced along the northern border—is largely the result of the protectionist measures implemented over the last decades.

It was not until the 1980s that the nation's medium-sized cities underwent significant growth. This phenomenon served to fill the large and unwieldy gap existing between Mexico's large cities—Mexico City, Monterrey and Guadalajara—and the small towns and rural settlements.

The economic opening up of Mexico's border with the United States has been partly responsible for the explosive growth seen in cities such as Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana, formerly isolated settlements characterized by a slow growth rate.

NAFTA presents opportunities for regions previously considered to hold little attraction, to develop significant comparative advantages. Mexico City's position as a market and production center will therefore decrease in importance.

Many medium-sized cities have arisen and grown in direct competition with traditional urban centers. This means changes in national markets, sources of raw materials and all kinds of production and consumption routing. The tables will be turned and the relative roles of each city and town will be transformed according to its capacity to adapt to new economic realities.

Topolobampo is a striking example of the increasing potential of some localities in light of world-wide changes. The possibility that more formal and closely-knit trade relations may be established with the United States underlines this.

Located ten minutes away from Los Mochis, in the northern part of the state of Sinaloa, Topolobampo faces the Sea of Cortés and the Pacific Ocean. Its port has



* Researcher at the CISAN, UNAM.



Topolobampo's infrastructure has been modernized.

received significant investment over the last few years; its infrastructure has been modernized and its capacity increased.

Yet the key does not reside in the region's fortunate status as a recipient of federal government investment; many regional development projects planned in Mexico City have wound up as resounding failures. Topolobampo has gained strategic significance due to its

location between two great poles of commercial exchange: the Pacific Rim and the eastern regions of the United States.

A significant amount of trade moves constantly between East Asia and the U.S. northeast, a flow which grows day by day. At present, after arriving in the U.S. these goods are transported by rail from the northeast to the south, especially Texas. From there, they travel to the Pacific coast via California, where they are shipped from some of the most active seaports in the U.S. Over 20 percent of U.S. imports and 17 percent of exports pass through these ports.¹

Topolobampo would seem to offer conditions allowing it to compete for shipments along this trade route. It may, in other words, become an alternative to the California seaports.

In many cases, California's ports are operating at full capacity. Even more importantly, the route from Dallas/Fort Worth to Topolobampo on the Pacific Ocean is 800 kilometers shorter than the trip from the same point to Long Beach (see map).

Moreover, productively organized services at Topolobampo might well offer price and quality advantages.

Nevertheless, there are other reasons why Topolobampo is a significant illustration of regional changes arising from free trade. The strategic role played by this seaport has been identified by non-governmental organizations on both sides of the border, which have joined forces to begin promoting its growth.

These non-official contacts between the two countries may benefit specific sectors or regions, while also seeking to advance common interests, such as encouraging the two governments to recognize the economic potential, as well

as social and environmental problems, associated with commercial integration.

In the case of Topolobampo, an important role is being played by the Follow-up Commission for the Northwest, Topolobampo and the Pacific Rim, an organization whose local leadership base has succeeded in organizing various groups—private, public and academic—at the local, regional, national and international levels.

This commission has assumed responsibility for making contacts between interested groups in the United States and Mexico, as well as promoting development in the region. It has organized a number of seminars and national meetings to this end. Toward the end of the year, it will sponsor the first international forum on "The northwest of Mexico, the port of Topolobampo and the Pacific Rim."² According to the organizers, the aim of this event is to foster international participation in the following areas:

- The determination of what type of industrial, commercial and service industry investments the United States and the East Asian countries could make in the northwest of Mexico.
- Research to determine whether Topolobampo and the Chihuahua-Pacific railway could be converted into a strategic commercial link essentially replacing the Panama Canal.
- Exploration of possibilities for private-sector, national or international support for academic projects sponsored by regional higher education centers.

This working group is particularly significant since its participants, including economically powerful groups in Mexico and the United States, actively support development projects at Topolobampo. The Burlington Northern railway company, in particular, has participated in all Commission meetings and shares the vision of a strategic role for the Topolobampo port in light of new economic realities.

I have presented Topolobampo here as an example of what economic integration with the United States could mean for Mexico's different regions and cities. Above all, I would stress the primary role played by local groups in promoting regional development.

NAFTA is only a means to an end; it is a backdrop against which the efforts of individuals and groups can mature and bear fruit. Should it be implemented, NAFTA will not bring automatic benefits. Whether the trade arrangement produces desirable results will depend largely on the manner in which the agreement is approached, together with the strategies different groups develop for taking advantage of the opportunities it provides. ❧

¹ FRBSF Weekly Letter. No. 92-24, June 19, 1992.

² For more information, call Dr. Alfredo Octavio Millán at (67) 14-14-87, or 14-57-92, FAX 14-25-30.

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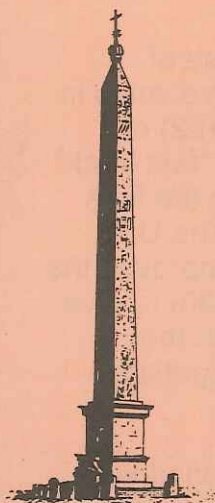
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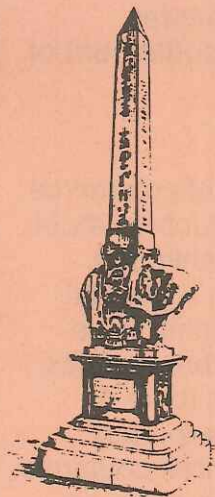
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HIGHLIGHTS OF EIGHT YEARS

March 1985

U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney meet. They agree to request their respective ministers to explore the possibilities for reducing and eliminating trade barriers.

September 1985

President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney exchange letters of resolution to negotiate a Free Trade Agreement (FTA).

October 1987

U.S. and Canadian negotiators sign a draft of the Agreement.

December 1987

The heads of both delegations ratify the text of the Agreement. The final version is sent to the U.S. Congress and the Canadian Parliament.

January 1989

The FTA between the U.S. and Canada goes into effect.

March 1990

The *Wall Street Journal* publishes an article asserting that Mexico and the United States have agreed to initiate negotiations to develop a Free Trade Agreement.

April 1990

The Mexican Senate establishes a forum for consultations on the FTA.

June 1990

The U.S. Senate opens hearings on a "fast track" bill that would allow President George Bush to negotiate directly with President Carlos Salinas. Both presidents issue a joint communiqué announcing their intention to negotiate an FTA, and instructing their respective trade representatives to explore the possibilities.

August 1990

The Mexican Secretary of Commerce and the U.S. trade representative meet and issue a joint recommendation to President Bush, urging that the U.S. and Mexican presidents initiate FTA negotiations.

September 1990

President Salinas appoints an Advisory Committee for FTA negotiations and informs President Bush that Mexico intends to sign a Free Trade Agreement. President Bush sends a bill to Congress to open negotiations. Canada expresses its desire to join the largest trade bloc in the world.

February 1991

President Salinas, President Bush and Prime Minister Mulroney agree to start trilateral negotiations for a North American FTA.

May 1991

The U.S. House of Representatives votes in favor (231 to 192) of approving the "fast track" for negotiating the FTA with Mexico. The U.S. Senate also approves the motion (59 to 36) to give President Bush the authority to negotiate.

June 1991

Trilateral negotiations between Canada, Mexico and the U.S. open in Toronto. The issues discussed include access to markets, trade regulations, investment, technology transfer, services and settlement of disputes.

August 1991

The ministers of commerce of the three countries meet in Seattle, Washington. They agree on a gradual reduction of tariffs, to be carried out in three stages, on all products to be imported and exported between the three countries. They resolve to make an in-depth analysis of the restrictions on government

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purchases in the three nations. The governors of the fifty U.S. states express their support for the negotiations.

October 1991

The ministers of commerce of the three countries meet in Zacatecas, Mexico. They review the progress of the working groups assigned to each of the nineteen major sections of the agreement and call for a draft by January of 1992. They agree to approach labor and the environment as parallel issues, but not to include them in the text of the agreement.

February 1992

Presidents Bush and Salinas meet in San Antonio, Texas. Progress is reported by 8 of the 18 working groups. Differences persist in such key areas as energy, agriculture and the automotive industry.

March 1992

Agreement on 14 subjects in the general text is sought at meetings held in Mexico, Canada and the U.S. Joint declaration, by the three chiefs of state, after a telephone conference call, to the effect that negotiations are proceeding as planned.

April 1992

Trade representatives meet in Montreal to discuss and eliminate differences in the key areas of energy, agriculture and livestock, automotive products and conflict resolution, as a step toward the final phase of negotiations.

May 1992

Most working groups are closed, leaving only energy, rules of origin, and agriculture and livestock pending. The automotive sector is reported to be almost concluded.

August 1992

The end of negotiations is formally announced, after 200 meetings between negotiating teams and 7 ministerial sessions. Complete agreement is reached on the agenda's 22 points, and final revision of most chapters already closed is completed. In a three-way telephone conversation, the U.S. and Mexican presidents and the Canadian Prime Minister express their approval. They issue a message to their respective nations announcing the result of the negotiations.

October 1992

The trade representatives of the three countries

"initial" the final legal text of the treaty in San Antonio, Texas. Presidents Bush and Salinas and Prime Minister Mulroney are present as witnesses. It is agreed the NAFTA will enter into force on January 1, 1994, but the date remains subject to two further requirements: its signature by the chiefs of state of the three countries and ratification by their respective congresses.

December 1992

In their respective countries, presidents Bush and Salinas and Prime Minister Mulroney sign the final NAFTA negotiations.

January 1993

President Salinas and President-elect Clinton meet in Austin, Texas, where they agree that the NAFTA will not be renegotiated.

March 1993

The formal negotiation of agreements running parallel to the NAFTA begin in Washington.

May 1993

Canada's House of Commons approves the text of NAFTA by a vote of 140 to 124. The treaty is turned over to the Senate for consideration.

The political economy of drugs: conceptual issues and policy options (Part I)

Peter H. Smith *

Ilicit drugs pose intractable policy problems. Abuse, addiction, and trafficking have inflicted enormous costs on the United States. Annual drug sales in the United States have been estimated at \$110 billion in the late 1980s, more than double the combined profits of all Fortune 500 companies.

The economic toll from drug abuse and drug-related accidents approaches \$60 billion per year.¹ About 200,000 children are born to drug-dependent mothers every year; nearly half of these infants are "crack babies." The costs of law enforcement steadily rise, while violence mounts in major U.S. cities—most

conspicuously in Washington, D.C., but also in Miami, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles.

Within Latin America, especially in producer countries, costs are equally high. The concentration of economic and paramilitary resources in the hands of outlaw trafficking "cartels" has presented a serious challenge to governmental authority. Drug interests have sought to undermine political institutions through bribery, defiance, intimidation, and occasionally through alliances with armed guerrilla movements.

Colombia in particular has experienced the pains of "narco-terrorism," an open war by the Medellín cocaine cartel against the political establishment. Declared in August 1989, this bloody confrontation left at least 550 people dead by the end of 1990; after a series of intricate (and highly controversial)

negotiations, the deadly rhythm of killings finally subsided during 1991.²

Prospects nonetheless seemed bleak. A former president of Colombia, Virgilio Barco, has somewhat ruefully observed that "the only law the narco-terrorists do not break is the law of supply and demand."³ And ex-Florida governor Bob Martinez, who became head of the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy in early 1991, interpreted the drug epidemic as a deadly threat to democratic tendencies within the Western Hemisphere.

"Deep down," proclaimed Martinez, "the American people were aware that this situation was not simply a public policy crisis, but a profound moral crisis. There was a sense that the substance of American society was at stake. The drug crisis raises questions not only about our productivity and efficiency, but about our national character and our fitness to lead the world. Had our ancestors fought valiantly for liberty only to see it squandered in crack houses and back alleys? Was blood spilled at Gettysburg and in the Argonne and at Normandy to make the world safe for bongs and cocaine parties and marijuana smoke-ins? Were our great cities becoming the world portrayed in *Lord of the flies*? Were we descending into barbarism and into a world governed only by appetite and instinct?"⁴

The governor's hyperbole underscored the frustration of policymakers. Consumption continues, trafficking persists, costs multiply, and political stakes are on the rise. What can governments do?

Customs, laws, and substances

The fundamental source of the drug problem, of *narcotráfico* in the Americas, is the presence and power of consumer demand. Demand for drugs is most conspicuous in advanced industrial countries, in Europe, and—especially important

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for Latin America—in the United States. Demand is what creates the market for drugs. So long as demand continues, there will be people engaged in supply.

Tolerance for the consumption of drugs has developed more from social convention than from scientific deduction. At least two major drugs are permitted under U.S. law: alcohol and tobacco. These two products have had enormous and negative impacts on the physical, psychological and social health of U.S. citizens. Directly and indirectly, their use has led to hundreds of thousands of deaths every year. But because of history, custom, tradition—and economics—they are legal, and these two drugs are certain to stay that way.

By an equally arbitrary standard, other drugs have been declared illegal. It is essential to distinguish among illicit drugs because their markets, problems, and potential solutions differ.⁵ These substances include marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and the so-called dangerous drugs.

This logical inconsistency has spawned continuing arguments in favor of legalization, particularly of marijuana, and also some pressure to tighten restrictions on alcohol and tobacco.

Dimensions of demand

There is considerable uncertainty about the level and location of consumer demand in the United States. Government reports estimate the number of users through a periodic survey conducted by the National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA), an official agency whose representatives

administer a questionnaire to willing respondents about drug use by household members.

As shown in table 1, approximately 37% of U.S. citizens (age twelve and older) have used illicit drugs at one time or another. Roughly one-third of the population has tried marijuana, by far the most widely used of the illicit drugs. Between 11% and 12% have experimented with cocaine.

Longitudinal comparison shows a substantial decline in the number of current users (defined as those who have taken drugs within the past thirty days) from approximately 23 million in 1985 to 12.9 million in 1990. This implies a drop of 45% in overall drug usage, with an even greater reduction in current use of cocaine (from 2.9% to 0.8%—an estimated 660,000 current users).

There are problems with such an assessment. First is a question of measurement. Candor in response might vary over time: the greater the level of social intolerance about drugs, the less likely it is that people will give accurate reports about consumption levels to government investigators. Moreover, the NIDA survey deals only with households, which means that it concentrates on people in relatively stable family situations. The NIDA survey misses the homeless, the prison population, students in dormitories, and downtrodden segments of society that are most likely to be engaged in “doing” drugs.

The other standard instrument used to estimate drug use is an annual survey of graduating high-school

Table 1
Prevalence in use of selected drugs
in the United States, 1985-1990
(by percent, among population age twelve and older)

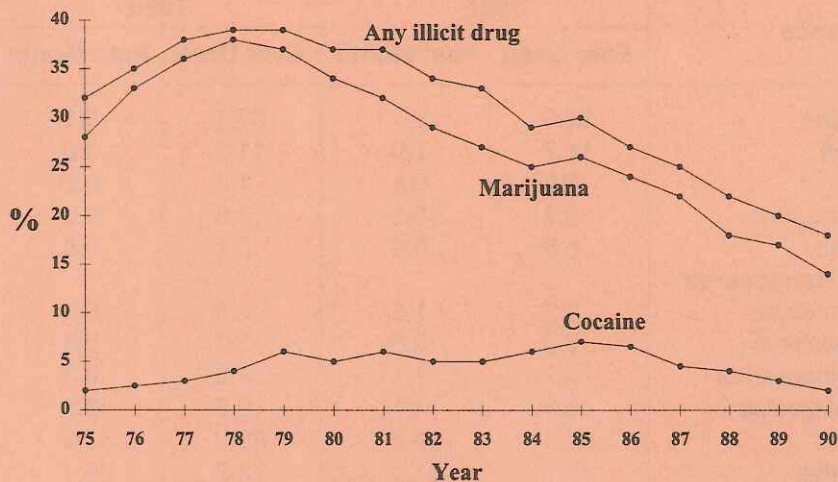
Substance	1985		1990	
	Ever Used	Past Month	Ever Used	Past Month
Marijuana	32.5	9.4	33.1	5.1
Cocaine	11.7	2.9	11.3	0.8
Crack	NA	NA	1.4	0.2
Hallucinogens	6.7	<0.5	7.6	0.3
Inhalants	6.8	0.9	5.1	0.6
Psychotherapeutics ^a				
Stimulants	9.2	1.3	6.9	0.5
Sedatives	6.0	0.8	3.7	0.3
Tranquilizers	7.7	1.1	4.3	0.3
Analgesics	6.6	1.1	5.7	0.8
Alcohol	86.1	59.2	83.2	51.2
Cigarettes	75.7	31.5	73.2	26.7
Any illicit drug	36.9	12.0	37.0	6.4

NA = not available.

^a Indicates nonmedical use.

Source: Based on data in National Institute on Drug Abuse, *National household survey on drug abuse: population estimates, 1985* (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987); and NIDA, *National household survey on drug abuse: population estimates, 1990* (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991).

Figure 1
Trends in drug use by U.S. high-school seniors,
1975-1990
 (percent who used in past thirty days)



Note: Beginning in 1984, figures for "any illicit drug use" include statistical adjustment to exclude inappropriate reporting of non-prescription stimulants.

Source: Based on data in press release, University of Michigan News and Information Services (January 23, 1991).

seniors around the United States. As displayed in Figure 1, overall consumption trends appear to have peaked in the late 1970s, at which time nearly 40% of graduating seniors acknowledged current use of illicit drugs—most commonly marijuana. Cocaine shows a mildly cyclical pattern—rising in the late 1970s, declining slightly in the early 1980s, rising in the mid-1980s to usage rates of more than 6%, then declining sharply after that.

Administered by a top university research team, the high-school surveys nonetheless suffer from doubts about their veracity: everything else being equal, teenagers are reluctant to report how often they violate the law. Moreover, these studies focus only on graduating seniors, whereas the biggest problems exist among those young people who drop out of school and do not reach the point of graduation.

By definition, therefore, the two most widely used instruments for measuring drug consumption in the United States fail to assess the most relevant sectors of the U.S. population. What they suggest is that drug consumption appears to be declining within the U.S. middle class, especially the white suburban middle class. But they shed little light on trends or levels within the inner cities, especially black-dominated ghettos.

Despite their imprecision, the NIDA data convey instructive implications. One concerns the much-touted argument that use of so-called soft drugs, particularly marijuana, provides a "gateway" to the consumption of such hard drugs as heroin and crack cocaine. According to this theory, one addiction leads to another; unsatiated appetites lead to intensified cravings and desperate quests for increasing toxic effect.

Confirmation of this hypothesis would seem to require a significant increase in cocaine consumption over time, because substantial numbers of the 18.2 million marijuana users current as of 1985 would move on to cocaine by 1990. And that is not what happened. At best, the gateway hypothesis requires modification and revision.⁶

Further insight emerges from an intriguing but little-noticed fact: there is a large number of former drug users in the United States. Measured by the difference between lifetime and current users, this population reached approximately 61.5 million in 1990.⁷ How were so many Americans able to stop using drugs? Only a small fraction received medical treatment and therapy. A considerable portion may have been persuaded, through publicity and awareness campaigns, about hazards to health and well-being.

Let me advance an additional hypothesis: drug use and abuse may respond to stages of the life cycle. As George Vaillant has shown, alcohol abuse among U.S. men tends to peak during their thirties and forties, and then decline thereafter.⁸ Something similar might happen with illicit drugs. Different drugs may show different rhythms, but the underlying process may be fairly uniform.⁹

Drug consumption has its own dynamic in other parts of the world. Europe and Japan offer major markets for drug-trafficking operations.¹⁰ And in Latin America, demand for illicit drugs is substantial—and almost certainly rising. Beyond the traditional and ceremonial use of peyote, coca leaves, and other natural substances, new processes are at work.

One, especially notable in Mexico's northern border areas, is the direct influence of the United States. Mexican citizens who have worked in the United States show significantly higher rates of consumption than those who have not.¹¹ About one-third of heroin users

and one-quarter of cocaine users in northern Mexico report that their first experience with these substances came in the United States.

A second dynamic, prevalent throughout the Andes as well as Mexico, derives from proximity to production and transit routes. Thus, heroin is often used by young people in poppy-growing areas of northern Mexico, and—in contradiction to the gateway hypothesis—it is sometimes the drug of initiation.¹²

Third, and perhaps most disturbing, is the increasing consumption of inhalants by children, especially street children. This does not entail an “illicit” drug in the legal or conventional sense of the term, but it poses a social challenge of considerable magnitude.

Sources of supply

Over the years, especially since the 1970s, the United States has taken the lead in promoting a policy designed to suppress the production of illicit drugs throughout the hemisphere. According to this logic, a reduction in supply from Latin America will provoke an increase in the street price of illicit drugs throughout the United States—and this in turn will lead to a reduction in demand. Without supply there can be no demand; it is as simple as that. In pursuit of this goal, the United States has advocated two basic approaches: first, elimination of the sources of supply by destroying crops and laboratory facilities; and second, interdiction of shipments bound for the U.S. market by conducting surveillance at the border and on the high seas. The idea has been to reduce the flow of illicit drugs into the United States, drive prices upward, harass the traffickers, and push the users out of the market.¹³

During the 1980s public concern over drug abuse and drug-related violence mounted steadily until, characteristically, the United States chose to declare a “war on drugs.”

Table 2
Latin American production of coca leaf and marijuana,
1987 and 1990
(metric tons)

Country	1987	1990
Coca leaf^a		
Bolivia	79,200	81,000
Colombia	20,500	32,100
Peru	191,000	196,900
Ecuador	400	170
Totals	291,100	310,170
Marijuana^b		
Mexico	5,933	19,715
Colombia	5,600	1,500
Jamaica	460	825
Belize	200	60
Others	1,500	3,500
Totals	13,693	25,600

^a Figures for “mature cultivation estimates.”

^b Figures for 1987 and 1990 not directly comparable because of change in estimation procedures.

Source: Based on data in U.S. Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics Matters, *International narcotics control strategy report, March 1991* (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991: 22).

At stake was not only the health of drug users.

As William J. Bennett, then head of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, declared in his September 1989 pronouncement of a National Drug Control Strategy, it was a matter of national sovereignty: “The source of the most dangerous drugs threatening our nation is principally international. Few foreign threats are more costly to the U.S. economy. None does more damage to our national values and institutions and destroys more American lives. While most international threats are potential, the damage and violence caused by the drug trade are actual and pervasive. Drugs are a major threat to our national security.”¹⁴

To be sure, Bennett and the Bush administration devoted somewhat more attention to the demand for drugs in the United States than had the Reagan administration. In actual practice, however, even under Governor Martinez, U.S. international policy on drugs has retained its longstanding emphasis on controlling supply.

Almost by definition, this U.S. strategy has focused mainly on Latin America. Countries in this region produce or transship over 80% of the cocaine and 90% of the marijuana that enter the United States.¹⁵ (It should be observed that the United States produces at least one-third of the marijuana consumed in the United States and is one of the world’s leading producers of

methamphetamines and so-called “designer” drugs. Many experts therefore believe that a sharp distinction between “producer” and “consumer” nations is misleading and fallacious.¹⁶)

In particular, the concern with cocaine prompted U.S. authorities to devote special attention to coca-leaf production in nations of the Andes—Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador to a lesser extent—and to the processing and trafficking “cartels” residing in Colombia. By U.S. government estimates, displayed in table 2, coca-leaf production nonetheless continued to increase in most countries in the late 1980s. Despite expanding output within the United States, marijuana cultivation in Latin America increased as well.¹⁷

Mexico and Guatemala also produce a minor share of the world supply of opium, although they provide perhaps one-third of the market in the United States. From the standpoint of the U.S. government, the major foreign threat comes from the 700 to 890 metric tons of cocaine (HCl) produced in South America. All in all, figures on illicit drug output in Latin America emphasize a basic point: the scale of production is immense, and eradication campaigns face an overwhelming task.

Traffic and trade

Efforts to reduce supply reveal two key aspects of the international drug market. First, even the production of natural materials for illicit drugs is extremely mobile. Under strong pressure from the United States, for instance, Colombia undertook massive efforts in the late 1970s to eradicate marijuana production—with considerable success. One of the principal effects of this achievement was the expansion of production in Mexico.

Then the United States put pressure on Mexico, which intensified its own “permanent campaign” against marijuana production. And one of the most conspicuous responses to

Mexico’s success in eradication was the rapid growth of marijuana production in the United States, where domestic production now fills over one-third of demand. A similar process took place in the heroin market: after the disruption of the infamous “French connection” in the early 1970s, large-scale production of opium poppies moved from Turkey to Mexico.

Second, product adaptation in the illicit drug market is rapid and tends to generate new versions with greater toxic effect and lower price, thus finding markets among new groups—especially the young and the poor. The migration of marijuana production from Colombia to Mexico and from there to the United States resulted in the development of more potent strains of the plant. Likewise, the appearance of “crack” cocaine has reflected efforts by producers and distributors to reach a larger market by offering a more powerful product at a lower price.

Product development in Latin America has followed its own course with essentially the same result—broader availability to domestic users of cheaper, more dangerous forms of drugs earlier produced for export. Typical of the hazardous forms of cocaine now marketed in Andean countries are cigarettes laced with cocaine base consumed by poverty-stricken adolescents and homeless street children under various names—*basuco* in Colombia, *pistolas* in Peru, *pitillos* in Bolivia, *pitillos* in Brazil. Almost inevitably, domestic production of drugs leads to domestic demand.

At the same time, conventional wisdom holds that drug-producing nations—especially Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia—are addicted to the foreign exchange they obtain through the drug trade. One of the most widely quoted estimates came from Rensselaer Lee III:

“In the mid-1980s, South American cocaine traffickers probably

earned between \$5 and \$6 billion dollars annually from international sales in the U.S. market. Perhaps \$1.5 to \$2 billion flowed back to the cocaine-producing countries. Viewed in terms of repatriated dollars, cocaine exports are equivalent to an estimated 10-20% of Colombia’s 1987 legal exports, 25-30% of Peru’s, and 50-100% of Bolivia’s (corresponding dollar figures are, respectively, \$500 million-\$1 billion, \$600-\$700 million, and \$250-\$400 million). Cocaine is almost certainly the most important export in Peru and Bolivia, although in Colombia it probably earns less than coffee and petroleum.”¹⁸

From an economic standpoint, coca-cocaine is yet another agricultural commodity for Latin America, except that it is uncommonly profitable. Similarly, marijuana and heroin exports provide substantial foreign exchange for Mexico.¹⁹

What is the magnitude of earnings from drug exports? Estimates have varied widely. As shown in table 3, for example, experts and media analysts have proposed a broad range of figures. Whereas Rensselaer Lee calculates Colombia’s annual intake from coca-cocaine at \$500 million-\$1 billion, the U.S. media have repeatedly suggested a figure as high as \$4 billion.

Projections also differ for Peru and Bolivia. In every instance *The Economist*, a respected British journal, falls somewhere between Lee and the U.S. media. No matter what the estimates, however, the policy problems remain. For poverty-stricken and crisis-ridden economies, such windfalls can only seem to be a blessing. Local governments can hardly be expected to implement eradication with enthusiasm.

Employment appears to be another beneficial consequence of drug production and trafficking. As Lee has argued, cocaine provides jobs: “In Bolivia, where one-fifth of the population is officially

Table 3
Estimated national incomes from coca-cocaine,
mid-1980s
 (U.S. millions \$)

Country	Lee	Economist	U.S. media
Colombia	\$ 500-1,000	\$ 1,000	\$ 4,000
Peru	600-700	750	1,500
Bolivia	250-400	750	1,500

Source: Based on data in Rensselaer Lee III, "Dimensions of the South American cocaine industry," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 30, nos. 2-3 (Summer/Fall 1988: 89), *Economist* (October 8, 1988: 21), and for U.S. media Mathea Falco, "Beating the next drug crisis," *Christian Science Monitor Monthly* (February 1990: 52-54).

unemployed, cocaine employs an estimated 350,000 to 400,000 people (5 to 6% of the population); however, this is just direct employment. There are also incalculable numbers of South Americans in licit occupations—lawyers, accountants, bankers, construction workers, and the like—who benefit from the multiplier effect of the cocaine industry; they prosper by selling goods and services to the industry."²⁰

For the Andes as a whole, *Newsweek* has proclaimed that "as many as 1.5 million Colombians, Peruvians and Bolivians are involved in growing coca, smuggling coca paste, or producing finished cocaine."²¹ And employment, like foreign exchange, is especially welcome at a time of economic crisis. Some analysts have even maintained that because of its impact on job creation, cocaine has a more positive impact on income distribution than such traditional export crops as coffee, tobacco, sugar and bananas.²²

Distribution systems vary according to the drug. Largely because production has been concentrated within one geographic region, the processing and distribution of cocaine have fallen under the control of centralized organizations—especially

the notorious Colombian cartels based in Cali and Medellín.

Heroin has been controlled by a number of gangs, from the *mafiosi* of the 1940s and 1950s to Asian gangs in the 1980s and 1990s. Because of its far-flung and fast-moving production sites, marijuana has been distributed through a large number of channels and organizations. The same holds true for "dangerous drugs," where unscrupulous medical and health professionals have sometimes played a prominent role in production and distribution.

The allocation of profits varies according to distribution channels. In the case of cocaine, earnings tend to be highly concentrated in the hands of the cartels. In 1987, for instance, the price of coca leaves sufficient to produce one kilogram of cocaine oscillated between \$500 and \$750. As cocaine paste, it was worth \$500 to \$1,000; as cocaine base, it would fetch \$1,000-\$2,000. After processing in laboratories, typically within Colombia, the kilo of cocaine would be worth \$3,000-\$6,000.

Once exported to the United States, this same quantity would bring increasingly astronomical prices: \$14,000 to \$21,000 at the wholesale level, and more than ten times those

prices—\$160,000 to \$240,000—at the retail level (where it would often be diluted with other substances).²³ From farm gate to street sale, the market value of this shipment increased by a factor of more than 400.

Such figures reveal key features of the trafficking phenomenon. First, economic values of drug shipments correlate with perceived levels of risk, which in turn respond to illegality and law enforcement. Second, most of the profits stay in the hands of distributors, or middlemen, rather than the producers. Third, most profits accrue outside of Latin America—in this instance, in the United States—which suggests that a large share of drug money probably remains in the United States.

It is for this reason that money laundering is such a central issue. The retail sale of drugs constitutes a multibillion-dollar business—and almost all transactions are in \$5, \$10, and \$20 bills. As a result, some distributors accumulate 1,000 to 3,000 pounds of bills (quite literally, tons of money) on a monthly basis.

The challenge is finding a safe and accessible place for this cash. This leads to a constant and clandestine search for discreet banks and bankers, for ways to transship the money from one country to another, for respectable means of investing the funds. Shipments of cash move by the suitcase, by the trunkful, and by industrial cargo containers.²⁴

Finally, trafficking and distribution routes are extremely flexible. In response to new challenges or opportunities, traffickers switch routes from one country to another or from one form of transportation to another. Increased risk of apprehension in the Caribbean led the Colombian cartels to move transit routes from Florida to Mexico.

During much of the 1980s, substantial shipments entered the United States on low-flying aircraft using clandestine landing strips. By the

late 1980s, distributors were frequently using elaborate hiding devices (such as hollowed-out lumber), cargo containers and, in many cases, individual "swallowers" who carried stashes inside their body—often in condoms filled with cocaine or heroin—while traveling on commercial airlines.

Thus, a "Nigerian connection" for heroin traffic appeared early in the 1990s. Although ethnic Chinese remained the dominant importers and wholesale distributors of heroin, with networks from the Golden Triangle through Bangkok and Hong Kong to California, highly organized Nigerian groups reportedly controlled as much as 40% of the U.S. supply.²⁵ A new transit route and a new cartel thus emerged almost overnight.

(To be continued)

Notes

- 1 All estimates about the economic volume of the drug business are rough approximations at best; these figures are from the Office of National Drug Control Policy, *National drug control strategy I* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989:2).
- 2 *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1991; and *New York Times*, March 3, 1991.
- 3 Speech at Institute of the Americas, La Jolla, California, November 1, 1990.
- 4 Remarks by Governor Bob Martinez on the second anniversary of the president's National Drug Control Strategy, National Press Club, Washington D.C., September 5, 1991.
- 5 Technically, only some drugs are "narcotics": those that induce narcosis (sleep, stupor). Many drugs are stimulants.
- 6 Even then, an increase in cocaine use would not positively confirm the hypothesis; it would not disconfirm it. Nor would prior use of marijuana by a large proportion of cocaine users provide direct confirmation. At most, it might show that consumption of marijuana is a necessary but not sufficient prelude to cocaine consumption.
- 7 A more conservative estimate, the difference between lifetime users and those who have used drugs within the past year, would put this population at 47.6 million.
- 8 See the remarkable study by George Vaillant, *The natural history of alcoholism: causes, patterns, and paths to recovery* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1983).
- 9 The life-cycle hypothesis has yet to receive careful testing. The most conclusive examination would come from a longitudinal panel study; cross-sectional surveys could provide at least a partial test, but published NIDA data—which put all people over age twenty-five into one broad category—cannot shed any light on this question.
- 10 For perspectives on these markets, see "Latin America, Europe, and the drug problem: new forms of cooperation?" Dossier 32, Instituto de Relaciones Europeo-Latinoamericanas (Madrid, May 1991); and Peter H. Smith, "Drug problems and drug policies in Japan," unpublished memorandum (Tokyo, August 1990).
- 11 Víctor Zúñiga, "Uso de drogas e interacción transfronteriza en las ciudades fronterizas de Tamaulipas," *Frontera Norte* 2, No. 3 (January-June 1990: 115-135).
- 12 María Elena Medina-Mora et al., "El consumo de drogas en la frontera norte de México," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Asociación Fronteriza de Salud, Laredo, Texas, April 1991; and María Elena Medina-Mora, "Drug abuse in the northern border region," unpublished paper, 1991.
- 13 For a full statement of policy, see James M. Van Wert, "The U.S. State Department's narcotics control policy in the Americas," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 30, Nos. 2-3 (Summer-Fall 1988: 1-18).
- 14 Office of National Drug Control Policy, *National drug control strategy*, p. 61.
- 15 As reported in Abraham F. Lowenthal, "Rediscovering Latin America," *Foreign Affairs* 69, No. 4 (Fall 1990: 27-41, especially 36).
- 16 It would be equally fallacious to conclude that the United States and Latin American countries therefore have identical national interests with regard to drugs. Considerable variation remains in the relative weight of production and consumption, and, as argued below, the United States and Latin American nations face differing problems and challenges.
- 17 This is due largely to sharply revised estimates for Mexico, which stirred controversy among experts and created friction in U.S.-Mexican relations.
- 18 Rensselaer Lee III, "Dimensions of the South American cocaine industry," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 30, Nos. 2-3 (Summer-Fall 1988: 87-103, with quote on 89).
- 19 Bilateral Commission on the Future of U.S.-Mexican Relations, *The challenge of interdependence: Mexico and the United States* (Lanham, Md., University Press of America, 1988), Ch. 4, "The problem of drugs," p. 128; see also Guadalupe González and Marta Tienda, eds., *The drug connection in U.S.-Mexican relations* (La Jolla, Calif., Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1989).
- 20 Lee, "Dimensions," p. 89.
- 21 "A mission to nowhere," *Newsweek* (February 19, 1990: 33).
- 22 For additional discussion, see Centro para el Estudio de las Relaciones Internacionales y el Desarrollo and Fondo Fiduciario Manuel Pérez-Guerrero para la Cooperación Económica y Técnica entre Países en Desarrollo, *El impacto financiero del narcotráfico en el desarrollo de América Latina: simposio internacional* (La Paz, Editora Atenea, 1991); Juan G. Tokotlián and Bruce M. Bagley, eds., *Economía y política del narcotráfico* (Bogotá, Universidad de los Andes, 1990), especially part II; Bruce M. Bagley, Adrián Bonilla, and Alexei Pérez, eds., *La economía política del narcotráfico: el caso ecuatoriano* (Quito, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1991), especially essay by Wilson Miño, "El lavado de dólares en el Ecuador," pp. 106-124; Diego García-Sayán, ed., *Coca, cocaína y narcotráfico: laberinto en los Andes* (Lima, Comisión Andina de Juristas, 1989), especially essay by Humberto Campodónico, "La política del avestruz," pp. 226-258; and Asociación Peruana de Estudios e Investigación para la Paz, *Cocaína: problemas y soluciones andinos* (Lima, Asociación Peruana de Estudios e Investigación para la Paz, 1990).
- 23 U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, *Intelligence trends*, Vol. 14 (Washington D.C., USDEA, 1987: 6).
- 24 "New kings of cover," *Time* (July 1, 1991: 29-33), "How dirty money gets clean," *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 28, 1991), Statement and Memorandum of James E. Preston before the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington D.C., November 7, 1989; and for background, President's Report on Organized Crime, *The cash connection: organized crime, financial institutions, and money laundering* (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984).
- 25 "The Nigerian connection: the newest link in the growing heroin trade," *Newsweek* (October 7, 1991: 43) 

The roots of thought

Luis Barjau *

I understood the seductive power concealed in a life where all is reduced to the simplest form of repetition.

Canetti

The ancient Mexicans fervently believed that the Earth was a four-cornered plane, and that beneath it, nine strata continued downward, culminating in *Chignahumictlán*—the region of the dead or nothingness. Here, beings dissolved completely, after having crossed through the nine degrees of death; these were nine final and unavoidable tests undergone by individuals before disappearing completely:

1. A leonine dog, our dog, must help one cross a great river of blood, which is the beginning of non-existence.
2. One must squeeze between two adjoining mountains.
3. One must climb an obsidian mountain.
4. One must pass the spot where the icy wind blows, cutting like obsidian knives.
5. The place where the banners wave.
6. The ambush where the wounding arrows fly.
7. The place where savage beasts eat hearts.

Excerpt from the unpublished volume *El mito mexicano de las edades*.

* Department of Historical Studies at the National Institute of Anthropology and History.

8. The narrow stone passage, where a man barely fits.
9. The place where souls rest or disappear.

They also believed that above the plane of the Earth there rose thirteen divine strata, which were the dwelling-places of a hierarchy of gods. These strata culminated in the *Omeyocan*, the place wherein dwelled the primordial divine duality, *Ometecuhtli* and *Omecíhuatl*, the Second Lord and Lady (figure 1).

The numbers nine and thirteen are, at the same time, important figures in calendar computations. Nine represents

half the number of days in a month of the solar calendar, while thirteen is the basic number used to count the days in the divinatory calendar or *Tonalámatl*. Both, then, are guides for the measurement of time.

If, as the majority of studies of Mesoamerican history have directly or indirectly indicated, for ancient philosophers time and space were coinciding dimensions—an idea on which indigenous peoples and modern physicists agree—these numbers must have been equally important in the measurement of space.

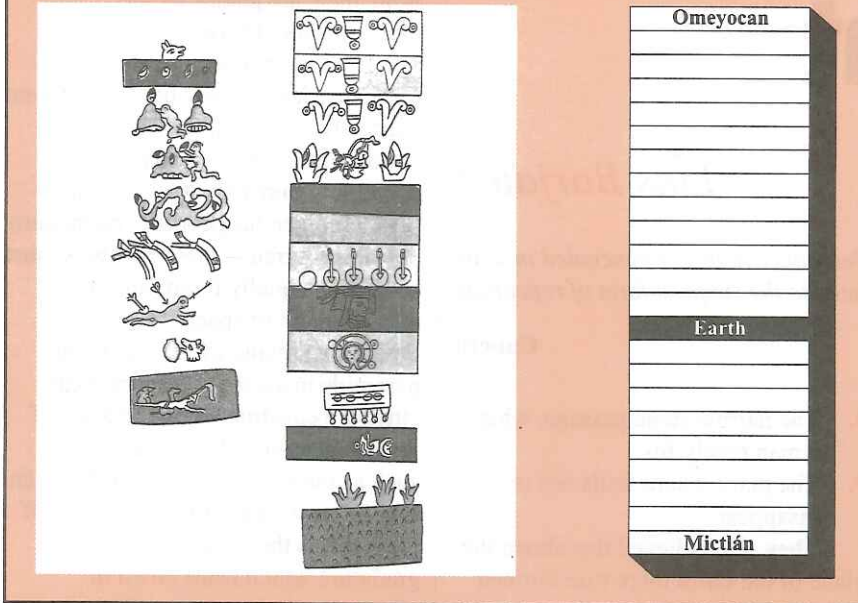
In fact, many of the surviving pyramids in ancient Mesoamerican cities are constructed on the basis of nine staggered architectural masses, such as the Castle pyramid in Chichén Itzá. If, as we have seen, the plane of the Earth is the upper stratum of a gradation which leads down to *Chignahumictlán*, or the ultimate stage of death, then the base of the pyramids should represent the part corresponding to this stage. In fact, the Tomb at Palenque is located at this level, and according to Ruz Luhliller (*Chichén Itzá en la historia y el arte*, Editora del Sureste, Mexico, 1979), there may well be a tomb within the base of the Castle at Chichén Itzá.

Thirteen divine strata

13. Ometecuhtli and Omecíhuatl	Lords of duality
12. Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	God of dawn
11. Yohualtecuhli	God of night
10. Tezcatlipoca	Principal idol
9. Quetzalcohuatzin	Principal idol
8. Tlalocantecuhtli	God of the Earth
7. Tonacateuhli and Tonacacíhuatl	Two gods
6. Mictlantecuhtli	God of the infernos
5. Tonaloque	Five gods
4. Tonatiuh	The Sun
3. Chalchiutlicue	House of a goddess
2. Xiuhtli	Goddess of the Earth
1. Xiuhtuctli	God of the years

Source: *Histoire du mechique*.

Figure 1
The nine hells and the thirteen divine strata
(Vatican codex A.)



Thus, the temple crowning all Mesoamerican pyramids corresponds to the level of the Earth, or the first plane of death, or the intermediate

degree between the nine descending strata of death, and life, represented by the thirteen scales of divinity, which are crowned by the notion of

duality. It was on these temple platforms that religious sacrifices were carried out (figure 2).

If the thirteen divine strata were composed of light, then the nine descending grades were in darkness. The square plane of the Earth, when exposed to the sun at its zenith, casts a square shadow larger than itself. Thus, if an imaginary square is suspended a certain distance from the ground, an enlarged repetitive shadow would be formed. The volume of the pyramid would be obtained from the union of the four right angles of each face (figure 3).

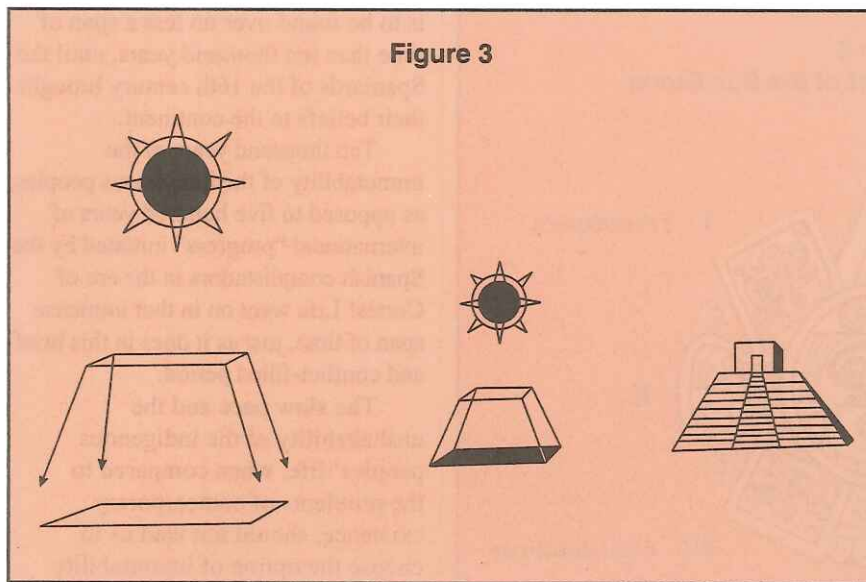
The feasibility of this system rests on the archeological certainty that the base of the pyramids—the ninth mass or platform, if we count downward from the top— corresponds to the final stratum of the netherworld, since the tombs of governors have been found at this level.

The possibility therefore exists that if the squared plane of the Earth is an intermediate level on an imaginary scale descending through nine levels



Chichén Itzá castle

Figure 3



of the netherworld and ascending through thirteen divine degrees—the *Mictlan* (Chignahumictlán) being the ninth architectural platform in the pyramids, and the one established at ground level—the first and smallest of the platforms would then be the one crowning the pyramids (the temple platform), while also “floating” between the thirteen upper and nine lower planes on the imaginary scale. If we were to picture this, it would appear as shown in figure 4.

It would not be at all strange that, from a certain angle of Lake Tenochtitlan, an ancient Náhuatl might have seen this image, composed of the real structure and its reflection in the water, although the two images would thus have been joined at the base and not at the temple platform. However, for the ancient Mexicans, time and space must have been contiguous dimensions.

In the myth of the ages or the “legend of the suns,” the periods of the Earth (time) had followed one another (see the graphic representation of this in the Aztec Calendar) in the same directions as the cardinal points (space) of the sun (figure 5).

First, dawn, second, zenith, third, evening, and fourth, sunset. At each of

these spatial points, a period of time occurred, where a world or age had existed, with a certain specified type of man, who was doomed to disappear. A deity would also have reigned over each.

Four of the principal deities ruled simultaneously over a cardinal point

and an era of time. As the deities are thus simultaneously time and space, the stratification of the imaginary world inhabited by them is therefore also temporal and spatial. The same is true for pyramidal architecture, which we have seen to be built in the image and semblance of this imaginary stratification.

Ancient man had thus conceived of a way to govern his own reality in accordance with the mechanism of the universe. If the movements of the sun were four in number, there were also four phases of time, four main classes of gods, four classes of men in the social organization, the Earth was square, and the pyramids—the mansions of the gods—were square. Halving this number resulted in the essence of the *Ometecuhtli/Omecihauhtli* divinity, as the masculine and feminine, the sun and the moon in the skies over Teotihuacan, the light and obscurity of day and night.

The gods depicted in the Sun Stone are also, coincidentally, at the

Figure 4

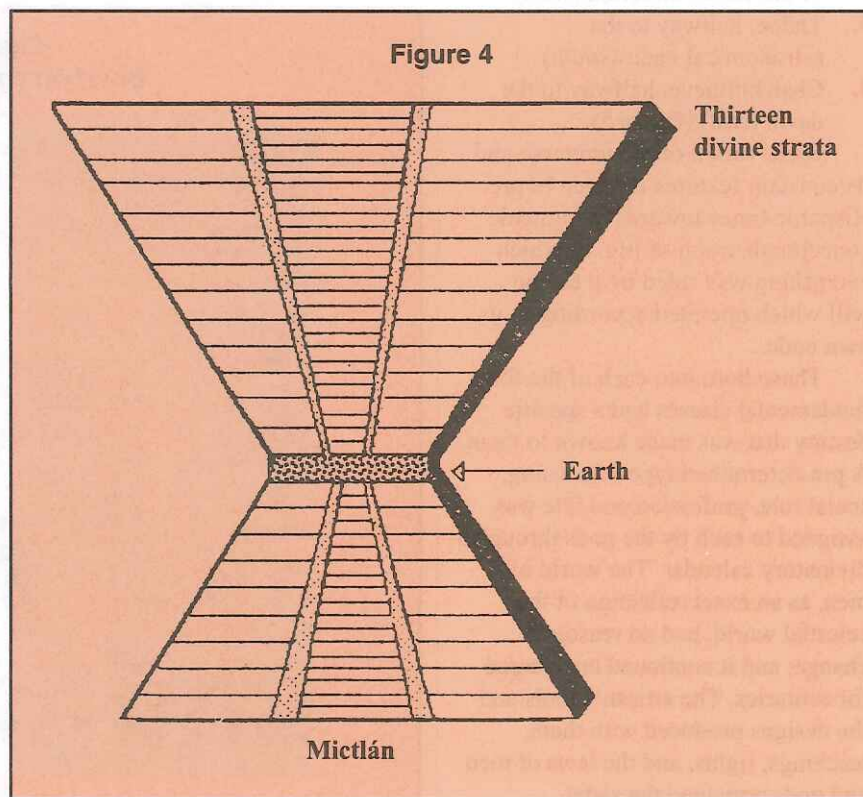
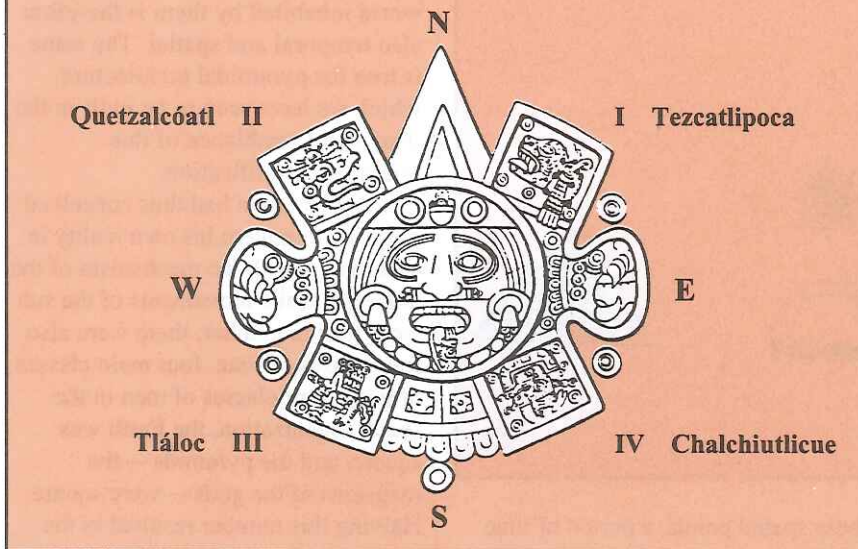


Figure 5
Nahui Ollin, central part of the Sun Stone



mid-point in the fundamental movements of the sun and the cardinal points as known to the Europeans:

1. Tezcatlipoca, between the dawn (east) and the zenith (north).
2. Quetzalcóatl, at the halfway point of the sunset direction (west).
3. Tláloc, halfway to the astronomical nadir (south).
4. Chalchiutlicue, halfway to the dawn (east) (figure 5).

Observation of the universe and its constant features led men in pre-Hispanic times towards a dogmatic conceptualization of life, in which everything was ruled by a divine will which operated according to its own code.

Those born into each of the four fundamental classes had a specific destiny that was made known to them. A pre-determined type of housing, social role, profession and fate was assigned to each by the gods through a divinatory calendar. The world of men, as an exact reflection of the celestial world, had no reason to change; and it continued unchanged for centuries. The artisan's tools and the designs produced with them, teachings, rights, and the laws of men and gods remained the same.

Despite the fact that the immutable order of life and thought of our remote Mexican ancestors remains incomprehensible to us as modern men, undeniable evidence of the longevity of this order of things

is to be found over no less a span of time than ten thousand years, until the Spaniards of the 16th century brought their beliefs to the continent.

Ten thousand years of the immutability of the indigenous peoples, as opposed to five hundred years of international "progress" initiated by the Spanish conquistadors in the era of Cortés! Life went on in that immense span of time, just as it does in this brief and conflict-filled period.

The slow pace and the unshakability of the indigenous peoples' life, when compared to the problems of contemporary existence, should not lead us to choose the option of immutability and set ideas inherited from the past, given that such an option is as improbable as it is undesirable. Yet the evidence that societies were able to survive over the course of centuries, under a constellation of ideas distinct from those underlying contemporary progress and competition, remains valid. Man has

Figure 6
Bourbon codex, plate 21

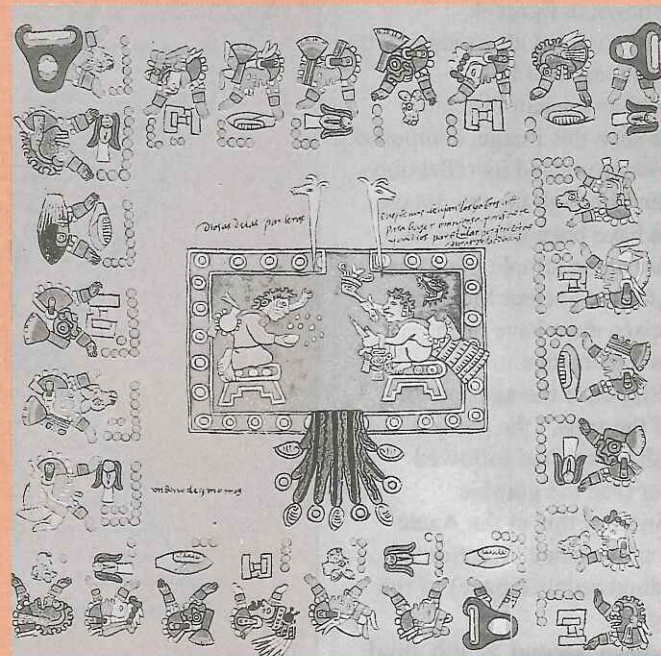
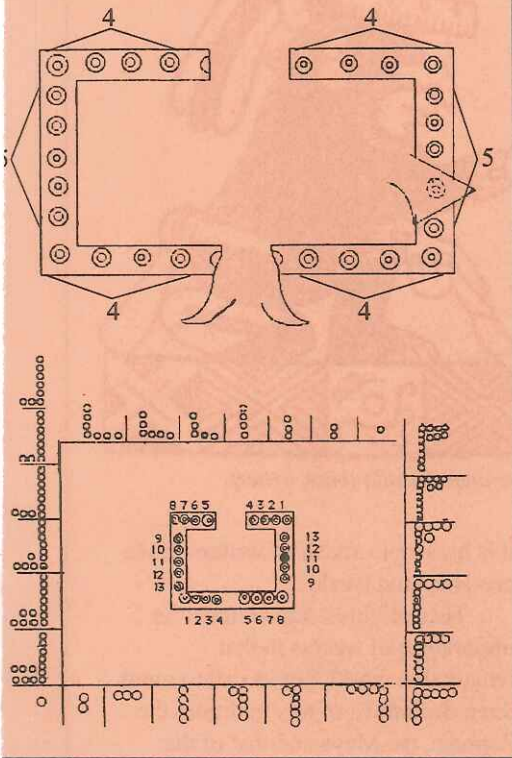


Figure 7



never been indefinitely condemned to one form of thinking.

How was it that the Mesoamericans latched on to the ideas of fixedness and immutability, ideas that bound them for so many centuries under the weight of unalterable religious precepts, immersed in a fixed social organization, inhabiting the same houses, celebrating the same festivals on the pyramids, sculpting the same stone faces with the same tools, planting corn with the same implements, over the course of ten long millennia?

The answer lies in the phenomenological basis of this constellation of ideas and behaviors. Man, his customs and his intelligence, are an integral function of the cosmic mechanism; there is the sun and the moon, light and shadow, masculine and feminine, and duality is the principle of divinity. There are four solar movements, with four principal gods—the offspring of

duality—who project temples in their own image upon the face of the square Earth, which is also projected downward towards the nothingness of the netherworld.

How does change occur, when it is the reflection of the cosmos? Yet, above all, who would be daring enough, and what reasons could he have, for going against the will of the gods who had delivered the world in this very form, and who watched over it afterwards?

In reality, this indigenous phenomenology would become familiar with the concept of change when the Spaniards arrived. Without them, would the native populations of ancient times have become familiar with change, sooner or later, at any rate? In questions of human behavior during past eras, the only reasonable evidence is what actually happened. Questions posed in hindsight have only speculative value and belong to the field of metaphysics—a rather intangible field by definition.

Plate 21 of the Bourbon codex (figure 6), which Francisco del Paso y Troncoso erroneously interpreted as “figures on a mat”—an error repeated by some contemporary authorities—is a scene that takes place in the interior of a temple platform. The access door, located in the upper part of the scene, would be out of place on a mat, and the concentric circles surrounding the platform are, as in other cases, the thirteen calendar circles, which also decorate the borders of the plate itself (figure 7).

The figures are those of *Oxomuco* (left) and *Cipactónal*, the primordial couple, a type of Náhuatl Adam and Eve, resting in the interior of the platform. Placed upon the Earth, or the intermediate level between the sky and the netherworld, they are the pristine pair selected by the gods to interpret calendars, to aid in planting and divination: she throws down nine grains of corn, an iconographic

synthesis of harvesting and divination. The two figures depicting the imaginary strata of the world are repeated throughout the plate. Naturally enough, the scene is set at the intermediate level: the square of the Earth, or the temple platform.

In light of this, does the interpretation of the scene as located on “a mat” have any meaning? Del Paso also left us, together with his error, a correct interpretation, which confirms my hypothesis: *Oxomuco* “throws down nine grains of corn, which fall upon the mat; this is the diviner or augurer throwing lots, using as many grains of corn as there are Spirits of the Night” (Bourbon codex [1898], Del Paso, Siglo XXI Pubs., pp. 92-93).

The “Spirits of the Night” are the gods of the nine levels of the netherworld. Thus, the other thirteen gods, dwelling in the sky, rise above the heads of the primordial couple, who are simultaneously on the level of the Earth and at the top of a pyramid.

Similar beliefs regarding thirteen skies and nine levels of the underworld are illustrated in the Vatican codex A. The existence of nine architectural platforms, plus a temple, in many Mesoamerican pyramids which have the ninth level—the ultimate stage of the underworld—as their base, is a consequence of solar illumination of a square suspended in the air.

This also proves that ancient Mexican beliefs included the concept of time and space as contiguous dimensions and, furthermore, that these beliefs were founded upon the concept of a pre-established world based upon observation of the universe, with particular emphasis on solar and lunar movements.

The tireless repetition of these premises made Mesoamerican societies unalterable formations in which conceptions of change or “progress” played no relevant role in the socio-cultural dynamic. **M**

The pre-Hispanic writers

Andrés Henestrosa *

This topic is not new; indeed it is very old. It is one that has been written about for centuries by men of learning, both Mexican and foreign. On the subject of the existence of books, of libraries, of an ancient alphabet, evidence has come down to us from the first days of the Spaniards' arrival in this land.

Halfway to the great Tenochtitlan, when the Spanish soldiers were still unaware of the world that would unfold before their eyes, Bernal Díaz—that ever-reliable chronicler—in describing a temple states that besides the idols and sacrificial stone, there were certain books, bound in folds like Castilian collars, made of paper manufactured by the Indians.

These books were not like those known to the soldier and so he was unable to relate their contents. They were books in the indigenous style; that is, they were codices, and were painted rather than written—because in that world the writer was also a painter. Anyone wishing more complete information on this episode can refer to the masterly work of Angel María Garibay K., *A history of Náhuatl literature*, and thus satisfy their curiosity.

The Indian peoples had no alphabet, but had already made much progress toward syllabic phonetics. Their system of writing was an ingenious combination of hieroglyphics, phonetics and ideograms. It would not be rash to suggest that this system may, on occasion, have been as effective as the written word.

In the indigenous languages, moreover, words for paper, reading, writing, singing, library and book-lover abound. These words, when approached in a scientific manner, free from prejudices, have

established the certainty in our time that literary activity was an everyday matter among the indigenous peoples. In many aspects, literature and writing had developed to such an extent, and such a level of refinement, that they not only did not lag behind the European production of that time but were frequently ahead of it.

In pre-Hispanic Mexico, for example, besides the poets who made up what today would be called a “college”—being at the service of the state, charged with the sole duty of writing poetry—there were also itinerant poets, those in the service of a great lord, whose exclusive function was to write. This situation strongly contrasts with the present day, since today it is not unusual to find poets occupied in tasks which are quite foreign to their calling.

The status of artist brought with it certain benefits, as it should in every civilized and learned society. Only warriors enjoyed greater status.

The ancient sculptures, codices, pillars, together with the multitude of figurines representing painter-writers, described by archeologists as “scribes”—perhaps to associate them with illustrious cultures such as that of ancient Egypt—have been victims of a certain prejudice, according to which



Amoxicuil or amoxtlacuilo (book writer).

it is bizarre to speak of writers in the pre-Hispanic world.

These figures demonstrate the importance of writers in that remarkable world. Let us call to mind three depictions of this tradition: the Zapotec, the Maya and that of the Kingsborough codex. The first, seated, facing forward with a text on his chest; the second, lavishly dressed, recording the score in a ceremonial ball game; and the third clearly showing the status given to the writer's profession.

In this third representation, the *amoxicuil*, *amoxtlacuilo* or *tlacuilo*—the writer of texts was referred to by three names in the Aztec language—is shown carrying out his duties. Seated upon a stone, he is viewed in profile, the brush in the left hand and the colored ink pot in front of him. His beard is full and his hair is shoulder-length. His ear is decorated with an enormous green stone, or *chalchihuitl*, which was the most precious of stones; he wears a hat, reminding one of a house, decorated with a plume made of multi-colored feathers. The *mactatl* is decorated with a yellow band. The stone supporting his bench is an escutcheon or stone page and is beautifully engraved. Such was the writer, and such the atmosphere in which he carried out his divine office ✕

* Writer, essayist and journalist.

José María Velasco and the Chicago International Exhibition



*The bridge at Metlac
(oil on canvas, 1881).*

*María Elena Altamirano Piolle **

In 1893, together with several colleagues, the renowned Mexican painter José María Velasco organized Mexico's participation in the famous Chicago International Exhibition. Velasco's reputation as an artist, based on the extraordinary quality of his landscape paintings, earned him the honor of an appointment from the Ministry of Development as the head of the Fine Arts group. He had previously held the same office during the Universal Exhibition in Paris.

Chicago's International Exhibition was an event of great importance for its host, the United States, inasmuch as it signalled the nation's place among the most developed in the world. The exhibition represented an opportunity to display the United States' rapid industrial progress, as well as the quality of its artists' work. The event was of such importance that Velasco stated that the host country had awakened in the field of the fine arts.

José María Velasco showed some of his best works at the exhibition, which featured 110 Mexican paintings. On display were Velasco canvases including *The Valley of Mexico from the Atzacotalco hill*, *The*

Orizaba volcano as seen from Córdoba, *The Iztaccíhuatl volcano and Popocatepetl*, *Oaxaca valley*, *The valley of Mexico from Santa Isabel*

hill, and one of his master works, *View from the hacienda of Chimalpa*.

These works greatly impressed and pleasantly surprised the



Self-portrait (oil on canvas).

* Institute for Aesthetic Research, UNAM.
Author of the volume *José María Velasco:
landscapes of light, horizons of modernism.*

To José María Velasco (excerpt)

I have the word to tell myself: be quiet.
And I can place myself in your brushes
to tell you: erase with your finger
everything I have written. I lost

the battle at the beginning. Faced with
your stature, nature seems an imitation
of what you paint.

Carlos Pellicer

demanding jury of fine arts critics at the Chicago exhibition. They were widely praised for the noteworthy technique and colors distinguishing them from the pictorial work of the other participant nations, displayed in the principal halls and secondary galleries at the exhibition.

Velasco's singular pictorial and scientific vision was shown in these canvases in the form of landscapes executed with the descriptive rigor of botanical and geological field guides. These pictures also testified to an artistic talent for capturing the extraordinary light, depth and colors of nature, in addition to their use of an innovative color scheme.

Long afterwards, Diego Rivera, the famous muralist and one of Velasco's most outstanding disciples at the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico, explained this color scheme in great detail. He praised his teacher for his creativity in inventing a geometry of color and space, an innovation placing Velasco among the geniuses of the world of painting, past and present.

His monumental panoramic views of the Valley of Mexico proved very attractive to the academic jury, which praised his technique, as was also the case at the Paris Exhibition. His

paintings depicting the Valley of Mexico won admiration for their atmospheric transparency, as well as the extraordinary colorfulness of the panoramas, each painted with layers of oils no thicker than a sheet of paper. This transparency allows the viewer to see the Guadalupe hills to the north of the capital, the broad expanse of the

Texcoco lake and Mexico City. The cupolas and bell towers of the city's numerous and imposing colonial churches and convents are outlined against the Ajusco mountain and the impressive snow-covered volcanoes Popocatepetl and Iztaccíhuatl.

All of these elements were compositionally related in Velasco's paintings by a series of foreshortened curves whose vanishing points were placed with amazing precision. Velasco integrated the foreshortening into the general composition scheme, lending harmony, unity and balance to a scene composed of various pictorial planes. Unlike traditional landscape painting as taught by Italian landscape painter Eugenio Landesio, in which Romantic painters employed eight chromatic degrees of successively graying tonalities, in Velasco's works, each plane has the same luminosity and richness of color.

Velasco's paintings received the highest distinction for artistic merit, and were awarded a medal and diploma by the World Columbian



Oaxaca cathedral (oil on canvas, 1887).



Citlaltépetl (oil on canvas, 1897).

Commission. This prize confirmed the international reputation his work had earned years earlier at the Paris Universal Exhibition, where Velasco was made a member of the Legion of Honor by a jury composed of artists of the highest international standing, including master painter Meissonier.

During his stay in Chicago, Velasco set aside time to become familiar with the main exhibits, such as the Agriculture, Industry and Mining pavilions, which in total occupied 278 hectares. He was fascinated by his visit to a group of buildings known as the Court of Honor. This was a large expanse of neo-classical and eclectic architecture based on plaster, wood and a metallic structure, illustrating the nation's desire to give birth to a renaissance of European culture in the Americas.

The Machine pavilion was also a revelation for Velasco, who was an enthusiastic follower of technological innovations. The pavilion housed electrically-powered machines, an enormous elevator manufactured by the Otis company, and an advanced telephone system used for communication within the exhibition

itself. The pavilion also housed a large, 25-meter metallic structure: this was Edison's Tower of Light, decorated with innumerable multi-colored light bulbs.

He was excited to witness the technological advances in public transportation, including the elevated train connecting the international pavilions in the north of the city with

the anthropological zone in the south. This train stopped at the main points of the exhibition, as well as at the principal pavilions. Velasco was equally interested in the automatic walkway which transported the exhibition's numerous spectators at a speed of eight kilometers per hour, on a track parallel to another walkway moving at twice the speed.

Velasco toured the city of Chicago, especially on Sundays when the exhibition was closed. The Illinois state congress had declared Sunday a day of worship and it was consequently not considered a time for entertainment or work.

The artist wandered the main streets of the city lined with public buildings, as well as the residential sections with their wooden houses, discovering the rhythms of daily life. Aside from the food and dress he observed in Chicago, these rhythms led Velasco to make an endless number of comparisons between his native Mexico and its northern neighbor in letters written to his wife, Maria de la Luz Sánchez Armas Galindo. In one of these letters, Velasco commented:

Chicago lies on the banks of Lake Michigan, running from North to



The Valley of Mexico from Guadalupe Hill (oil on canvas, 1905).



The Noche Triste tree (oil on canvas, 1863).

South... although the hotels and large houses are only located in the city center. Some of these buildings have up to thirty floors, but farther out, there are only one-storey wooden houses, often separated by alleys less than a yard wide, or a little more in some cases. Other homes are surrounded by lawns planted with grass.... There are a few streets reminiscent of London neighborhoods, which are outstandingly beautiful.

In a later epistle, the artist described Lincoln Park:

...it's an extensive park, covered with grass and leafless trees.... On the street this morning, we saw quite a few people riding bicycles: I think they must have



The Valley of Mexico from the hills of Tacubaya (oil on canvas, 1894).

been clerks who travel a good distance to work, because they carried their lunches in little boxes.... It's quite an odd sight to see them approach in groups of three, four, six, pumping their legs quickly up and down, and sometimes one can also see a young woman riding along.

Velasco rode in a small boat along Lake Michigan in order to view the exhibition buildings from a different perspective. There was a complex system of canals and ornamental lagoons, often toured by the public in small electric boats. Seen from the lake, the exhibition offered a delightful view, crowned by a



The hacienda of Chimalpa (oil on canvas, 1893).

there were ceremonies and balls in his honor, as well as re-enactments of his historic discovery.

Three months after arriving in Chicago, Velasco received a letter from the Ministry of Development requesting him to return to his



The Valley of Mexico (oil on canvas, 1877).

powerful beam of light projected from a General Electric company reflector located near the Agriculture Pavilion.

Replicas of Columbus' ships were another of the exhibition's attractions. These were ships loaned by the Spanish government to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, the central theme of the Chicago Exhibition. Columbus was the main figure of the entire event, and

professional position in Mexico, including his activities as a teacher at the Academy of San Carlos and as a draftsman and photographer at the National Museum.

He arrived in Mexico City on June 29, 1893, full of pride and satisfaction at having successfully directed the Fine Arts Group, and having once again won high honors for Mexican painting **M**

Diego María Rivera: from Cubism to the revolutionary murals (1912-1924)

Guadalupe Rivera Marín *



Diego Rivera on his 70th birthday, with his grandchildren and daughters Guadalupe (left) and Ruth (right).

Education of a painter

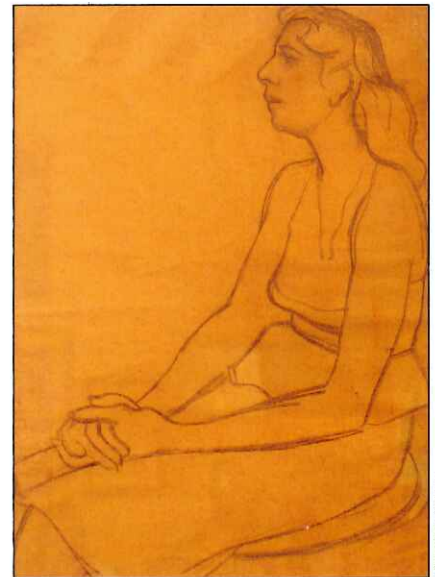
In Mexico, the beginning of the 20th century was marked by constant social and political unrest. The regime of Porfirio Díaz had brought economic stability, through opening the country up to foreign investment, which was concentrated in those sectors which yielded the highest

profits—railroads, electricity, mining and the textile industry.

But Díaz's long term in office had caused discontent among political sectors which were pushed aside by the "scientific" group, as Díaz's circle called itself. These sectors found themselves blocked from participating in administration at the state and municipal levels, and from joining the upper levels of the Porfirista government, which maintained the



Sailor at lunch (oil on canvas, 1914).



Portrait of Guadalupe Rivera Marín (charcoal, 1947).

Yvonne Venegas.

nation's capital as a private reserve for the eternal president's yes-men.

Meanwhile, the people lived in misery; the mass of day laborers in the countryside and the cities lived in conditions of extreme poverty, with no opportunities for overcoming their social marginalization.

This situation set the stage for the first political organizations which gave voice to discontent against the established order. The Anti-Reelection and Liberal clubs, which brought progressive intellectuals together with natural leaders of the rural and urban

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IE/UNAM.

Portrait of María Félix (oil on canvas, 1949).

poor, became a source of constant protest. A key role in these groups was played by students from the National School of Fine Arts, who—in addition to calling for innovations in art instruction, which they considered overly academic and backward—protested against the continuation of the Díaz regime, which they characterized as oppressive, dictatorial, and highly injurious to the interests of the people.

In 1904 the Guadalajara-born painter Gerardo Murillo, who had studied at the Academy of San Carlos at the turn of the century, returned from a trip to Europe imbued with revolutionary ideas in both the political and artistic fields.

He believed that it was time to leave conservatism behind, in art as

well as politics, in order to fully enter the modern age. Murillo held that the “scientists” had to be overthrown, giving way to a government that would be in favor of the workers and peasants; in the field of art, revolutionary thinking meant embracing the innovative style of Modernism.

Murillo surrounded himself with artists such as Roberto Montenegro, Jorge Enciso, Saturnino Herrán, Alfredo Ramos Martínez, Francisco de la Torre and Diego María Rivera. He convinced them that the theme of their art should be the landscapes and people of Mexico, to capture their way of life, with its own local spirit. Rivera was the most convinced of all, and became one of Murillo’s revolutionary followers.

To advance their views, Murillo and Rivera joined with the poets and writers who founded the journal *Savia moderna* (Modern sap)—Alfonso Cravioto, Luis Castillo Ledón, Rafael López and Alfonso Reyes, who had decided to continue the artistic movement begun in 1898 by Bernardo Couto and Jesús E. Valenzuela in the journal *Revista moderna* (Modern review).

But Murillo—who by that time was known by his artistic name, Dr. Atl—was not only responsible for introducing Rivera to Modernism and revolutionary theory. He also aroused Rivera’s interest in the idea of recreating, in Mexico, the marvelous art of mural painting, known as the “art par excellence” in Italy, where Atl had come in contact with pre-Renaissance and Renaissance painting of the great masters—among them Giotto, Michelangelo and Raphael.

Three years later, Rivera and his friends from *Savia moderna* and the *Ateneo de la juventud* (Youth cultural association), a gathering place for the young intellectuals of the day, had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to fight against the Díaz dictatorship.



Portrait of Adolfo Best Maugard (oil on canvas, 1913).

Yvonne Venegas.



IIE / UNAM.

Fiesta of Santa Anita (encaustic on canvas, 1931).

Rivera had also become friends with a group of young leaders who published newspapers of the revolutionary vanguard, working out of the Venegas Arroyo workshop. One of these newspapers was *El hijo del ahvizote* (The otter's son—the Aztecs considered otters to be an evil omen), founded by Daniel Cabrera, edited, among others, by the staunch anti-Díaz activists Florencio Lastra, Juan Sarabia and Ricardo Flores Magón, and illustrated by José Guadalupe Posada. Another was *Regeneración* (Regeneration), founded in 1900 by Ricardo and Jesús Flores Magón and known for its fierce attacks against Díaz and his minions.

Immersion in Academicism

With his training as a revolutionary still in its initial stages, Diego María Rivera left for Europe in April of 1907. He spent more than two years working intensely at the side of his teacher, Eduardo Chicharro, in Madrid, Avila and Biscay, as well as making short trips to France, Holland, England and Italy. His first paintings, influenced by Zuluaga, Sorolla and Chicharro, are examples of the purest Spanish Academicism; other early works are forays into Impressionism. He returned to Mexico in August of 1910, bringing

with him more than twenty oil paintings as well as the many drawings and sketches he had made in Europe.

It was Atl who encouraged Rivera, after his return from overseas, to stage his first one-man exhibition, at the Academy of San Carlos. On November 20, 1910, as the exhibition was inaugurated by the wife of Porfirio Díaz—still President of the Republic—the first groups of revolutionaries, organized in the

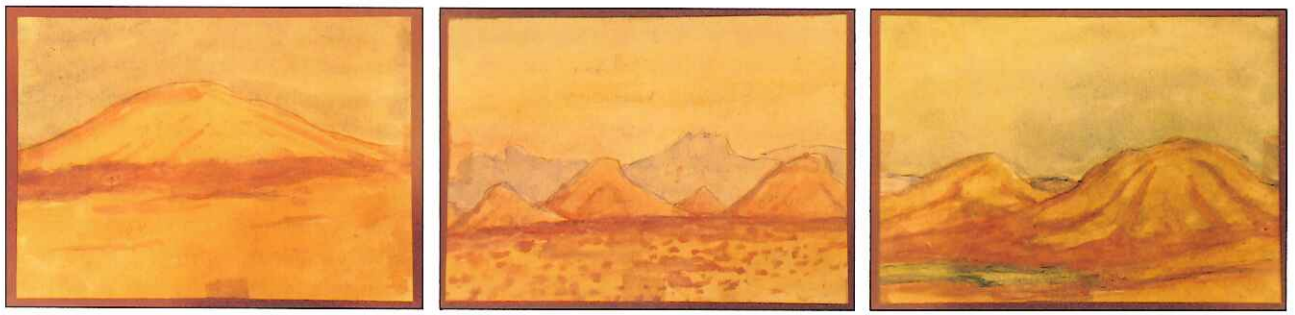
Circles of Free Workers and the Anti-Reelection Circles, heeded the call of Francisco I. Madero, as put forward in the platform of the Liberal Party, and launched the Mexican Revolution.

The exhibition was a smashing success. *El mundo ilustrado* (The illustrated world), the journal most highly regarded in the artistic and cultural circles of the day, published several reviews; its art critic lauded the young painter's work, saying he



IIE / UNAM.

Portrait of Lupe Marín (oil on canvas, 1938).



Perote, Veracruz (unpublished watercolors, circa 1945).

had surpassed his teachers on their own terrain of Spanish Academicism.

This success led Rivera to ask his benefactor, Don Teodoro Dehesa, to arrange for an extension of the scholarship he had been receiving

from the state government of Veracruz since 1907. Rivera wanted to return to Europe, for two reasons. First because he considered his artistic education still insufficient for his goal of helping create a new

Mexican art, which would serve as an artistic and ideological expression of the people and help educate them for the social changes to come. Rivera had come to the firm conclusion that Academicism could not be a vehicle for these objectives.

The second reason for returning to Paris was that he wanted to continue his romantic relationship with the Russian engraver Angelina Beloff, to whom he was deeply indebted for introducing him to a number of renowned Russian exiles—among them Lenin, whom Rivera would come to regard as his teacher in political theory and practice.

Once in Paris, Rivera exhibited two Academic-type paintings at the Autumn 1911 Salon: these were the two views of Mount Iztaccíhuatl that he had begun during his brief stay in Mexico. The critic Ulrico Brendel wrote about them in an important article published in the *Mundial* (World) magazine. In the same article Brendel made an in-depth analysis of the newly fledged Cubist movement—which Rivera joined at the beginning of 1912, when he moved to Spain.

Joining the Cubist movement

The influence of El Greco, together with the landscape around the city of Toledo, led Rivera to produce a number of great paintings in which, little by little, one sees the increasing importance of “the geometricization and broad faceting of planes”—that is, the Cubist concept of art.



Flower market (oil on canvas, 1949).

Yvonne Venegas.



San Francisco coast (unpublished watercolor, 1941).

According to Ramón Favela, “the firmly delineated view of the rigid cubes of the buildings and cabins where his characters lived [gave rise to] a growing interest in three-dimensional, geometric and abstract organization, leading Rivera to the first phases of the Cubist style in which he worked during his stay in Toledo.”

Nevertheless, the question arises: was Rivera’s interest in this style a product of the creative process itself, or was he giving expression to long-submerged memories of the old city of Guanajuato where he was born? Armando Olivares argues that the painting *Diego de Guanajuato* shows that the city of Toledo brought back to Rivera’s consciousness the images of his birthplace — memories he undoubtedly carried within himself.

Working with and helping advance the Cubist conception of art over a five-year period, Rivera created a number of exceptional works. Cubism also allowed him to work out structural solutions to problems of time and space, combining geometry, form, ideology and color in what would later become his master works of revolutionary muralism.

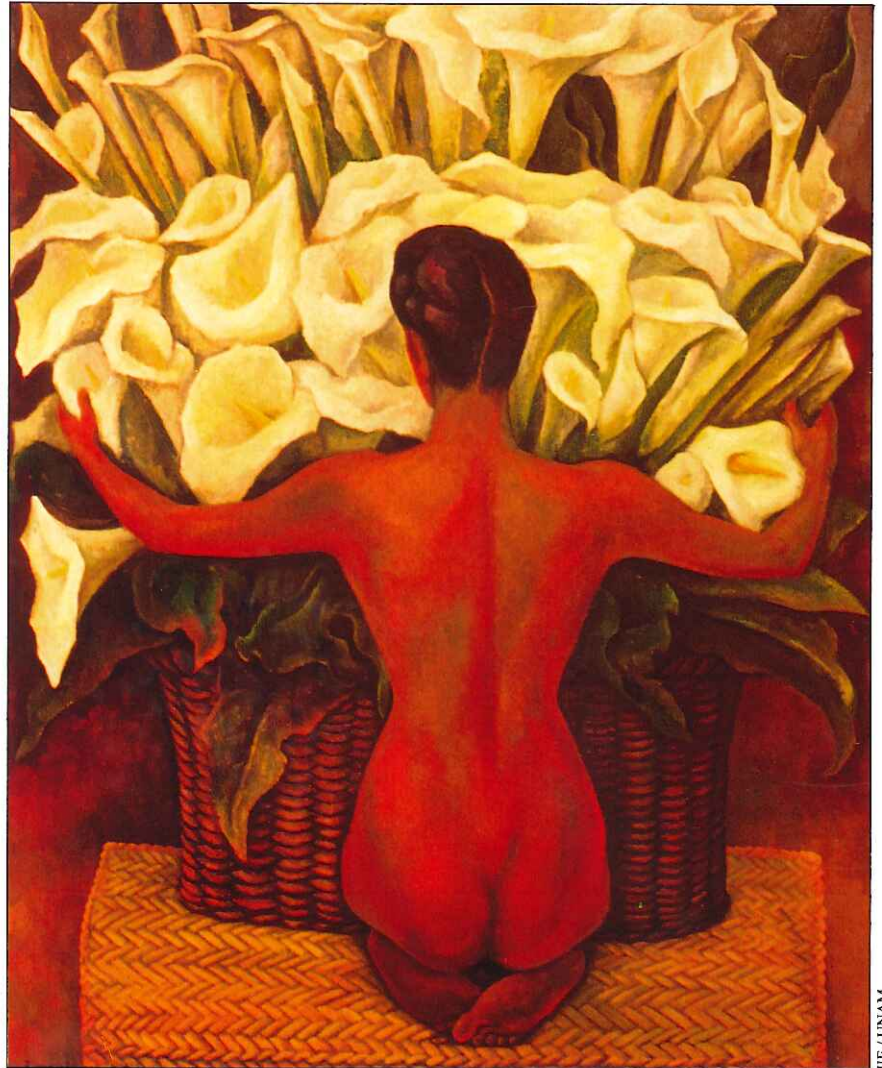
In other words, in muralism Rivera was able to express a concept of the universe in which cubes, rhombi, triangles, parallelepipeds and spheres play, rise and fall, turn and hold still, in order to shape a new space. In this new spatial conception Rivera becomes one with the universe while putting forward his political philosophy and his deep-going concerns with the place of man in the cosmos.

Thus, the artist established the humanistic identity which characterizes his murals and his personal aesthetic, his own authentic and original creation, which made him one of the greatest painters of the century.

Revolution and art

In the Paris of 1912, Diego Rivera began to hear first-hand stories from Mexicans traveling in Europe about how the Anti-Reelection movement initiated by Juan Sarabia and Ricardo Flores Magón had won victory. He learned of Madero’s struggle and seizure of power.

Several newcomers joined the group of emigres made up of Angel Zárraga, Enrique Freyman, Dr. Atl and other old friends from Academy days. Among these newcomers, who were traveling on scholarships granted by President Madero, were Roberto Montenegro, Adolfo Best Maugart,



Nude with alcatraces (oil on masonite, 1944).

IIE / UNAM.



Yvonne Venegas.

Portrait of Enriqueta Dávila (oil on canvas, 1949).

the caricaturist Ernesto García Cabral, and Jorge Enciso, the senior proponent of a Mexican indigenist artistic style. Contact with this milieu intensified Rivera's revolutionary fervor.

It was during this period that Rivera met the Peruvian art critic



H.E./UNAM.

Portrait of Guadalupe Amor (oil, 1949).

Francisco Cosío del Pomar, to whom he confessed that for him, "the revolutionary process is not the revolution which is upheld by Flores Magón and combated by reactionary oligarchies. No, it is an original revolution, which does not yet appear in the annals of sociology."

Cosío found Rivera immersed in two basic concerns: what was happening in Mexico, a land Rivera seemed to carry around with him like a heavy bundle; and what was going on in the world of painting, from Cézanne's keen interest in nature to the daring innovations of the Cubist school. Diego admired the demanding aggressiveness of Goya and his rebelliousness in the face of social injustice. He admired Fernand de Léger's Cubist predilection for panoramic landscapes. These two points of view would later converge in his own art.

Cosío maintains that his friend—finding himself in Paris, far removed from the field of battle—laid the foundations for the syncretistic content and style of Latin American art. Diego put this forward through his attempts to interpret the Mexican Revolution, whether through objects like the serape used in the painting "The alarm clock" or through the Mexican color schemes he reproduced in "Majorca landscape."

From this time forward Rivera developed the central, inner workings of Mexican revolutionary muralism. For him, the new mural painting was to emerge from the Cubist view of landscape, combined with the necessity to bring ideological truth to the masses—a symbiosis which could not be achieved through easel painting.

It was essential to understand that "the right of the revolution [to create this new form of art] is founded on the fact that works of art have become instruments of tyranny and corruption, symbols of exploitation and wealth.... Art is neither the dessert at the banquet of

civilization nor the banquet itself; neither the splendor of truth nor nature as seen through temperament; it is not any of the things that philosophers have sought to establish [sic].... Art is a necessity which realizes the highest pleasure and highest objective of the species. Its essential continuation pits man against everything which exploits and oppresses him in the free exercise of imagination and reason."

Some months after painting "Majorca landscape," Diego painted a new landscape entitled "Zapatista landscape"¹ or "The guerrilla fighter." This picture caused a major debate among Cubists and art critics, since "The wild Mexican"—as Rivera was known in the world between



Yvonne Venegas.

The painter's study (oil on canvas, 1954).

Montparnasse and Montmartre—had finally decided to take on and express his own most intimate truth.

In Rivera's own words: "The most authentic revelation came from a Cubist canvas, 'The Zapatistas,' which I painted in 1916. It showed the *sombrero* of a Mexican peasant hanging from a wooden box, behind a rifle. I did it without making preparatory sketches, in my Paris studio. It may have been my most

¹ Zapatistas were followers of peasant revolutionary Emiliano Zapata.

successful and faithful depiction of the Mexican state of mind.”

Thus Rivera frankly and openly set out on the path that would take him to muralism. Through the purest Cubist style, he achieved his own interpretation of Cubist painting, together with the synthetic and metaphysical themes he developed subsequently when he depicted key revolutionary figures on the walls of large buildings.

Zapata—whom Rivera met in 1910 while painting—is the central figure on the walls of the Chapingo chapel.

In the Palace of Cortés in Cuernavaca, Zapata is depicted standing at the side of his magnificent white horse (a figure which shows the influence of Mantegna), while on the



Zapata (fresco, 1931, 2.38 X 1.88 m).

walls adjoining the main staircase of the National Palace in Mexico City, Zapata is the central figure in a group of key personages of the Mexican Revolution. The figures shown in this group range from a peasant and worker, who symbolize those who fought for the Revolution, to Obregón and Calles, who were to consolidate it.

During these years in Europe, Diego expressed his desire to return to Mexico, since he was convinced that “an artist only achieves universality

with the support of his own land, nourishing himself with all the cultures which have been born in that land, starting with the myths of creation, on the condition that they give new life to styles which had heretofore seemed dead.”

He continued: “In pre-Columbian sculpture, art found a form of expressionism worthy of being associated with the art of the present; Toltec masks, plumed serpents, gods and goddesses of blood and death. Ancient Mexican art will enrich the national art of the present with an extraordinary realism.”

On another occasion, Cosío asked Diego to talk about painting and forget about the Mexican Revolution. Diego answered: “In that case I wouldn’t be able to talk about anything at all. The interesting things that I am putting forward are all related to the Revolution.”

After showing Cosío several paintings which the critic regarded as demonstrating an admirable technical ability, Rivera showed him exercise drawings using thick and expressive lines; these struck his visitor as having a different quality, one of strength and vigor, closely linked to the spirit of Mexican culture.

As Rivera himself remarked, during his years in Paris, Madrid and Toledo he learned how to use his artistic weapons, to master European procedures and techniques, to recognize the universal value of art, through the mural painting of Giotto and Benozzo Gózzoli, his favorite muralists. He felt that these two painters had succeeded in establishing a direct dialogue between artist and humanity.

Rivera believed that mural painting could fulfill a basic educational function: to reach the masses with a social message they could apply to the revolutionary struggle—a conception which undoubtedly reflected his Marxist-Leninist training.



Woman of Oaxaca (oil on canvas).

In 1920, when he was invited to return home by José Vasconcelos—who was very close to the recently elected president of Mexico, General Alvaro Obregón—he was indeed ready to do so. Before embarking on the trip he traveled through Italy strengthening his knowledge of Italian mural painting. Once back in Mexico he would join with other painters in founding the School of Mexican Mural Painting.

Diego María Rivera spent three months studying the way



Portrait of Lolita Casanelles (oil on canvas, 1948).

Michelangelo applied the “golden section” when he painted his murals. He sought the secret of the formulas Giotto used to achieve the lasting brilliance and depth of his colors, and why it was that Benozzo Gózzoli’s murals had still not cracked, three centuries after they were painted. He learned how art had covered Italy’s infinity of walls.

Meanwhile, in Mexico, Gerardo Murillo, Jorge Enciso and Roberto Montenegro, after ten years of struggle and endless requests, had succeeded in getting permission to use the walls where they would create their first murals. Vasconcelos asked them to do a painting on Mexico at the National Periodicals Archive, located in the former college of San Pedro y San Pablo.

In 1910 these artists had asked Porfirio Díaz to authorize them to paint the walls of the former college of San Ildefonso. In 1920 they finally convinced Vasconcelos to allow them to paint the walls of a building only a few yards away from their frustrated first project.

In 1910 Madero’s call to insurrection prevented them from painting San Ildefonso. Ten years later, Vasconcelos, the ideologue of revolutionary Mexico, included them in his project for modernizing the country’s educational system.

It was these three painters who, in 1912, had discussed this possibility with Diego María Rivera in Paris. From that time onwards, the young painter became increasingly conscious that muralism provided the answer to his artistic needs.

As he said: “On those walls we will put forward the objectives of Mexican art, without losing sight of universality. I aspire only to a place among our muralists, to collaborate with them on this ambitious dream.”

The first murals

When Rivera returned to Mexico in 1921 at the invitation of José Vasconcelos, the new Secretary of Education in the government of President Obregón, he already intended to join the muralist movement. In fact, Vasconcelos had invited him to return precisely so that he would do so.

Obregón agreed with Vasconcelos that mural painting would be a good means of educating the people. All that was required were painters to carry out this work, and Rivera was one such artist, already prepared to achieve the goal that had been set.

When Rivera arrived he was assigned to paint the murals in the amphitheater of the National Preparatory School (San Ildefonso), the same location Atl had requested from Díaz in 1910. Rivera’s first mural disconcerted Vasconcelos, who had hoped to see a visual ode to the Mexican Revolution rather than the display of metaphysical concepts that Rivera painted in the purest Byzantine style.

In Vasconcelos’ view, while Rivera had learned how to use space, through

the geometric principles of Cubism, and how to employ pigments and colors according to the encaustic method used by the great Italian muralists, he had grown out of touch with Mexico and was unaware of how the Revolution had transformed his native land.

So that Rivera could see for himself, Vasconcelos sent him on a tour throughout the country; the result was the murals Rivera painted in the building that would house the Secretariat of Education. It was there, in 1922, that Rivera began to realize his dream: to educate the people by showing them their own celebrations and labors, and how the exploiters, as well as the protagonists of the new revolutionary struggle, really lived.

In 1928 he summed up his thinking when he painted, on the third floor of the aforementioned building, the lyrics of a song called the “*Corrido* of the Revolution”: *That is how the proletarian revolution will be. The voices of the common worker are what my lute can give you; this is the deaf and harsh song which comes from the crowd.*

Now the masses of workers and peasants have shaken off the yoke under which they suffered.

According to Antonio Rodríguez, the great critic of Rivera’s work, “with this song Rivera goes beyond the initial proposal. He is the first painter in the history of art to make the working people—the workers, peasants and soldiers of the revolution—the protagonists in his artwork.”

Thus, at the age of forty-two, Rivera carried out the plan to which he had dedicated himself sixteen years before, when in 1912 he got his start in the Cubist movement in order to learn how to fit figures into the limited planes of a physical space, utilizing spatial geometry, and turned his back on the Academic school in order to become an innovator of artistic purity which would be put in the service of the people. ❧



The Judases (oil on canvas, 1931).

On national identity and postmodernism

José Luis González M. *



With the conquest, a new faith was imposed in place of indigenous religions. (José Chávez Morado, Cuauhtémoc and the conquest, detail.)

The reasons for rupture

Those of us who observe society and history first-hand, before they are converted into books, run the risk of losing perspective. Our closeness to events may prevent us from perceiving the precise shape of the processes of which they are part.

On the other hand, given that this era is the only one we live in, we

cannot resign ourselves to relinquishing it to those who will come after and who will have a better vantage point from which to view us, within what F. Braudel calls a long duration. Therefore, despite all the risks that people have run throughout time, we must concern ourselves with our era.

In attempting to characterize our era, many thinkers detect symptoms of a historical change of scene which would permit, if not demand, that we think in terms of a new historical

period. Some of them call it postmodernism.

“We speak of postmodernism because we think that, in some essential aspect, modernism has ended.”¹ And it has ended, at least in terms of the unquestionability of those values that constituted its ideological underpinnings:

¹ G. Vattino, et al., *En torno la posmodernidad*. Editorial Anthropos, Barcelona, 1990, p. 9.

* Vice President of the Center for Studies of Religion in Mexico.

- Human history can no longer be understood as a progressive process of emancipation, as an ever-ascending and ever more perfect realization of the ideal man. The tattered state in which we have arrived at the close of the second millennium does not allow us to maintain the ingenuousness that prevailed at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, whose prophets predicted universal and unlimited prosperity.

20th centuries), have demolished the idea of a unified history, clearly demonstrating the ideological character of these concepts.

The dissolution of modernism in this regard logically implies that images of the past arise from different points of view. It is illusory to think that there is a supreme point of view, a comprehensive perspective unifying the wide diversity, synchronic and diachronic, of the many branches of human experience.

“The mass media have been decisive in the birth of postmodernist society”

- Following from this first premise, it was taken for granted that everything considered to be more civilized was more human; hence anything that was more advanced, or further along towards the goal, closer to the end of the process, was assumed to be more valuable: the West as the model. The spectacle of the Earth Summit and the cowardice with which the advanced countries approached the survival of the planet and indeed humanity itself, should have been quite sufficient to disqualify the wealthy West from its self-declared role as a model.

- The concept of history as a progressive realization of authentic humanity could be maintained only on one condition: that it be understood as a unified process. Only if history (one history) exists, can one speak of a recognizable lineal progress.

“According to the hypothesis which I propose, modernism ceases to exist when the possibility of continuing to talk about history as a unified entity also ceases to exist.”² Philosophy, and to a greater extent anthropology (those of the 19th and

Yet the crisis affecting the idea of a unified history also places the concept of unlimited progress in a similar predicament. Positivists, historicists and Marxists, while at odds on many questions, all agreed on at least one thing: that history was the realization of civilization, that is, the spread of the modern, European lifestyle over the face of the Earth.

This was an indefensible dream: the peoples who were civilized by the West have risen up and shattered the illusion of a unified and centralized history. The European ideal, transplanted with all of its exclusionary thrust in the United States and Canada, and with relative success in Latin America, can no longer demand — without violence — the right to embody the true essence of human culture and the prototype of a human way of life.

Another decisive factor must be added to this ideological emancipation: the advent of the communication society. The mass media have been decisive in the birth of postmodernist society, among other things, because of their role in eroding the “great stories.”

The wide array of cosmovisions offered when cultural and ethnic minorities step up to the speaker’s platform has broken the apparent unity

of events, while the fragmentation caused by an infinitely-varied journalistic treatment of reality has dismembered the apparent unity of the “story,” opening the door to an infinite number of stories.

In this way, instead of an emancipation ideal based on the comprehension of reality and a subjective consciousness of its existence, the path begins to strike out towards an ideal of emancipation based on oscillation, plurality and the erosion of the “reality principle” itself.

Judging things in light of the great theoretical paradigms, a “loss of sense” has come about, although it has distinct emancipatory and liberational implications: the universal and centralized sense is lost, while an infinite number of local senses arise — provincial rationalities, dialects which rescue their rationality since they break with the framework of the oppressor mother tongue; ethnic groups have come into their own, emancipating themselves culturally (if not politically) from the model of nation-state with which they were intended to be “mixed (up),” etc.

In fact, notions of national or ethnic identity are not immune to this evolution. It is precisely in view of these new evaluative criteria that seem to characterize postmodernism that we wish to discuss the religious evolution of Mexican society during the last decade of this century.

Loyalty or betrayal?

In an earlier issue of this magazine (No. 21, October 1992), we discussed some of the indicators of important changes occurring in the religious make-up of Mexican society. Starting with the Spanish Conquest, New Spain began to shape itself as a Christian society — through the imposition of a new faith upon the indigenous religions — and a Catholic society, as a consequence of the Spanish religious and political position vis à vis the Protestant Reformation.

² Vattimo, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

There is nothing strange about the fact that this religion gradually became part of the particular profile that the new society went on to develop. Officially, modern Mexico was born Catholic. Nevertheless, things were much more complex; the shadings were richer and more varied. In the religious sense, the emerging society was a stage for many different actors:

- First among the more marked contrasts, in the officially Catholic, nascent Mexico, a politically *Criollo*³ Catholicism co-existed with indigenous religions; this arrangement was sufficiently well-tuned to survive and maintain its functionality. These first actors on the Mexican stage were as foreign to each other as the “benefits” which the two social groups derived from the process of independence were distinct.
- In second place, we can now see the results of the interaction of the different factors in play here. Consequently, a *mestizo* and syncretic form of Catholicism began to take shape that, in the long run, would come to be a predominant trait. The religious

the Virgin of Guadalupe in the formation of the Mexican national consciousness, as described by J. Lafaye.⁴

Independence and the foundation of the liberal Mexican state during the 19th century did not substantially modify religious social composition, although it did affect the hierarchical structure of the Catholic church.

Generally speaking, this hierarchy—colonial and

appeal to Catholicism as an essential part of Mexican cultural identity meant shearing the state of legitimacy. In theory, the state had opened society up to religious tolerance and freedom of worship, although in practice, it showed itself to be an enemy of the Catholic church.

Religious pluralism arrived in Mexico as the natural and logical result of the liberal principles of modernism. Moreover, the fact that this outcome

“The recent religious evolution of Mexico’s population has affected the traditional levels of cultural integration and cohesion”

monarchist—was unable to orient itself towards the new independent state. The conflict came to a head when a liberal and non-secular ideology was officially adopted. Historically, the Reform crisis (1859) marked the first time the official Catholic circles used a Mexican Catholic identity as a weapon in the

figured among the tactical considerations of those who felt the need to counteract the social weight of monolithic Catholicism in no way invalidates the causal relationship between the two facts. This situation allows us to understand the particular belligerent nature of Catholic identity within Mexican society.

“The spectacle of the Earth Summit should have been sufficient to disqualify the wealthy West from its self-declared role as a model”

phenomenon that developed around the Virgin of Guadalupe is a part of this feature and testifies to an intense cultural creativity. We know of no case comparable to the overwhelming influence of

open confrontation between the Catholic hierarchy and the state.

At this point, little attention was paid to other religious creeds, virtually nonexistent and insignificant in sociological terms at that time. To

In a certain sense, it is as an end product of this historical trend that we have witnessed a phenomenon some have termed the “explosion of the sects”—the invasion of a large number of churches, creeds and religious groups, which have begun to proselytize intensely in all fields.

An example of the process mentioned above is the religious evolution that has taken place in Xalapa. Between the 1970 and 1980 censuses, the total population grew by 40%; during the same period, the Catholic population increased by 30%, while the Protestant population expanded by 174%.⁵

³ *Criollos* were people of Spanish descent born in the Americas. The term came to apply to that which was Latin American rather than Spanish. (Editor’s note.)

⁴ Lafaye, J., *Quetzalcóatl y Guadalupe: la formación de la conciencia nacional en México*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1977, p. 374.

⁵ Vázquez, F., *Protestantismo en Xalapa, Estado de Veracruz*. Xalapa, 1991, p. 41.

In overall terms, in the space of fifty years (1930 to 1980), the non-Catholic Mexican population went from 2.3% to 7.4%. In southwestern Mexico, this process has been even more rapid. According to the 1980 census, in the states of Tabasco and Chiapas, the non-Catholic population stands at more than 20%, although not all those represented in this figure are Protestants.⁶

The theme of Mexican cultural identity and its accidental, historical or essential relationship with Catholic tradition is therefore a recurring topic. Cultural identity is a complex, debatable and controversial theme.

With all the arbitrariness and subjectivity needed in this case, we understand identity as no more nor less than the constellation of elements allowing us to be included in an "us" group and to recognize the others who belong to this "us" group. A man's death involves us in a mourning ritual because we belong to the "us" group (family, clan, community, neighborhood, municipality, etc.) where the deceased played a meaningful role.

When a Mexican village celebrates the feast day of its patron saint it is aware of sharing religious and social sentiments identifying (and therefore distinguishing) it from its neighbors. Identity is, among other things, a network of mutual belonging covering its participants. If we bear in mind the pace of cultural changes, collective identity has always remained relatively stable, although this stability is never more than a certain continuity within the inevitable and constant process of cultural change.

It is clear that the recent religious evolution of Mexico's population has affected the traditional levels of cultural integration and cohesion. There have been many cases where small communities that had

functioned as social and ceremonial units were divided, thereby generating serious internal conflicts, as a result of the establishment of new religious denominations which gained converts. From this moment on, there are two groups of worship in the affected community, two ethical codes, two cosmovisions, etc.

cultures have offered themselves to one another as available, different options. Nowadays, despite these different possibilities, the preferred way of bringing about change is through the free interplay of supply and demand. This appears to be the option most consonant with our present legal framework.

“Human history can no longer be understood as an ever-ascending and ever more perfect realization of the ideal man”

To top this off, the dividing line frequently runs through, and separates, the family itself.

Events like these are empirical facts of daily life in the Mexico of recent decades. The problem arises at the moment of evaluation. If the group's identity is understood as something absolute and immutable, the change occurring throughout Mexico will be a negative factor, posing a threat, at some profound level, to Mexico's innermost being.

From this point of view, the only option is radical pre-modern intolerance: war on the enemy! Anthropologists, politicians, the Catholic hierarchy, rural teachers, etc. are all united—at least tactically—against the “sects” and the new religious movements, because they are enemies of Mexican identity.

However, another attitude may be adopted in the face of this issue. If by identity we understand the relative (but real) synchronic and diachronic “continuity” of meanings, values, motivations and attitudes shared by a social group, then the evolution of identity must be situated within the logic, if it may be called logic, of all cultural change.

Whether through violence or commerce, curiosity or chance, whether intentionally or accidentally,

The compulsive expansion of the “sects” essentially falls within this dynamic. Nevertheless, since the offensive of “new supplies of religious products” comes, in most cases, from the field of Western culture, it also produces more sophisticated penetration mechanisms.

In reality, Mexican society (and the same can be said of Spanish society) has not changed more in the field of religion than it has in the areas of consumer preferences, dress style, artistic tendencies, etc. With regard to all of these aspects, one can say that “things are not like they were before,” but they have not yet posed problems of identity.

Certain areas of culture form “fields,” inasmuch as a body of institutionalized experts has monopolized the power to manage the goods involved.

Religious change wouldn't be a problem if it didn't consist of “leaving one church” and entering another. Each time a person changes religion, one church wins, and another loses. When the one that loses has a long historical tradition and a large presence in the society in question, then it will, quite probably, turn its loss into a “loss for the nation,” unleashing accusations of theft, usurpation and perhaps even betrayal upon the winner.

⁶ Cardiel, C. and Villalobos, M., *Religión y sociedad en el sureste de México*, Vol. VI. La Casa Chata, Mexico, 1989, p. 64.

Is a different future possible?

It is likely that the fragmentation of a national religion into innumerable denominations, movements, groups and experiences will be part of the process of paradigmatic breakdown characterizing postmodernism. At any rate, in our view this has a clear postmodernist component.

who, as the only alternative, concentrates on the "passingness" of everything as if everything consisted of a sort of uncertain vagabondage, is incapable of historical consciousness and memory. He remains in an eventual experiment (*evenementiel*, in Braudel's terminology) without the depth of a long nor

for teaching them (or obliging them?) to coexist without tearing each other to pieces. The gods, ironically, had to depend on secular society to teach the faithful the virtue of tolerance.

However, accommodation to modernism does not appear to have been the most important factor. Christianity—the Protestant, Catholic, Anglican and Orthodox churches—certainly was not up to the fulfillment of its highest calling: the construction and liberation of the human condition. Comfort and the "concordat" lulled the churches into somnolence. They were left without anything to offer a humanity which, in the second half of the 20th century, had already descended from the optimistic heights of modernism. The Catholic church even made the mistake of fencing in and gagging the most committed and creative imaginative force existing in its Third World churches: Liberation Theology.

For this reason—among others—we can now detect an effervescence in religion, together with a decline of the churches and their credibility. The movement of the traditional church towards new alternatives, more attuned to the precariousness of the present day, is part of this paradox.

Every modern nation-state has turned out to be a conglomerate of collective and individual identities that share a historical legacy of unequal depth. However, even when received with respect and veneration, or when it imposes loyalty, this "legacy" does not exempt them from the unpostponable need to provide responses to the demands of the present.

No past determines the future of free men. For this reason, an authentic Mexican identity, with a religious profile differing from traditional perspectives, is conceivable. What will remain of the past? All that which can win a place for itself, within the will to live and this society's ability to provide responses ✘

“The Catholic church made the mistake of gagging the most creative imaginative force existing in its Third World churches: Liberation Theology”

Strangely enough, the Enlightenment arose as the audacious quest to emancipate one's self from all "paternal" control (Freud). It questioned the Father and consecrated "the fathers." Postmodernism is now the incarnation of rebellion against the fathers of that project. This is mainly a result of disenchantment with the unfulfilled promise (liberty, indefinite progress, justice, rationality, etc.).

The Enlightenment not only left promises unfulfilled; after almost two hundred years of the "secular city," it also has left us with a planet wounded to the point of death. It is for this reason that postmodernism presents itself as a critique of enlightened reason, and as disenchantment with the results of the "disenchantment of the world," according to the classic terminology of Max Weber.

There is a real risk that postmodernism may become post-Enlightenment, entailing suspicion and mistrust of all universalization due to its implicit threat of coercion.⁷

Someone who has turned away from dogmatic generalizations and

medium duration and, consequently, lacks critical judgment.

The result is a subject without any capacity for commitment to others, to society or to history: humanity without plans for liberty nor justice.

Among the new cults and religious movements, there are some which appear on this side of extreme irrationality, converted paradoxically into fundamentalist dogma.

It would certainly be an unpardonable error to identify the current growth in denominations and religious movements with these extreme cases. However, it is indeed worrisome that although extreme, such cases constitute one of the possible logical developments of the new criteria emerging from the crisis of modernism.

It is true that the abundant religious pluralism taking root in Mexican society is related to the collapse of the religious paradigms offered by mainstream churches. Although these churches (the Catholic church, among others) originally opposed modernism with hostility—only to modernize later, and tardily—they are not exempt from the postmodernist criticism of modernism.

Despite everything, the churches will always have to thank modernism

⁷ Lyotard, J.F., "Reescribir la modernidad," *Revista de Occidente*, No.66, Madrid, 1986, pp. 23-25.

Philanthropy as a new global ethic

Manuel Arango *

Never doubt the ability of small groups to change the world...indeed they are the only thing that ever has.

Margaret Mead

As in nature, the most precious resource of humankind is diversity. The diversity of human talent has led to the transformation of matter and spirit through reason: man is the only animal that has been granted a unique capacity to inspire and bring about change at will.

This limitless capacity to imagine, create, produce and transform is the hope that should dissipate all fatalism and despair, provided we have the necessary freedom to exercise this unique gift and the will to use our talent beyond our personal needs for the benefit of others, regardless of time or place. Any attempt to shape, influence, manipulate or restrict this potential denies the richness of human nature and limits our ability to adapt, survive, provide and grow.

However, the characteristic individuality and freedom of Western civilizations and, specifically, of the United States, is seen by other cultures as excessive, leading to economic and cultural decadence. The enormous capacity to build and transform has a corresponding, if not larger, capacity to abuse and destroy.

For this not to occur, diversity must operate within a group culture

that reflects moral values and a sense of pride, belonging and continuity. Wisdom cannot flourish by freedom and knowledge alone; it must come from a higher sense of responsibility, which only ethics and morality can provide.

Borrowing from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "In Plato's *Protagoras*, there is a mythical account of how Zeus took pity on the hapless humans who were no match for other beasts. To compensate for these deficiencies, Zeus gave humans a moral sense and the capacity for law and justice, so they could live in larger communities and cooperate with one another."

Our capacity for law and justice is currently doubted by many, perhaps because we have lost our moral sense amidst the comfort of economic progress and our confidence in science.

Myths are a literary interpretation of wisdom in an earthy and simple form, and they transmit the mysteries of the unknown, especially as regards morals and religion. Religion is the guardian, interpreter and spiritual force of intrinsic morals. Without morals or ethics, our actions would lack depth, direction and continuity, and our system of justice would be overburdened and unable to enforce its laws.

Every day we are shaken by news of crime, famine, health-threatening epidemics, armed conflicts, human rights abuses, drugs, rape, political refugees, corruption, the homeless and many other dreadful calamities which we try to ignore, assigning the responsibility to some hierarchy or capricious gods. Escapism and indifference have become goals that are respected as an art form and lifestyle.

If things are going to change for the better, humanity has to care. Caring is the stimulation and spark for action and participation. To care, one must be involved. Imagination and dreams are open to all, but spiritual values can only be formed through compassion and caring. Change can and should occur, but only in the direction of those that want it and pursue it. Today everyone is part of free-market forces and the most powerful weapon for change is the vote we exercise daily as we spend money and select or reject certain goods and services.

Even though humankind has made great progress in many fields during the last two centuries, there are increasing signs of deterioration and wearing down of our planet which cause alarm among scientists, intrigue educators, worry governments, and directly affect the physical and mental health of all urban-dwellers. A growing population, locked in a closed biosphere with limited resources and limited waste-processing capacity, consumes and demands increasingly more, while the majority struggles to obtain the bare essentials needed for survival.

Over-confident about the miracles of science and technology to solve our problems, we have concentrated on scientific research, mass production, intensive agriculture, rapid transportation and speedy communications.

The ever-increasing demand on natural resources, including the energy to process them, disregards the limits

* President, Mexican Foundation for Environmental Education.

imposed for renewal like someone who, not satisfied with the interest, consumes the capital that generates it. Thus, forests disappear, soil erodes, fossil fuels are depleted, water becomes scarce and many species become extinct. As a consequence of this interrelated and damaging process of rapid and unsustainable development, we accumulate waste, poison the soil, pollute the air, and contaminate the water.

Since poverty ravages the environment, development must continue, but progress cannot be associated with destruction, inefficiency, deterioration, over-consumption and short-term unsustainable gain. Progress has to be equated with sustainability and long-term planning.

Sustainability means being able to provide for future generations on a continuing basis. Implicit is the quality of life with its cultural and biological diversity, which is the basic source of material and spiritual requirements for human survival and intellectual growth.

There is no science or technology that can clean up after, sustain and provide for all our excesses and selfish behavior, nor can we rely solely on laws to protect us from future deterioration. There is no nation, no government, no financial institution with enough resources to rescue a society without values, without sense of purpose, without dreams, without compassion, without willpower, without restraint, without profound beliefs that go beyond the immediate present.

Progress cannot be measured only in economic terms, with little or no regard for the millions of people who are profoundly unhappy with their lives, isolated, disconnected, adrift and lost. A sense of purpose and active participation are the revitalizing forces of body and mind. What better sense of purpose than the desire and will to change things we

don't like for no better reason than love for humankind? This is philanthropy, precisely in its original meaning and practice.

Philanthropy is as old as human existence itself and the innate concern to help one another. From simple and direct acts of charity that humanity has performed since ancient times, thanks to modern communications philanthropy has now reached all structures of society, promoting change and helping to solve problems that often go beyond the capacity of any given state.

Modern philanthropy means organized philanthropy: well-informed, properly represented, officially recognized, professionally run and more universal in coping with global problems. Whether constituted as foundations, private voluntary organizations, non-governmental organizations, charities, benevolent societies, or any other legal entity, these groups are now part of a large and growing sector known as the third sector, the voluntary sector, the independent sector, or the non-profit sector.

There are 900,000 private voluntary organizations registered in the United States that make up a network of benevolent groups to defend, promote and improve—or denounce—the subject of their choice: ancient monuments, capital punishment, non-smokers' rights, breast feeding, abused children, the

rights of the handicapped, human rights, the environment and many others, including philanthropy itself.

Social change is dynamic and that is why long-term forecasting and central planning become an impossibility. Democracy and freedom, on the other hand, generate and promote the interplay of all actors, while the corresponding social forces press for specific needs of change. Through philanthropy, private voluntary action creates a key balance between two important sectors of society: government and business.

In economic terms, philanthropy cannot come close to supplying the needs and services demanded from the state, nor create the jobs or wealth that business generates; the former through the collection of taxes, the latter through the generation of profits. What the non-profit sector can provide is intelligent and honest signs of change, not compromised by self-serving interests, but on the contrary, motivated by generosity and the desire to improve the human condition and that of our surroundings. These organizations are small, numerous and efficient think-tanks of society.

During 1991, more than 125 billion dollars were donated to non-profit organizations in the U.S. But let us not associate philanthropy with an act reserved for rich corporations and foundations. Corporations and foundations accounted for one-tenth of

Humankind has lost contact with nature and the universe. With our acquired knowledge, we must restore and preserve nature, alleviate misery and hunger, promote health, improve education, build shelter and end all wars, except the battle against degradation of social values and needless suffering.

all donations; 84% came from individuals from average households who contributed about 2% of the total family income.

Added to this, 54% of all adult Americans, that is to say, 98 million, worked an average of 4.7 hours per week in voluntary activities, a staggering annual total of almost 20 billion volunteer hours, equivalent to the efforts of 9 million full-time employees. The dollar value of this monumental effort, not considering talent, is about 150 billion dollars per year. If we add the two together—money and work—we are talking about an industry (and a very clean one, at that) of 275 billion dollars a year.

adequate legislation and provide useful services to its members.

This organization started one of the first community funds in the country, and hopes to obtain and manage donations from the private sector. In 1990, it published its first directory, which listed more than 800 institutions classified for quick reference. Today, more than 2,000 such institutions are registered, and the figure continues to grow.

Thanks to funds from the Ford Foundation, the Center completed a comparative study on philanthropy in Mexico and the United States. A working group was recently formed, with representatives from Canada and

Can it become the democratic way for society to express how it would like the world to be?

Can it be a source of talent and new ideas, offering solutions and providing the driving force to carry them out?

Can it be a dynamic force in the global process of change, a balance among self-serving sectors in a market economy?

Can it lead humankind to freedom, with the corresponding responsibility and ethics that all participation requires?

Can it provide the sense of purpose and belonging that humanity badly needs?

Yes, I truly believe philanthropy can do that, and much more.

Private voluntary organizations will achieve tremendous growth as more and more people realize that individual actions shape the future of our planet and that no one can isolate him or herself from social and environmental problems wherever they may occur, and that governments cannot solve them by taxes and laws alone, nor can market forces do so by unsustainable growth. There is much to be done and great satisfaction in doing it. Well-being is not the result of isolation, possessions, or power in itself; it is found while serving others.

No nation has a perfect model for development nor a perfect culture to export. Let each and every one of us do our job with diligence, honesty and generosity, following long-term priorities and planning, sharing our knowledge in order to create spiritual and material wealth.

I would like to finish with the following quotation from the book *Give to live*, whose author Douglas Lawson is a good friend of mine and a well-known fund-raiser: "There is a wonderful mythical law of nature that the three things we crave most in life—happiness, freedom and peace of mind—are always attained by giving them to someone else." ❧

“There is no nation with enough resources to rescue a society without values, without sense of purpose, without dreams”

I wish I could compare this with facts and figures for Latin America, but unfortunately even for Mexico I do not have data. There are very old private charitable institutions in Mexico, dating back to the 17th century, but most philanthropy was carried out through the Catholic church.

Only in the last three decades have we seen the beginning of a new form of philanthropy, assuming greater responsibility and wider participation in the solution of numerous social problems, commanding the respect and deserving recognition and support from the government. In order to promote and strengthen these organizations, the Mexican Center for Philanthropy was founded four years ago. Its board is made up of an impressive group of men and women representing a broad spectrum of society. Its purpose is to gather and transmit pertinent data, promote

the U.S., to analyze current legislation in the three countries and explore ways of facilitating the flow of funds and talent in this region.

If the root of the word philanthropy means love of mankind, we can conclude that it is closely related to *humanitas* or the development of human virtue, that is, understanding, benevolence, compassion, mercy, fortitude, judgement, prudence, eloquence, and honor in a fine balance between action and contemplation.

Can philanthropy become the new global ethic? Can it provide a new humanistic movement, not unlike the Renaissance, in which all our talent is channeled toward stopping human suffering, protecting nature and gradually widening our spiritual horizons for the common good?

Can philanthropy be a significant moral guide, one without the limitations and restrictions of different religions?

Awards

Book by former Mexican president among the best of 1992

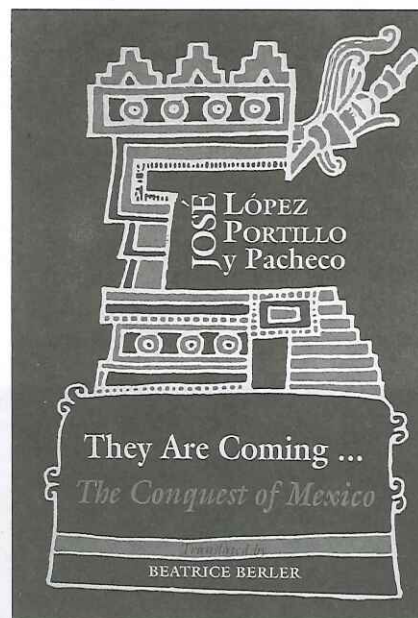
The New York Public Library, one of the largest libraries in the United States, has selected the volume *They are coming... The conquest of Mexico* for inclusion in the library's "Books to Remember" collection.

This work by former president José López Portillo, written after he left office, tells the epic story of the conflict between the Aztecs and the Conquistadors, a struggle through which the modern history of Mexico was forged.

The "Books to Remember" collection consists of an annual selection of 25 fiction and non-fiction books from among those published in the United States in the course of a given year, chosen by a panel of literary critics and librarians.

The list of selected works is printed as a brochure, distributed

throughout the year in the libraries and branches of the New York Public Library system, and is intended as a "suggested reading" list.



The novel *Ellos vienen... La conquista de México* was translated by Beatrice Berler and published by the University of North Texas.

Voices of Mexico is pleased to recommend this work, which serves as a source of information on our magnificent culture.

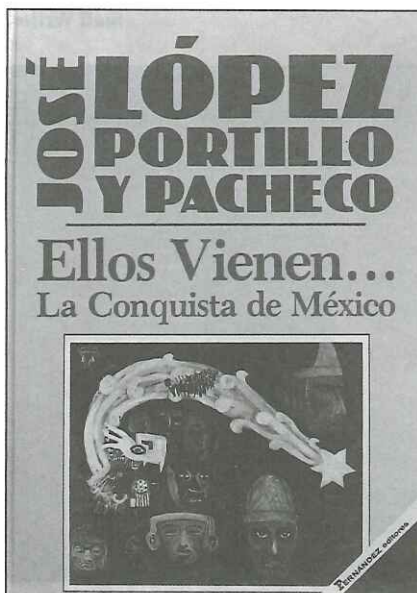
All of that which Man has been, and all that has been created by his genius; all that has been the subject of his reflection, all of those works which adorn our cities: all of this is the work of critical thought.

Gibbon

The Príncipe de Asturias Prize goes to the magazine *Vuelta*

In Oviedo, Spain, the 1993 Príncipe de Asturias Prize for Communications and the Humanities was awarded to the Mexican magazine *Vuelta*, in recognition of its status as one of the most important publications in the Spanish language.

This monthly magazine was founded in 1971 by a group of intellectuals led by Nobel Prize laureate Octavio Paz. Its first issues carried the title *Plural*; in 1976 the name was changed to *Vuelta*. Throughout this period, the magazine



has maintained its pluralist character in the fields of literary, artistic and political commentary and criticism. An anti-dogmatic philosophy is the cornerstone of its commitment to democracy and anti-totalitarianism.

Many Mexican authors have been read for the first time abroad thanks to the more than 200 issues of the magazine which have been published so far. *Vuelta* has also acted as a bridge between authors writing in Spanish, providing a forum to continuously connect Latin America with the rest of the world.

An editorial in the first issue of *Vuelta* argued that a people without poetry is also a people without a soul, and that a nation without critics is indeed a blind nation.

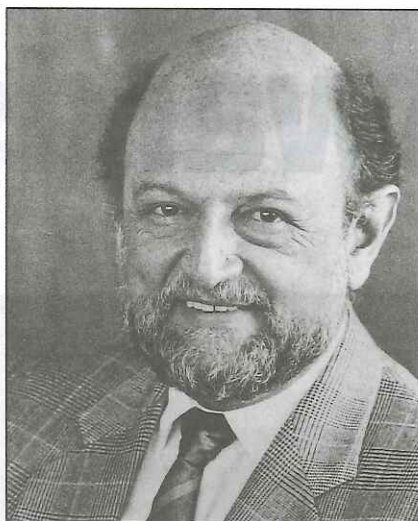
Vuelta is the second Mexican publication to receive this award; in 1989, Mexico's Fondo de Cultura Económica was similarly honored.

The Príncipe de Asturias Prize was created in 1981 with the aim of honoring Latin American individuals, groups or institutions that through their creative works or research have made a significant contribution to mankind. The award is considered to be among the most important in the world, after the Nobel prize.

The award is to be presented to *Vuelta* by Prince Philip of Spain next November; it includes a monetary prize of five million pesetas (43,000 dollars), as well as a reproduction of a sculpture by Joan Miró.

José Sarukhán named member of U.S. National Academy of Sciences

For his contributions in the field of biodiversity, José Sarukhán, Rector of the National University of Mexico (*UNAM*), was named a member of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States in April of this year. The academy is a private organization made up of scientists and engineers devoted to the advancement of science and its application to improving the quality



José Sarukhán.

of life for all. Being chosen as a member of the academy is considered one of the highest honors that can be bestowed on scholars from the United States and the rest of the world.

José Sarukhán is a distinguished Mexican ecologist who, while fulfilling his duties as Rector of the university, continues to be highly active in his academic pursuits, working with a team of scientists at UNAM's Ecology Center, participating in domestic and international ecology organizations, and writing for several international journals. He has received several awards, among them the Missouri

Botanical Garden's Henry Shaw Medal; the Botanical Society of America's Dimond Committee Prize; and doctorates honoris causa from the University of San Carlos in Lima, Peru, as well as recently from the University of Wales.

Príncipe de Asturias Prize awarded to Silvio Zavala

The Mexican historian Silvio Zavala was recently awarded the Príncipe de Asturias Prize in the area of Social Sciences. Among his more than fifty books are *El mundo americano en la época colonial* (The American world during the Colonial epoch), *Iberoamérica: una comunidad* (Iberoamerica: one community), and *La defensa de los derechos del hombre en América Latina* (The defense of human rights in Latin America), which was originally published by UNESCO in 1953 and subsequently brought out in three languages. The Social Sciences prize will be given to Zavala in November by Prince Felipe of Spain. Of the eight prizes in various fields awarded annually by the Foundation of the Principality of Asturias, two were won this year by Mexican scholars ❧

Raquel Villanueva
Staff Writer.



Silvio Zavala.

Perceptions on Mexican art & culture in the 1990s

Culture, while difficult to define, may be considered as the essence of values, thoughts and concepts which distinguish one nation from another. Art is but the physical expression of these values and concepts. While culture is a national, social, political and general concept, art has a specific meaning both at the individual and socio-economic levels.

In other words, culture can become an obscure study in anthropology rather than a part of daily life, while art is frequently transformed into an object of private activity far from public interest.

Post-Cold War and postmodern times have led universal values to be shared among the nations in a new period of cultural homogeneity. This period is characterized by the adoption of general aesthetic values by national culture, within the overall framework of new consumer cultures molded by the international private sector.

The new North American free market has strengthened cultural change within U.S.-Mexican relations, through the homogenization of individual perception by the mass media and consumer markets.

Splendors of thirty centuries: a new way of perceiving culture

The first event that has reflected this new way of perceiving culture between the U.S. and Mexico is the "Mexico: splendors of thirty centuries" exhibition. This exhibition, presented in New York, San Antonio and Los Angeles during 1990 and 1991, consisted of over 400 pieces of Mexican art, covering the period from

1000 B.C. up to the first half of the twentieth century.

The exhibition was one of the most complete overviews ever of Mexican art. The concept behind it was first proposed in 1987 by Emilio Azcárraga, the main shareholder of Televisa and the then director of "Friends of the Mexican Arts," a private foundation.

Mexican TV has been practically monopolized by the Televisa company, strongly influencing Mexican and Latin American cultural perception.

"Splendors" cost two million dollars: \$100,000 was donated by the Rockefeller Foundation, \$750,000 by the Federal Council for Arts and Humanities along with the Tinker, William, Flora Hewlett and Mex-Am Cultural Foundations, while the remainder was financed by the Mexican private sector.

Spokesmen for San Antonio, Texas, stated that that city's Museum of Arts earned around 100,000 dollars from the exhibition. Tourism, which was spurred by the exhibition, contributes some \$2.4 million dollars to Texas annually; and most of the tourists are Mexicans, Latin Americans and Hispanics in general.

The success achieved by the exhibition modified U.S. perceptions

of Mexico, since bilateral relations have traditionally been heavily influenced by the specters of drugs, corruption and, more recently, human rights violations. *Time* magazine reported that this monumental exhibition of Mexican art would help solve Mexico's national "image problem."

To a certain extent, Mexico displayed a new image in October 1990 in New York. The intention was to "conquer" the United States from within its own financial core, generating an improved image among entrepreneurs and bringing new foreign investors to Mexico (*El Economista*, March 15, 1992).

Conferences, documentaries and feature film series on pre-Columbian art were offered by New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, in conjunction with the exhibition. Other events related to Mexican art and culture were also presented throughout the city during 1990 (see table).

The exhibition was sponsored by the U.S.-Mexican financial elite, which was essentially concerned with obtaining support for the North American Free Trade Agreement. A "first-world" image was promoted by organizers in New York:

"For dinner, the Dendur temple was illuminated with 2,000

This article presents a viewpoint on cultural changes within Mexico-U.S. relations, particularly with regard to cultural homogeneity, during 1990-1992.

candles surrounding the pool, to give a sunset effect. Tables were covered in burgundy and gold chintz, with hydrangea, lily and rose centerpieces. Guests dined on scampi, veal medallions with mushrooms and a triple sherbet melange. French wines were served" (*New York Times*, October 2, 1990).

The rise of private art

In order to celebrate the 67th birthday of Octavio Paz, in the spring of 1990, the Mexico City Contemporary Arts Cultural Center—which is owned by Televisa—staged an exhibition called "Octavio Paz: the privilege of sight," offering exhibits ranging from pre-Columbian artifacts to modern painting.

Critics commented on Paz's ties to the establishment, as well as his close relations with Emilio Azcárraga.

During the 1970s, Paz stated that it was a mistake to consider Mexican muralism as an expression of popular art. In the 1990s, the notion that art must necessarily be private in order to be valuable has been strongly promoted by "neo-liberal" thinkers. Likewise, just as history and ideology are supposed to be pragmatic, art and culture are supposed to be privatized, in order to permit their full appreciation.

It should be noted that the main principle of private art is the fact that very few people are able to own it, which is the reason why easel paintings by Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo have higher market prices; they are not easily available.

Although there are stringent legal restrictions regarding the illicit exportation of cultural property considered to be part of the "Mexican heritage," painters can nevertheless sell their work to the highest bidder, aiding the development of private collections throughout the world.

Mexican muralism is another story. During the 1920s, the role of art

Table	
Exhibitions & other events	Date
● Mexican painting: 1950-1980 (IBM Gallery of Science and Art)	Oct. 2 - Nov. 24
● Mexico: splendors of thirty centuries	Oct. 10 - Jan. 13
● Symposium on pre-Columbian art	Oct. 26
● Lecture, documentary and feature film series	Oct. - Dec.
● Aspects of contemporary Mexican painting	Sep. 13 - Dec. 31
● Women in Mexico	Sep. 28 - Dec. 2
● Mexico through its masks	Sep. 25 - Nov. 25
● Eight women in Mexico	Oct. 30 - Nov. 17
● Along the path of echoes: contemporary art in Mexico	Nov. 1 - Dec. 16
● Retrospective of Francisco Toledo	Nov. 4
● María Teresa Gutiérrez, pianist, performing works by Carlos Chávez	Nov. 5
● Recital of the Mexican cellist Carlos Prieto	Nov. 14
● Pre-Hispanic Mexican food	Nov. 16 - Jan. 13
● Mexican muralism and prints	Nov. 17 - Dic. 15
● Sarapes of Saltillo: influences and progress	Jan. 7 (1991)

Source: *New York Times*, October 21, 1990.

was to serve revolutionary ideals by emphasizing the triumph of the corporatist state. However, times have changed. In Mexico, murals by Rivera, Siqueiros and Orozco—once seen as national treasures due to their ideological defence of Mexican identity—are now considered a little passé.

Unfortunately, such perceptions have fuelled the indifference of private groups regarding the conservation of a number of important yet abandoned murals, such as those gracing the Siqueiros Cultural Polyforum in Mexico City. The Mexican government does not currently have sufficient resources to finance the kind of restoration work that is required.

Another feature of Mexican cultural policy is the fact that, despite its international importance, muralism was not included in "Mexico: splendors of thirty centuries" except when the exhibition was shown in Mexico City itself.

Mexican philosopher Agustín Basave Fernández del Valle explains some of the essential features of Mexico's new cultural policy: "Painting of substance is generally submerged in dogma, while expressive restlessness is replaced by mediocrity."¹

Rufino Tamayo was another well-known Mexican opponent of the muralists and their school of painting, as well as one of the first supporters of private art: "Let the tourists paint the Mexican Revolution.... The government cannot do it alone. Private enterprise is beginning to realize that its participation is not only beneficial but essential" (*Epoca*, July 1, 1991, p. 25).

Art critics have considered Tamayo's work as universal, since he imbued Mexican tradition with artistic diversity, where form acquires greater importance than the idea itself.

¹ Basave, Agustín, "Vocación y estilo de México: fundamentos de la mexicanidad." LIMUSA, 1991, p. 956.

However, what does the current universal appeal of Mexican culture actually mean? It essentially implies a transformation of traditional values, supported by popular art, into global and postmodern fetishes created by a private culture industry.

During the 1990s, ideology has ceased to function as a competitive feature of Mexican painting. Expressive innovations have renewed the stereotypes of traditional (indigenous) art, to provide Mexico's best competitive commodity on the international art market. Meanwhile, the abstract trends of Mexican painting and sculpture have not received due appreciation.

The "social realism" advocated by the muralists has now been largely discredited. A new muralism, essentially based on social themes related to individual social concerns, has tacitly excluded the possibility of including social and political themes in art, since political and public art has lost its value on the consumer market.

The "boom" of Mexican art in the United States

Since the 1987 financial crash, Mexico and the U.S. have experienced a private art "boom." Speculation and the appearance of galleries in the most important Mexican cities have transformed Mexican art into a lucrative product on the commodity market.

More than ever before, Mexican elites and private banks are showing considerable interest in funding the arts. As the Mexican economy continues to open up, giving way to increased privatization, Mexican art is becoming increasingly concentrated in the hands of a select few. The 1991 foundation of the MARCO (Contemporary Art Museum of Monterrey, Mexico), by a group of private collectors based in the city of Monterrey, is a good example of this situation.

In his excellent essay on Monterrey art during the 1980s, Kurt Hollander explains why we should consider this northern Mexican city (home to three of the four most important national industrial groups) as the core of a new North American cultural homogeneity: "Social status, rather than speculation, seems to be the driving force of the Monterrey art market, while the MARCO exhibition is the art collector's attempt at exhibiting local talent, side by side with the big names.... The museum is also a space for works that no longer fit on the crowded walls of the patio mansions.... The private sector is making all the decisions."²

"Mexico: splendors of thirty centuries" was shown in Monterrey and Mexico City. Although other Mexican cities with important vestiges of the pre-Columbian past would have been pleased to stage the exhibition, the MARCO was the first Mexican venue to receive this honor.

This might be a sign of a gradual cultural decentralization away from Mexico City. Meanwhile, the privatization of Mexican banks and the progress made by telecommunications have facilitated the concentration of finance and power in northern Mexico, due to the proximity of the U.S. market.

For example, in the 1990-1991 New York market price list, Frida Kahlo's 1947 "Self-portrait with flowing hair" fetched a record price of 1.65 million dollars at Christie's. The buyer was identified as Mauricio Fernández from Monterrey, whose mother, Margarita Garza Sada, is an art collector (*New York Times*, May 7, 1991).

Garza Sada is a very prestigious family name within the Monterrey elite. This family manages the Alfa corporation, which together with

the National Bank of Mexico (Banamex) is the most important Mexican art purchaser.

The privatization of Mexican banks also included their art collections. Most of these new financial groups have strong financial links with U.S. enterprise, meaning that a cultural interdependence between Mexico and the United States, based on economic factors, is now a reality.

Since the 1987 financial crash, the U.S. art market has also experienced a "boom" period. Selling paintings by renowned Latin Americans like Botero, Kahlo and Rivera has become a profitable business. Art investors have also purchased paintings from "unknown" Latin American artists, considering their works truly innovative.

The creation of myths in Mexican-American cultural relations

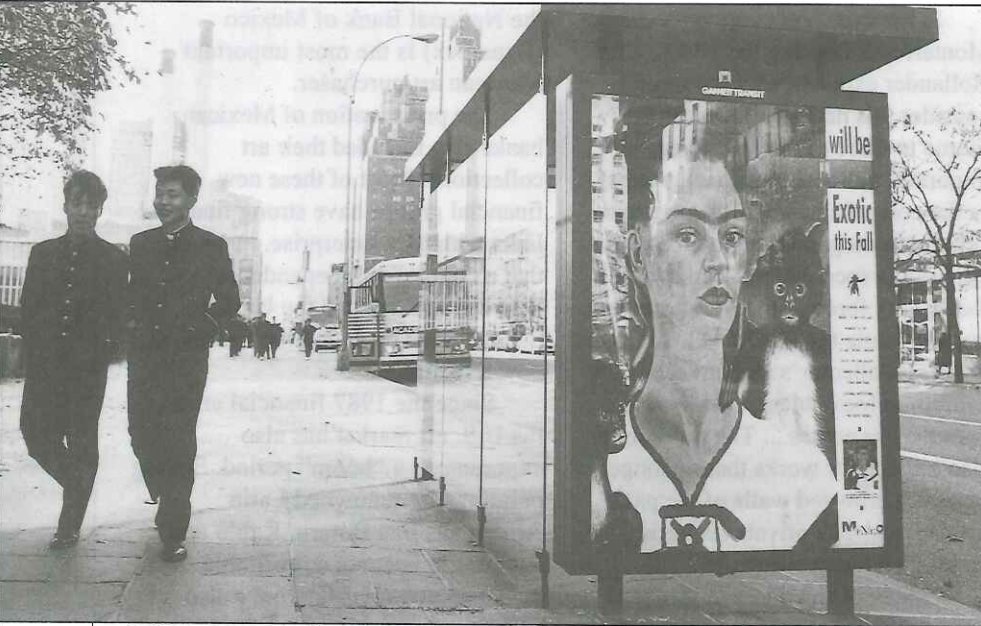
Since 1990, new images and myths have been created by the publicity industry as a means of improving the international perception of Mexican-American relations. One example of these fetishes is the use of Frida Kahlo's image by Mexican-American publishers, as a cosmopolitan depiction of a new cultural syncretism, known as Fridamania.

Raquel Tibol, one of Kahlo's biographers, says that when an artist becomes a myth, his or her image and work sell well on the art market. For Tibol, the myth surrounding Kahlo's image has reached such scandalous proportions that her personality and art as such have paled into relative insignificance.

Another Kahlo biographer, Hayden Herrera, tells us that "during her lifetime, Frida had only two solo gallery shows, and her work was bought mostly by friends. In 1978, 25 years later, she started to be honored with exhibitions around the world. Her extraordinary popularity in the last decade is closely linked to the

² Hollander, Kurt, "Art of the '80s in Monterrey," *Report from Mexico* 1. Art in America, 1991, p. 49.

Angela Caparros.

*Fridamania in the United States.*

feminist movement" (*New York Times*, October 10, 1990).

What Kahlo's painting offers to the public goes beyond the artistic values embodied in her work. Women in the United States and Mexico share a common feeling when they compare Frida's suffering with the real situation of women throughout the world. She is "the perfect woman for our time," a "political heroine," a "muse," a "victim," the "Mater Dolorosa" or a "martyred saint."

U.S. singer Madonna has a genuine obsession with Frida. Her long-standing dream to film Kahlo's life will probably come true. Madonna has signed a 60-million-dollar contract with Time Warner which includes this film project.

Another example of Fridamania is *Frida*, a musical performance sponsored by the American Music Theater Festival in Philadelphia during 1991.

As a response to Fridamania in the U.S., Mexico has organized a number of successful exhibitions of Kahlo's work. The most important was "Passion for Frida," staged at the Diego Rivera Museum in Mexico City, although the organizers refused

to consider it part of international Fridamania.

In accordance with the principles of postmodernism, the myth surrounding Frida Kahlo should be inscribed within the new consumer art culture. Like all consumer goods, Fridamania is not national; it is neither Mexican nor American. It is simply a part of a new North American identity.

Conclusions

Mexican-American cultural perceptions have rested on images and myths created specially by multinational companies, with the aim of homogenizing national identities. Is the cultural uniformity of both countries really a possibility? No, the new cultural world order is just a transitory period of post-Cold War history.

Speculation has been always a way of increasing the value of art on the market. Cultural speculation implies commercializing national identity: "It is a risky business in which Mexico could lose its soul," says Mexican novelist Fernando del Paso.

On seeing Kahlo's painting represented by the American flag at a Mexican-American exhibition at

Printemps in Paris, some intellectuals began to wonder if Mexican culture is also on the Free Trade negotiation table. They warned of the dangers stemming from Mexican cultural privatization: "Latin America celebrates its Quincentennial in 1992 by erasing its memory of the past and looking to U.S. culture" (*Excelsior*, March 21, 1992).

Perceptions of art and culture paradoxically form part of the influence of the cultural industry operating between Mexico and the United States. Will the Mexican artistic soul be transformed by trade negotiations? Indeed, we are already living through a process involving the "privatization" of ideology and identity. Cultural industries—such as radio, TV and cable, movies, publishing and some art industries—have frequently shown us a change of perception regarding Mexican culture.

The problem is how ideological monopolization will control cultural and political perceptions of society. The Mexican-American cultural model is based on market theories and free trade paradigms. Under the terms of this model, art is seen as a quantitative good, indirectly contributing to the increasing social chasm between those who have intellectual and/or monetary access to art and those who are denied such access.

Privatization of Mexican cultural policy is possible thanks to the economic recovery undertaken by new financial groups. U.S. perceptions on art are likely to be transformed by this model of cultural homogenization.

The current growth in cultural interdependence between the U.S. and Mexico might be a guarantee of improved cultural and democratic equality, which in the long run, may once again imbue popular art, as the root of each North American culture, with renewed validity ❧

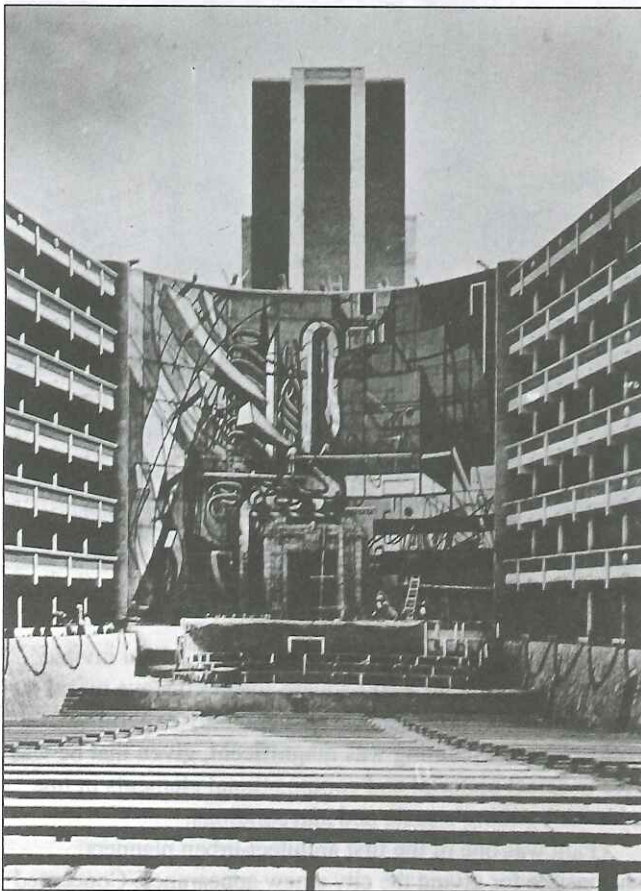
Alfredo Alvarez Padilla

Research Assistant at the CISAN, UNAM.

Mario Pani, Cantinflas and Cesar Chavez

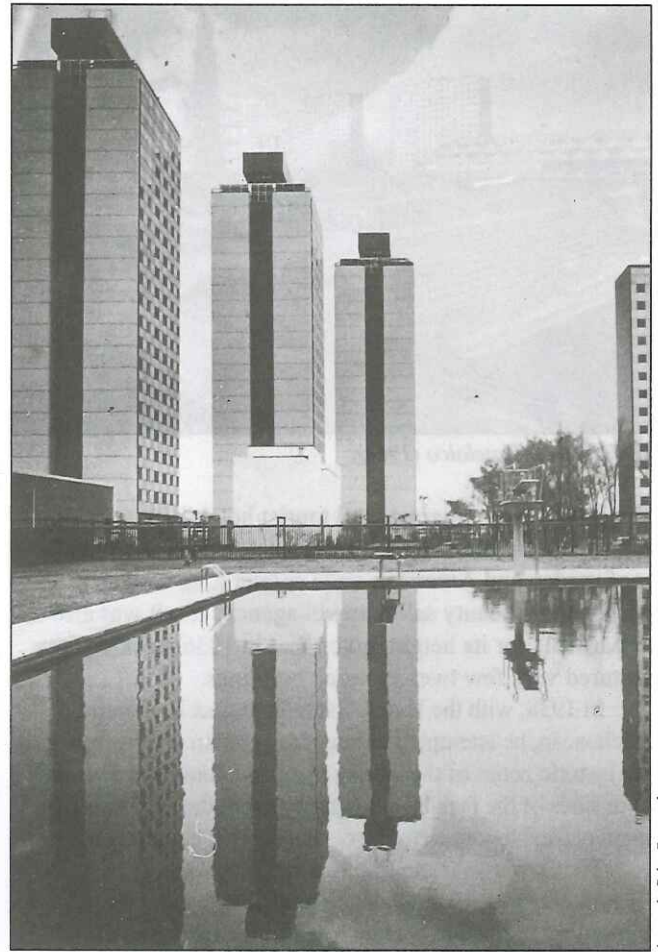
Mario Pani: architect and urban planner

Mario Pani Darqui, a promoter of modern architecture in Mexico and proponent of innovative concepts which changed the urban geography of the nation's capital city, died in Mexico City on February 23, 1993, at the age of 81.



G. Zamora.

National Teachers' college (1947).



Armando Salas Portugal.

View of Tlatelolco (1964).

Always in the vanguard, he used his intuition to identify the problems faced by urban development in Mexico City—housing demand, zoning changes, the elimination of green areas, among others—offering new concepts and fresh solutions for handling them.

Pani was responsible for the construction of the first international hotel (1936), the first housing project (1948), the first condominium (1956), and the first cooperative housing complex, known as the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Unit (1964), a complex which was seriously damaged in the 1985 Mexico City earthquake.

Born in the capital in 1911, he spent part of his childhood and youth in Europe. He studied architecture at the School of Fine Arts in Paris, returning to Mexico after earning his degree in 1934.

Despite his youth and the hostility shown him by certain members of the profession, Pani demonstrated his ability by submitting his work in competitions, winning first prize on a number of occasions.

At the age of twenty-four, he made his debut as an architect with the construction of the Hotel Reforma.

Armando Salas Portugali.



Old and new Tlatelolco (1964).

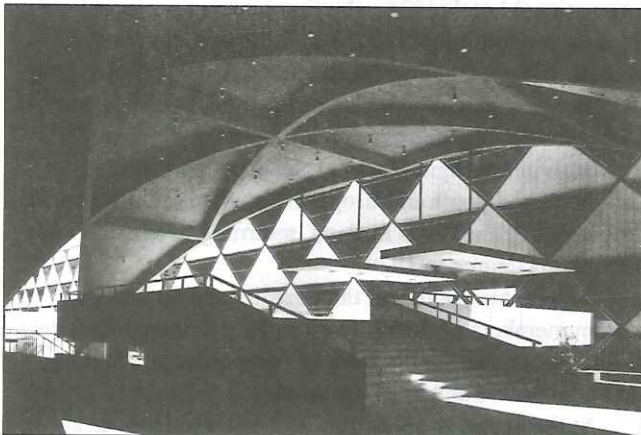
Conceived as an international tourist hotel, it was the first in the country to offer such services as a convention hall, roof garden and American-style cafeteria, as well as a barber shop, beauty salon, travel agency, etc. It was also remarkable for its height, given that in 1936, Mexico City featured very few twelve-storey buildings.

In 1938, with the Hotel Alameda project in Morelia, Michoacán, he attempted to integrate modern architecture into the historic zones of the city by placing colonial porticos on both sides of the façade, in alignment with the angles of the main plaza. Nevertheless, he considered his attempt a failure.

That same year, he founded the magazine *Arquitectura/México*. Over the next forty years, the bimonthly magazine was devoted to the diffusion of opinions and information on Mexican architecture.

In 1944 he participated in the first interdisciplinary team formed to plan the construction of a nation-wide hospital network. Using the experience of U.S. hospitals as a starting point, the National Hospital Plan proposed the construction of a model hospital to serve as a prototype for the entire nation, with special adaptations to the resources and needs of the different regions.

G. Zamora.



IMSS hospital in Tlatelolco (1964).

From 1943 to 1946 he also worked with the Administrative Committee of the Federal Schools Program of the Ministry of Public Education. He headed the modernization of the National Teachers' School in Mexico City, where he built the auditorium and the first classroom-observation rooms in Latin America.

Besides providing sufficient room for large numbers of conference-goers and students, the auditorium is an excellent example of the integration of painting and sculpture with architecture through José Clemente Orozco's mural *El mestizaje*.



G. Zamora.

The first condominium in Mexico (1956).

As a proponent of "plastic integration," Pani invited Orozco to contribute a 100-square-meter concave mural for the auditorium. The painter's first and only experiment with sculptural painting was magnificent, given that he was able to select pictorial and compositional elements in line with the building's scale and surroundings.

Pani was one of the first architect-urban planners responsible for giving the city a new appearance. Concerned about rapid population growth, he foresaw, before many

others, the problem this would pose for the city and its inhabitants, and thus took the then audacious step of building the first multi-family housing project (1949). Despite criticism, Pani was convinced of the need to achieve greater density in Mexico City, by optimizing the use of space, in order to provide the greatest benefit to city inhabitants.

On a 4,000-meter site originally earmarked for the construction of 200 houses for federal employees, Pani suggested the building of a complex of structures containing 1,000 apartments.

With a density of 1,000 inhabitants per hectare, 20 percent of the site was used for construction, while the remainder was reserved for green areas. With a solid structure and materials which have withstood the passage of time, the housing project known as the President Miguel Alemán Urban Complex is a pioneering example of urbanist-architectural solutions. Pani also built the Model Housing Unit (1948) and the second Journalists' Residential section (1949).

In collaboration with Salvador Ortega, he created the President Juárez Urban Center, which collapsed in the 1985 earthquake, and the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Urban Complex (1964), which was also seriously damaged.

Despite criticism of the conceptualization, scale, urban density and architectural style of the Tlatelolco complex, built in one of the oldest areas of Mexico City, Pani defended the validity of the project until his death.

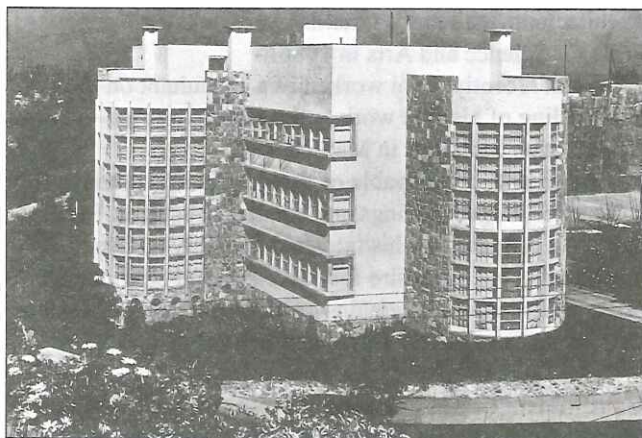
Based on detailed studies, the complex was designed to improve traditional housing—small complexes with bad ventilation, poor land use and a lack of green areas—without altering the sense of community characterizing the older neighborhoods of Mexico City. "Tlatelolco," Pani said, "has the philosophy of a *barrio*, on a million-square-meter lot."

With a density of 800 inhabitants per hectare, Tlatelolco was built as a series of high-rises, so as to use land space rationally and provide efficient, decent housing in a well-ventilated area, while reserving 60 percent of the site for green areas.

Divided into three zones, the complex offers all of the services required for family life: a church, schools, hospitals, businesses, meeting halls, parks and pathways. Due to its size and integration, the complex earned the rank of the fourteenth largest city in Mexico in 1964.

Pani held that the damage to the buildings which resulted from inadequate maintenance of control pilots did not "finish off" Tlatelolco—precisely due to the community spirit of its residents, a spirit which survived the 1985 disaster, and spurred calls for the reconstruction of the complex.

Other notable works by Pani include the Ministry of Water Resources building and the Acapulco airport, the latter a joint project with Enrique de Moral. He also created an office building located at the corner of Reforma and LaFragua in Mexico City, which incorporates the work of



Apartments in Las Lomas (1942).

G. Zamora.

Jesús García Collantes, as well as the National Conservatory of Music. Both were built in 1946.

With Enrique del Moral, Pani co-directed the overall construction project at University City, and designed the Rectory Tower (1950-1952).

Pani is also responsible for the introduction of the condominium concept to Mexico, as a means of financing construction in the face of rising land costs.

In his work as an urban planner, Pani helped promote territorial planning, writing regulatory plans for several provincial cities. In 1962 he was named chief architect of the architectural and urban projects of the National Borders Program, and was one of the first to advocate regulated development in the border cities.

He used his Workshop and teaching activities to educate several generations of young architects. He was a professor at the School of Architecture of UNAM (1940-1948, 1969 and 1976), also teaching at Anáhuac University.

A founding member of the Association of Mexican Architects, he also participated actively in the Mexican Society of Architects. In 1985 he received the National



The National Conservatory of Music (1946).

G. Zamora.

Architecture Academy's Grand Award, and the National Prize for Science and Arts in 1986.

Most recently, Pani worked as a consultant on the remodelling of his first work—the Hotel Reforma—as well as other buildings in Mexico City.

As an architect capable of designing large urban complexes, large buildings and smaller structures, Pani's work—a reflection of his interest in the city and its inhabitants, and his desire for a liveable and harmonious urban environment—remains on the landscape of Mexico City, as an example for future generations.

Cantinflas: “Could you please explain what I just said?”

Mario Moreno Reyes, better known as Cantinflas, died in Mexico City on April 20, 1993, at the age of 81.

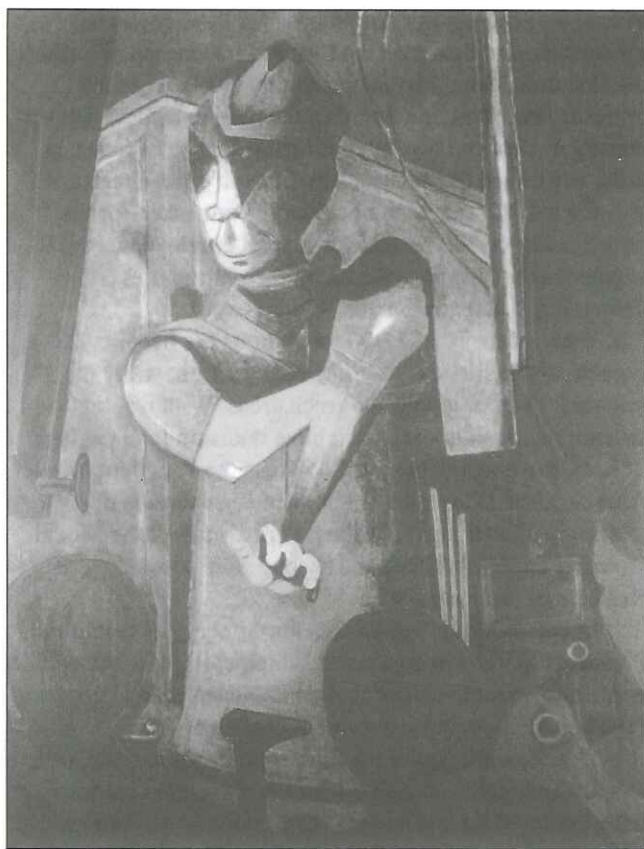
The character he portrayed—famous for his unique way of expressing himself, which consisted of talking a lot without saying anything—gave rise to three new words: the noun *cantinflas*, the adjective *cantinflesco* and the verb *cantinflear*. Accepted by Spain's Royal Academy of Language, these words are included in the latest edition of the dictionary of the Spanish language.

Mario Moreno was born in Mexico City on August 12, 1911. Since his family was large and had to struggle to make ends meet—his father was a postal employee who had to travel from town to town, his mother a housewife—starting at a young age Moreno had to work to help pay the family's expenses. He was always proud of his humble origins.

His life story is peppered with anecdotes that have become legendary with the passage of time. When he finished grade school he was unsuccessful in his attempts to continue his studies. He worked at several trades, from assistant shoemaker and barber to pool-hall employee and cab driver, also serving as an altar boy. He even did a stint as a boxer—earning a small fortune (30 or 40 pesos) for getting knocked out “from the get-go” in “opener” matches.

He made his first appearance on the stage at the age of fifteen, when he accompanied his father on one of his trips to Veracruz. The original plan was for Moreno to remain in the port city to learn the postal worker's trade. However, he decided that wasn't for him and took off for the city of Xalapa, where he got his first job working in a *carpa*.¹ Some say what really happened was that he ran away from home and after working at various trades

¹ *Carpas* (literally, tents) are traveling variety shows featuring dancers, singers and comedians. Typical audience favorites include parodies on the news, current events and public figures—among them politicians, performers or well-known businessmen. A distinctive trait of the *carpas* is that they allow for direct communication between the audience and the performers. The audience, usually made up of people from the surrounding neighborhood, is quite demanding, and, if the show is not to its liking, will boo the performers and even throw things at the stage.



Rufino Tamayo, Portrait of Cantinflas (1948).

TIE / UNAM

discovered his true vocation dancing and singing in provincial *carpas*.

His discovery as a comedian was accidental. During one performance he was so nervous that he blurted out a series of nonsensical phrases that struck the audience as extremely funny, setting the pattern for what would be his unmistakable style.

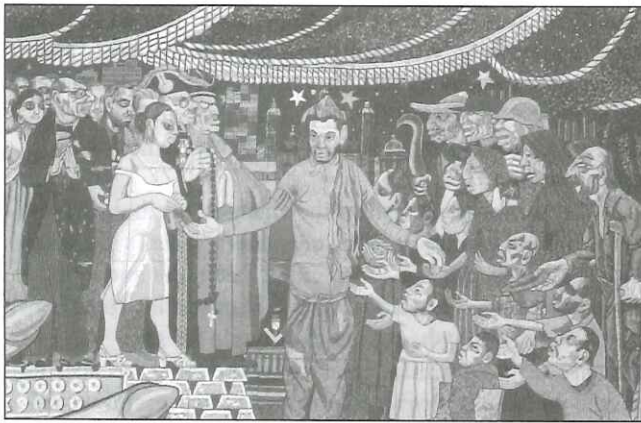
Since being a comedian was considered socially unacceptable, the name Mario Moreno never appeared on show programs, so that his family would not find out what he was doing. This was one of the reasons he adopted the stage name Cantinflas.

Stories differ as to the origin of this name, but all agree that it arose from a play on words with the audience during one of his shows. Since his speeches were incoherent and resembled the ramblings of a drunk, the audience often yelled something like “*en la cantina inflas*.”² This phrase was shortened to make a single word: Cantinflas.

At the age of seventeen he made his Mexico City debut in the “La Valentina” *carpa*, where he met the only woman he was ever to marry, Valentina Ivanova, a

² In Mexican slang *inflar* (to inflate) is a synonym for drinking. Thus, *en la cantina inflas* is roughly equivalent to “You’ve been boozing it up at the bar.”

HIE / UNAM.



Diego Rivera, Mural at the Insurgentes Theater, detail.

ballerina of Russian background whose father seems to have been the owner of the *carpa*. After working in bit parts in several variety acts, Moreno's character Cantinflas began to acquire fame and popularity. Cantinflas made his appearance as a parodist for the first time in the "Rosete" *carpa*.

His character was marked by the malicious and sarcastic air adopted by many Mexicans from working-class neighborhoods in the 1930s. His attire consisted of a worn-out white sweatshirt, a rag draped over his shoulders and proudly dubbed his "mackintosh," patched and sagging trousers held up by a string in place of a belt. To round this off he wore a pair of old shoes, a neckerchief and a hat of uncertain shape.

When speaking he adopted a characteristic stance: on foot, crossing one leg over the other, he would rest his right elbow on his left hand while holding the burning stub of a cigarette, simulating deep thought. It was in this get-up and posture that Cantinflas was immortalized by the Mexican painter Rufino Tamayo. For Mexican writer Carlos Monsiváis, "Cantinflas is the malicious, cynical, inoffensive and tender version of the *pelado* (the 'skinless one', who has nothing and wears nothing), one of the historical manifestations of the urban pariah."

His public identified with him, admiring the mental agility he displayed in getting out of sticky situations through wit and quick repartee. Mario Moreno defined his character as "an uncultured and uneducated person, who nonetheless speaks out, is a person of good will, wants to help, wants to be important, seeks to do something in life."

His speaking style was simultaneously a parody and a critique of the way in which professional politicians and trade-union leaders expressed themselves. According to Cantinflas himself, "I wound up giving a name to a style which was used then and still is today. It's linked to politicians because it is a way of speaking without committing yourself, a way of saying a lot without saying anything."

In 1937 he participated in the polemics between Vicente Lombardo Toledano and Luis N. Morones, the leaders of the two most important trade-union federations of that period—the *CTM* and the *CROC*. In an effort to discredit Morones, Lombardo Toledano challenged him to prove his "dialectical ability" by debating with Cantinflas. The comedian agreed to take part and made a speech which went down in history as the most famous of his *cantinfladas*:

The first thing I did was to think about going to see Lombardo to ask him what the objective was... but then I thought... well, no! Because thinking it over, to tell the truth, he couldn't have chosen a better person than me to solve the solution of the problem... because, as I was saying, naturally, given that if he can't work things out and he says a lot, the same thing happens with me and I never get anywhere...

Ah, but I should like to point out that I do have moments of lucidity during which I speak quite clearly. And now I will speak clearly.... Comrades! There are moments in life which are truly momentaneous... and it is not a question of saying so, but rather that we must see for ourselves! What do we see? That is what must be seen... because what a coincidence it would be, comrades, if we were to suppose—and let us not say that it could come to pass—but one must indeed ponder and comprehend the physiology of life in order to analogize the synthesis of humanity. Am I right or wrong? Well, that is the point!...

That is why I believe, brothers and sisters, and you will be in accord with me on this, that if this comes to pass... because it could... and it's not nice to send it back... that it must be shown, as the saying says (I wish I could remember what it is that the saying says!), and this being said, I hope that just as I heed the call of something I cannot recall, we must all unite for the unification of the emancipated ideology which fights... What does it fight for, comrades?... Let's just take a look here... you will recall that on September 15... which to a certain degree has nothing to do with what we're discussing here... but one must be prepared because that's how life is and that's how I am.... And how am I, brothers and sisters? A worker, a proletarian for the cause of labor which strives to drive toward the same cause.... And now we must see the cause why we are here today....

So now comrades, brothers and sisters, my friends... could you please explain what I just said?

He made his first appearance on the silver screen in 1936, when the director Miguel Contreras invited him to play a supporting role in the movie *No te engañes corazón* (Don't fool yourself, dear). In 1937 he appeared in *Así es mi tierra* (My land is like this) and *Aguila o sol* (Eagle or

sun), under the direction of Arcady Boytler. In 1939 he made *El signo de la muerte* (The sign of death) as well as several short features. The following year he appeared in *Ahí está el detalle* (That is the question), his first big hit.

In the course of his artistic career he was to make more than 45 movies. In 1939 he founded his own production company—Posa Films—in partnership with Jacques Gelman and Santiago Reachi. From then on he worked with an ongoing team consisting of Miguel M. Delgado as director and Jaime Salvador as screenwriter, with the occasional help of Carlos León. In his movies Cantinflas appears in such guises as matador and boxer as well as making parodies of the “classics”: *The three musketeers* (1942) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1943).

In the forties the Cantinflas character achieved popularity beyond Mexico’s borders, reaching into most of the Spanish-speaking world. *The circus* (1942), a parody of Charles Chaplin’s film of the same name, won him the praise of Chaplin himself, who called him the best comedian in the world.

In the presidential elections of 1946 and 1952, thousands of citizens voted for Cantinflas, writing in his name as an independent candidate. At the same time, he enjoyed growing prestige as a philanthropist and man of the people. It is said that every Saturday there were long lines of needy people waiting at the doors of his house, in one of Mexico City’s most luxurious neighborhoods, to receive food and other assistance from Cantinflas.

A big fan of the bull fights, his appearances in *toreo bufo* (comic bull fights) filled the stadiums. Commenting on these shows in his own special style, he said:

A bull is a serious thing. That I can assure you. So serious that I’ve never seen a bull laugh. This is not to say that the fiesta isn’t full of happiness and things that make you laugh.... What does this mean?... That there are happy bulls!... Or haven’t you ever read that the bull charged happily?... On the other hand no one has ever heard of a bull dying because it was overcome by sadness.

The actor was also known for his fight for the independence and integrity of the film producers’ union. In 1945, together with the singer Jorge Negrete and the photographer Gabriel Figueroa, he led a movement which split the Union of Film Production Workers away from the Union of Film Industry Workers. The latter, affiliated to the Mexican Federation of Labor (CTM), was accused of mismanagement and union corruption.

In the fifties, fame and fortune began to make deep changes in Mario Moreno, which led to changes in Cantinflas as well. Mario Moreno became a well-to-do businessman, the friend of presidents, pampered pet of the press, and Cantinflas gave up one of his distinctive traits—his attire—while making his movies reflect a

moralistic view of reality in which humor tended to give way to solemnity. According to Carlos Monsiváis, “His audience stands by the original mythology; for them there will only be one Cantinflas. The other variations were welcome enough, but at the basic level were not taken into account.”

Mario Moreno defended the changes, attributing them to the natural evolution of his character: “That is the same Mario Moreno, the same Cantinflas, just older and with more enemies.... Cantinflas has not betrayed his roots, since from the beginning he set out to struggle for self-improvement. Cantinflas cannot stay the same, because the people who don’t forgive him for being successful would also reproach him for failing to evolve, for becoming obsolete, and it wouldn’t work, since the times when he started out now belong to the past.”

In 1953 he inaugurated the Insurgentes Theater with the musical review *I, Columbus*. His figure appears at the center of the mural by Diego Rivera which adorns the theater’s façade. Despite its success, this would be Cantinflas’ last theater performance.

In 1955 Cantinflas made his Hollywood debut. His friend Mike Todd—Moreno was Todd’s witness at his marriage to Liz Taylor in Acapulco—invited him to appear in the extravaganza *Around the world in eighty days*, together with David Niven, Marlene Dietrich, Frank Sinatra and an international cast of characters. In 1960 he got the starring role in *Pepe*, directed by George Sidney, with 35 co-stars from among the period’s leading performers, such as Maurice Chevalier, Bing Crosby, Tony Curtis and Frank Sinatra.

These efforts were met with bad reviews, both in Mexico and abroad, marking the end of his Hollywood career. Nevertheless, his footprint can still be seen outside the Chinese Theater on the Avenue of the Stars in Los Angeles.

He made his last movie, *El barrendero* (The streetsweeper), in 1981, after which he devoted himself entirely to his business interests and charity work. For children, he produced 104 five-minute animated shorts on educational topics, called the “Cantinflas Show,” as well as making a record to raise funds for UNICEF.

Moreno received many awards and honors. President Lyndon B. Johnson invited him to stay at the White House, an honor which the comic said “made me sleepless, since I felt like the CIA was spying on me, and I thought that if they discovered what I was dreaming they’d throw me out.”

For conferring dignity on the role of police in society, in his movies *El gendarme desconocido* (The unknown gendarme) and *El patrullero 777* (Patrol Car 777), he was named an honorary member of the Guatemalan police and the honorary chief of the Colombian police. He was made doctor honoris causa by the University of Michigan and

received the title of "Mr. Amigo" in Brownsville and "Mr. International" in Laredo, Texas. For his sympathetic portrayal of the priestly life in his movie *El padrecito* (The little father), in 1981 he was made an honorary member of the presbytery.

The government of Venezuela awarded him the prize of the Order of the Liberator Simón Bolívar. The Organization of American States named him "Ambassador of Peace." He was given the keys to the cities of Washington, Paris, Bogotá and San Juan. In 1983 a film festival of all his movies was presented in New York.

In Mexico he received the Golden Ariel in 1987, in recognition of his artistic contributions. His death prevented him from receiving the Príncipe de Asturias prize for the arts. Nominated in 1992, he was expected to win the prize this year, but his candidacy was suspended upon his death, since the title is not awarded posthumously.

Considered the most universal comic working in the Spanish language, his death was mourned by government leaders, politicians, artists, the mass media and the citizens of Spain and all Latin American countries.

In Mexico City there were tumultuous outpourings of grief. Members of his family, friends, artists, politicians, streetsweepers, firemen, policemen and common people came to bid farewell to the comic who, years before, had written his own epitaph: "It looks like he's gone but it's not true."

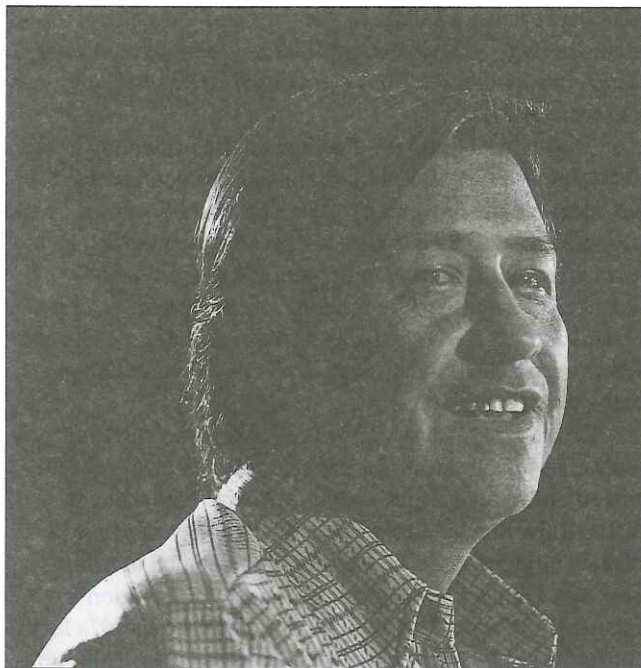
Cesar Chavez, a man committed to "the cause"

Cesar Chavez, founder and leader of the United Farm Workers (UFW), the first union in the history of the United States that managed to achieve substantial improvements in living and working conditions for farm workers, died in San Luis, Arizona, on April 22, at the age of 66.

Chavez was born on March 31, 1927, on a small farm near Yuma, Arizona. His life as a migrant farm worker began when he was only ten, after his father lost the family farm due to economic problems caused by the Depression. Chavez's family, like many others, moved to California, doing migrant farm labor along the way. Chavez left school after eighth grade so he could work to help his family.

He joined the U.S. Navy in 1945 and served in the Western Pacific. In 1948, he married Helen Escobedo, whom he met while working in the vineyards in Delano, California. They settled in the "Sal si puedes" (Get out if you can) district of San Jose.

From 1952 to 1962, Chavez worked in the Community Service Organization (CSO), formed by Mexican-Americans in California for the promotion of actions to benefit slum dwellers. During this time, he organized new chapters in California and Arizona, coordinating the registration of voters of Mexican origin and fighting discrimination against Chicanos.



Rick Tejada-Flores & Gayanne Fietinghoff.

Chavez gained the sympathy of liberals, civil rights activists and political figures such as Robert F. Kennedy.

In the late 50's, Chavez was named national director of the organization, but he resigned in the early 60's to set up an organization for the defense of farm workers. Together with his wife and their eight children, he moved to Delano, where he founded the National Farm Workers' Association, later UFW. Although the organization consisted mainly of migrant workers of Mexican origin, there were also members of other minorities.

Chavez overcame numerous obstacles in his efforts to recruit members to his union. He worked in the fields on weekdays and spent the weekends visiting the fields, trying to convince workers of the benefits of joining together to improve their living conditions. Chavez used to say, "If you're outraged at conditions, then you can't possibly be free or happy until you devote all your time to changing them and do nothing but that. But you can't change anything if you want to hold on to a good job, a good way of life and avoid sacrifice."

In 1965, the union joined the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers' Organizing Committee in the strike against vineyard owners in the Delano area. The following year, Chavez organized a pilgrimage from Delano to Sacramento, the capital of California, to seek the governor's help, recruit members for his organization and make his struggle known to the American people in order to enlist their support.³

³ The NFWA and AWOC merged in 1966 to become the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee (UFWOC), which later became the United Farm Workers (UFW).

Marchers carried a banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the Mexican flag and an Aztec eagle as a symbol of their fight for *la causa*; other religious symbols as well as the American flag were also used.

Chavez's tactics soon drew the public's attention to the ill-treatment suffered by immigrant and undocumented farm workers, and the movement was given broad coverage by the national press. Chavez's non-violent approach (which he maintained until the very end) gained him the sympathy of liberals, civil rights activists and political figures such as Senator Robert F. Kennedy, as well as religious, student and labor organizations. Their support was to be a crucial factor in the union's successes.

Farmers retaliated by hiring illegal workers, firing workers who supported the strike, and even carrying out acts of physical violence against strikers. This made it difficult for Chavez to persuade the majority of grape-pickers to join the strike. He therefore decided to use a boycott to put pressure on farmers beyond the union's sphere of influence. With public opinion in Chavez's favor, consumer response was decisive. In 1968, grape sales on the domestic market had dropped 12%; by 1969, grape sales in California had fallen by over 15%.

In May 1970, vineyard owners decided to negotiate with Chavez's union. Agreements signed by the union involved more than 3,000 farm workers and 3,070 acres of vineyards in the farming valleys of California and Arizona. The same boycott tactic was later used successfully against lettuce growers.

By 1971, the union had signed a number of contracts with farmers in California, New Mexico and Arizona and was affiliated to the AFL-CIO.

In 1973, the union began to lose ground because of internal dissent and competition from the Teamsters. The Teamsters signed an agreement with farmers to take over UFW contracts that were due to expire. Chavez appealed to public opinion and the Chicano community, and publicly announced that defense against the Teamsters was *la causa* of all Chicanos.

From that time until his death, Chavez fought for the survival of the union, facing attacks from farmers, competition from the Teamsters, as well as the UFW's own ups and downs. "Farm workers will never again be treated like agricultural implements to be used and discarded," Chavez said. "We have tasted freedom and dignity and we will fight to the end before we give it up. We have come too far and we have too much further to go to give up now!"

Thanks to Chavez's efforts, many farm workers obtained better wages, medical coverage and some protection from harmful chemicals such as pesticides. However, the majority continue to work under conditions of poverty and abuse.

The UFW leader went on hunger strikes three times as a tactic on behalf of farm workers' rights. Chavez's last hunger strike was in 1988, at the age of 61, to protest the use of pesticides responsible for cancer and other diseases among children and adults working in the fields.

In 1990, Chavez was awarded the Aztec Eagle by the Mexican government for his contribution to the respect of human rights and the dignity of undocumented Mexicans, and to social justice and non-violence. In the same year the Mexican government signed a contract with the union to provide medical service in Mexico, through the Mexican Institute of Social Security, to families of Mexican workers that emigrate to California.

Chavez's death was mourned by thousands of farm workers, politicians and union leaders. A funeral procession over three miles long accompanied his body to its last resting place. Even Chavez's former opponents paid homage to the man who was committed to a cause he regarded more highly than his own well-being and to which he devoted his whole life ✕

Elsie L. Montiel
Assistant Editor.


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Novedades

creación literaria

EL CANTAR DEL PECADOR

Beatriz ESPEJO

Es una colección de cuentos en los que los principales protagonistas son personajes femeninos. El desarrollo se da en pequeñas ciudades de provincia situadas entre Puebla y Veracruz. Hay en estos cuentos un delicado ambiente de misterio.

sociología y política

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Blas Galindo, prolific composer

The Mexican composer Blas Galindo Dimas, internationally famous for his *Sones de mariachi* (Mariachi songs) (1940), died on April 19 at the age of 83.

Born the same year as the Mexican Revolution began, in San Gabriel (now Venustiano Carranza), Jalisco, Galindo took part in the Revolution during his adolescence. In 1928 he organized the village band.

The great musician Carlos Chávez commented on this stage of Galindo's life: "While he was with San Gabriel's little wind instrument band, Galindo learned to solve practical matters on his own and acquired the instrumental experience that was to serve as the basis for his technique."

At the age of twenty-one, he went to Mexico City and joined the National Conservatory. In 1933, at the age of 23, he produced his first work, *Suite for violin and cello*. The following year, he formed "The Group of Four" with Salvador Contreras, Daniel Anaya and José Pablo Moncayo, which met twice a month to criticize each other's work. In order to improve his technique, Galindo studied composition with Aaron Copland at the Berkshire Music Center in Lennox, Massachusetts.

Regarded as the last representative of "Mexican nationalism,"¹ Galindo produced compositions inspired not only by his country but also by literature. Some of the most important include *Mexican overture II*, *Cantata to Juárez*, *Song to Justo Sierra*, *The City of the Gods* (written for a sound and light show at the Teotihuacan pyramids), *The vow* (based on *The wen*, a short story by Juan Rulfo), *Homage to Rubén Darío*, *Homage to Juan Rulfo*, *Homage to Cervantes* and *Pablo Neruda's Poem XX*.

In addition to his symphonic works, Galindo's musical legacy includes works for orchestra, cantatas, pieces for band and voices, music for ballet, theater and cinema, chamber music, and works for piano and a *capella* choir.

¹ "As with all kinds of nationalism, Mexican nationalism began as a search for a musical identity. It developed in the 20's as an expression of social postulates and stylistic and aesthetic definitions that did not appear in European forms of nationalism." Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *Rostros del nacionalismo en la música mexicana* (Faces of nationalism in Mexican music). Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1989.

The composer Mario Lavista suggests that new generations of musicians should review and assess some of Galindo's lesser-known works, such as his preludes for piano, his songs and sonatas. According to the tenor José Guadalupe Reyes, Galindo's vocal music is superb; his works are well-loved by choral groups.

Carlos Chávez (1899-1978)

At the age of fifteen, Carlos Chávez wrote *Symphony for orchestra* and a few arrangements of Mexican music, including *La Adelita* and *La cucaracha*. He eventually wrote a total of 87 musical compositions.

Between 1926 and 1928, Chávez lived in New York. In July of 1928 he founded the Mexican Symphony Orchestra, which he conducted until 1949. During that time, he introduced the public to 255 pieces by composers from around the world and 82 Mexican works that had hitherto not been played in Mexico. He often allowed younger conductors to perform in his place, in addition to inviting many others from abroad.

From 1928 to 1935, Chávez was director of the National Conservatory of Music. From 1946 to 1952, he was director of the National Institute of Fine Arts, the establishment of which he had helped plan. He also served as guest conductor of the Lima, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Madrid, Vienna and Berlin symphony orchestras.

In 1959, Chávez held the Poetry Chair at Harvard, previously occupied by Stravinsky, Hindemith and Copland. He was visiting professor at the University of Buffalo and member of the National College. He wrote *Toward a new music* (New York, 1937) and *Musical thought* (Cambridge, 1961), which was later translated into Spanish.

Taken from the *Enciclopedia de México*.

Mario Lavista

Among contemporary composers, Mario Lavista is one of the most dedicated and authentic within the controversial world of Mexican music.

He was born in Mexico City in 1943; studied composition under Carlos Chávez and Héctor Quintanar and, at the National Conservatory of Music, under Rodolfo Halffter. Later he went to Paris, where he studied under Olivier Messiaen and Nadia Boulanger, and to Cologne, studying under the experimentalist Karl Heinz Stockhausen.

From 1970 to 1972 he was a member of Quanta, the musical improvisation group that gave microtonal music concerts, playing instruments created by Julián Carrillo. He was also invited, in 1972, to perform experimental works at Japan Radio-Television's Electronic Music Laboratory.

From 1974 to 1975 Mario Lavista was Chairman of the Music Department at Mexico's National University; in 1987 he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Fernando Alvarez del Castillo
Sub-director of the Library of Mexico.

As a music student, Galindo showed a preference for the piano. However, in later life he preferred using musical instruments as a basis for his compositions to playing them himself, leading Carlos Chávez to remark rather wistfully, "The preludes have a feeling for piano that one would expect from a composer with a long experience of piano-playing. However, this is not the case with Galindo: he has had more experience on the instrumental and vocal side.

"In any case, this makes one regret the fact that circumstances did not further encourage the composer's development as a pianist. If Galindo managed to have such a great feeling for piano without being a pianist, what would it have been like if he had been a pianist?"

However, his most famous piece was *Sones de mariachi*, a combination of *La negra*, *El zopilote* and *Los cuatro reales*, composed for flute, violins and mariachi ensemble. Its first performance at the "Twenty centuries of Mexican art" exhibition at the New York Museum of Modern Art was so successful that it was immediately recorded by Columbia Records and distributed worldwide.

Pianist, teacher, conductor, director of the National Conservatory of Music and founder of the magazine *Nuestra música* (Our music), Galindo devoted his life to composing, as can be seen by the vast collection of

works he left: 156 published works and some 60 unpublished pieces.

Blas Galindo always used to say he was "doing a bit of music." He would get up at seven, walk for an hour and begin the task of creating music, to which he devoted some eight to ten hours every day, even on weekends. He had intended not to leave any unfinished work, but at his death, five of his projects were still incomplete.

Galindo's discipline and dedication were rewarded by numerous tributes, awards and prizes. To mention just a few, he received the Order of Knight Commander of Poland, the National Prize for Science and Arts, First Prize in Composition in Caracas, Venezuela, for his composition, *Symphony No. 2*, and the Gabriela Mistral prize from the Organization of American States. He was a founding member of the Arts Academy and vice-chairman of the Society of Authors and Composers.

A book on the life and works of Blas Galindo is shortly to be published by the National Center for Musical Research, Documentation and Information, as part of its series "Great Masters of Mexican Music." ❧

Marybel Toro Gayol
Managing Editor.

Explicación de textos literarios

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The 21st Century National Medical Center

Thirty years ago the National Medical Center (NMC) was founded in Mexico City to provide workers with medical and hospital services. When the September 19, 1985 earthquake severely damaged NMC, it seemed that the Center's twenty-four-year record of uninterrupted service might suffer the same fate as its buildings. Yet despite the earthquake, NMC's doctors, scientists and workers continued to carry out their duties.

Seven years later, on April 27, 1992, the Mexican Institute of Social Security's (IMSS) 21st Century National Medical Center (21C-NMC) opened its doors.

The first thing that strikes the observer upon entering the complex from the subway is its magnificent art gallery. There are works by José Chávez Morado and Luis Nishisawa, a mural by Luis y Aragón and a stunning stained-glass window by Jesús Ruiz Mejía. Siqueiros' "Eulogy to the future rectory of medical science against cancer" looks dramatically to the future while the "Memorial to the workers who died on September 19, 1985" recalls the tragedy of the past. There is a beautifully designed garden with an excellent sculpture collection.

The 21C-NMC uses a sophisticated system of electric cars to transport staff, patients and visitors within the huge complex, which includes Cardiology, Oncology, Specialty and Pediatric hospitals, pharmacies, a cafeteria and exhibition square, administration buildings and a volunteer center, several parking lots,

the National Academies of Medicine and Surgery, as well as an impressive conference center, temporarily used for meetings of the Mexican Congress' House of Deputies. The complex occupies over 22,000 square meters and cost over 200 million dollars to build.

We present below our interviews with the directors of the four hospitals that are part of the 21st Century National Medical Center.

Cardiology hospital

● *Dinorah Issak*: How did Mexico achieve international recognition in the area of cardiology?

■ *Dr. Rubén Argüero*: It took a number of decades. Mexico was a pioneer in electrocardiology and vectocardiology. Since the 60's we have trained thousands of Mexican

and foreign cardiologists. This was our first step toward achieving prestige in clinical and research fields. Then the IMSS created Mexico's first Heart Surgery Center at the former NMC. That was a magic moment: we were suddenly able to perform 1,200 open-heart surgeries a year, instead of only 446. The most impressive change occurred with the opening of the Thorax Infections Hospital, the first of its kind in Latin America, where the first heart transplant in Mexico took place.

● *DI*: As director of the cardiology hospital, what are the most important tasks that you would like to see it focus on?

■ *RA*: We want to make it a different kind of hospital; one that would be academically and clinically outstanding. One example is our work



Francisco Zúñiga, Medical allegory, detail (aluminum, 1958).

Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.

Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.



Luis Nishizawa, Air is life (acrylic, 1958).

in the area of cardiomyoplasty, an alternative to heart transplants for patients who are not suitable transplant candidates.

Cardiomyoplasty consists of removing a muscle from the chest and placing it around the heart so that it can be made to contract and thus cause the heart to contract when stimulated by signals received from an electronic device.

We are also pioneers in microcirculation, a technique which eliminates the need for large amounts of blood. We are conducting research in this area in conjunction with Munich University. We are also researching ways of preserving transplant organs for longer periods of time. We are working on a joint project with UNAM to perfect a laser-beam system for correcting previously untreatable cases of arrhythmia. This system has already been successfully tested, offering the

Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.



José Chávez Morado, Homage to rescue (1988-1989).

hope of increased life expectancy, not only in cardiac patients, but also in cancer patients.

● *DI*: An operation's success may often depend on the patient's psychological state. Do you do

well-known for their kindness and affection toward our patients. They are responsible for the most important part of post-operation care because they are the ones who encourage the patients and their families, providing them with

Some historical facts

The National Medical Center opened its doors on May 11, 1961, with the goal of offering the Mexican population a new model of institutional medicine. The foremost medical experts collaborated on this project, laying the groundwork for the center's tradition of high-quality medical care.

The center soon developed undergraduate and graduate courses for training specialists in various branches of clinical medicine: internal medicine, surgery, pediatrics and gynecology, among others.

Several ground-breaking scientific advancements have been made at the center. These include intra-uterine identification of a large number of innate metabolic errors and chromosomal alterations; *in vitro* fertilization; and research on thousands of new medications. Moreover, open-heart operations with external circulating pumps have been performed, and intensive neonatal and coronary post-surgical therapies have been carried out. Advances have been made in the treatment of neoplastic and chronic-degenerative diseases such as diabetes mellitus, and diseases of the immune system. The center's expertise in organ transplants is also noteworthy.

Due to the 1985 earthquake, activities at the National Medical Center were interrupted, and the medical and hospital services provided there were decentralized and transferred to various other hospitals affiliated to the Mexican Social Security Institute in the metropolitan area.

In October 1986 reconstruction and repair of the National Medical Center began, based on an architectural design which takes into account the requirements of state-of-the-art technology, and projections on the future needs for medical care at the facility.

On April 27, 1992, what is now known as the 21st Century National Medical Center was inaugurated. This facility is the most prestigious of the ten national medical centers operated by the Mexican Social Security Institute throughout the country, as well as being the most advanced in all of Latin America.

anything special to prepare your patients psychologically for surgery?

■ *RA*: We try to help patients recover something they may have lost along with their health—a warm atmosphere at home and their friendships at work. Our nurses are wonderful. They are

inner strength. The administrative staff and social workers share this same caring attitude.

● *DI*: Is there anything you would like to add?

■ *RA*: I think we need to change our attitudes and be less selfish. There is a

need for organ donors. We have the necessary medical and scientific knowledge, infrastructure, legal basis, as well as the church's approval and the

21st Century National Medical Center

Includes the hospitals of:

- Cardiology
- Pediatrics
- Oncology
- Adult Specialties

Complementary service areas:

- Central pharmacy
- Cafeteria
- Exhibition hall
- Administrative areas
- Conference auditorium
- Cultural center
- Gardens
- Parking facilities
- Vehicle and pedestrian mall

Total medical-care facilities in the hospital complex:

- 717 beds
- 144 examination rooms and physicians' offices for diagnosis and treatment of complex illnesses
- 175 clinical and research laboratories,
- 36 surgical theaters
- 22 X-ray rooms
- 37 imaging facilities

The 21st Century National Medical Center has the capacity to provide medical care to 4,400,000 patients.

Pope's blessing. We have the ability to perform thousands of transplants that we can't carry out because of a chronic shortage of available organs. As long as our attitudes don't change, the hopes

of thousands of people of all ages waiting for a second opportunity at life will continue to be buried. Let's stop being so selfish and give up what we won't be needing any longer to give other people a chance to live longer.

Oncology hospital

● *Dinorah Isaak*: What medical strategy do you recommend for dealing with patients?

■ *Dr. José Vázquez Curiel*: Patients who come to this hospital are usually frightened because they have been told they have cancer. Most of the 800 patients we receive every day are disoriented and unaware of the extent of their illness. Their lack of information generates anxiety. For that reason our first contact with the patient is extremely important. At this "pre-consultation" we provide explanation and orientation for the patient as well as calming him or her down. We believe that the human part of medical practice is more important than the technological part because machines do not provide the sensitivity and affection that human beings require.

● *DI*: Can we make generalizations about cancer?

■ *JV*: Well, there are 200 different types of tumors, some are benign, but others are very aggressive from the outset. 50% of tumors are curable at any stage. This means that a person with cancer will not necessarily die or be a hopeless case.

● *DI*: When the hospital was rebuilt, a number of new structures were added to the original building. What were the benefits of this?

■ *JV*: Although it was necessary to build a new extension to the hospital, we were also able to renovate parts of the old building, such as the Surgery, Radiotherapy and X-Ray departments. We have thus been able to utilize part of the old hospital. We recovered our interdisciplinary Pain Clinic where oncologists, psychologists, social workers, psychiatrists, pain specialists,

Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.



Jesús Ruiz Mejía, Stellar butterflies (stained-glass, 1991).

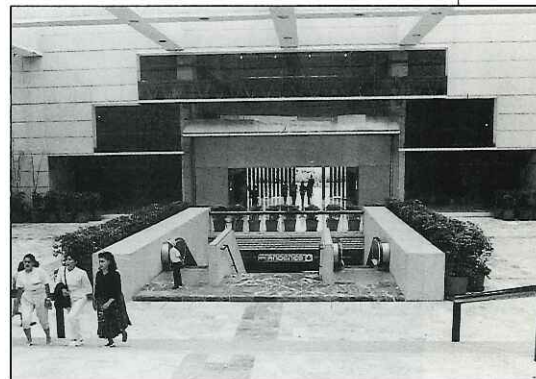
a radiotherapist and a chemotherapist work together to help cancer patients.

We now have two endoscopic devices which provide an extremely clear picture of the inside of a patient's body which can then be videotaped and used for comparative studies.

We recently opened an outpatient department to enable our patients to avoid unnecessary hospitalizations and return to their homes sooner. For example, a woman who needs breast surgery can have it done in our outpatient surgery department and be discharged the same day. A patient can come for treatment to our outpatient chemotherapy department and leave immediately afterwards.

● *DI*: What lines of research are you developing?

■ *JV*: For a number of years we have been involved in oncological research, including bone-marrow



Upon exiting the subway, one enters a magnificent art gallery.

transplants. Our hematologists will soon become involved in this area too. It is important for us to catch up with other oncological centers in the world and make use of our own experience and creativity.

● *DI*: Is there anything else you would like to add?

■ *JV*: I would like to say that cancer is not the illness it has been made out to be. People should stop being frightened and concentrate instead on cancer prevention. There should be more public information campaigns directed against known causative factors like smoking.

Medical specialties hospital

● *Dinorah Issak*: What line of research are you currently carrying out?

■ *Dr. Ignacio Madrazo*: Our focus has always been the regeneration of the nervous system. At present, we are seeking less aggressive and more adequate methods for treating Parkinson's disease, a fundamental area in which we are looking for health benefits deriving from nervous system transplants.

One of the projects we have just presented internationally is the first transplant as a treatment in cases of what is popularly known as Saint Vitus' disease.

● *DI*: What kind of reception did that get?

■ *IM*: We presented the work at the World Congress of Neuroscientists in New Orleans, and the journal *Lancet*

stated that among the 17,000 presentations, ours was among the four most outstanding. Although the disease is not significant as measured by the number of cases, it is important from an epidemiological standpoint, given that it is hereditary, occurs between the ages of 30 and 40 and, in addition to causing discomfort, is fatal. At our hospital, we have gathered 17 families suffering from this disease.

We are also attempting to treat medullar lesions, and patients who have become paralyzed as a result of blows to the spinal column, often during the productive years of their lives. This is a particularly difficult scientific challenge, given that the spinal column is a structure measuring one centimeter in diameter, and yet carries out important functions such as governing internal and external movements of the organism. In brain surgery, it is much easier to achieve neuron reconnections, because of the relatively small area one has to work with. However, in the case of the spinal column, we are talking about neurons measuring more than one meter, and which descend from the brain to the spinal cord. Obviously, in order for this "cable," if we might call it that, to grow again and reconnect itself, we need to use a procedure which, up until now, has proven quite complex.

● *DI*: Are spinal-cord transplants already being performed?

■ *IM*: At the experimental level, with animals. We even have a laboratory dedicated exclusively to the study of spinal function. This laboratory, or "Project Walk," is a private institution working in cooperation with ourselves, the *UNAM*, *IMSS* and the Ministry of Public Health.

● *DI*: What other projects are currently under way in cooperation with *UNAM*?

■ *IM*: We have a very ambitious project involving Alzheimer's disease. This disease has grown in importance since longevity rates have increased, which means there are more elderly people, the group most affected by this ailment. The developed countries have a significant public health problem relating to Alzheimer. In the United States, for example, it is estimated that in the year 2000, this will be the most frequent of all public health problems. The project is very interesting, with significant prospects for benefitting humanity.

The experimental part of the project is being carried out at the School of Psychology at *UNAM*. We are developing the clinical portion, involving patients, at the Specialties hospital. We share both efforts and results. The progress in transplant research, as in many other areas, is due to joint work. All of our research is carried out in conjunction with *UNAM*. Because of this, we have been able to make progress, even



Left to right: Luis Jasso, José Vázquez, Rubén Argüero and Ignacio Madrazo.

without the resources available in other countries.

● *DI*: Who receives treatment at the Medical Specialties hospital?

■ *IM*: Only those persons whose complaints require a high degree of technological sophistication and highly-specialized personnel. In other words, we treat the particularly difficult cases. We have a total of 22 specialties, apart from those available at the three hospitals which comprise the 21st Century National Medical Center.



Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.

Adrián Brum, Allegory of national symbols and solidarity (jewelry enamel, 1991).

We are also involved in teaching; we have almost 800 physicians on medical residencies, doing graduate work with us, as well as research.

● *DI*: What are the guidelines for this research?

■ *IM*: We have two very clear focuses. We carry out public health research on pressing problems, as well as research on the most frequent pathologies, such as diabetes mellitus. On the other hand, we do what we call "excellence projects," considered important because of their degree of theoretical or practical development, although they may not have immediate applications.

Pediatrics hospital

● *Dinorah Issak*: What role does research play here?

■ *Dr. Luis Jasso*: About one hundred research projects are carried out annually, and published in Mexican and international journals. Two types of researchers work here: professional researchers and pediatric physicians who carry out projects based on their clinical experience. We have six research groups, and this is the only hospital in Mexico with a constellation of top researchers integrated into a single hospital unit.

● *DI*: What are the fields of these six research groups?

■ *LJ*: In the first place, there is the unit on Infectious and Parasitic diseases, where compounds and treatments are studied to prevent and cure diarrhea and pneumonia, for example. Field work and epidemiological studies are carried out through community action projects.

The second unit is known as Clinical Genetics, where field work is also carried out on population genetics, with links between tumors and cancerous diseases in children, due to genetic factors.

The third unit, Immunology and Rheumatology, carries out very sophisticated cellular studies, as well as studies on degenerative diseases such as rheumatoid arthritis and erithmatoid lupus.

The fourth unit is Epidemiology, the modern science of the interaction between diseases and their environment. This unit provides outstanding support to Mexico's public health campaigns.

The fifth unit, Nutrition, Growth and Development, conducts studies on pregnant women up until the day of birth.

The last unit is Pharmacology, which studies medicinal plants. This unit verifies whether plants are truly medicinal or if curative qualities have been attributed to them for purely mythical reasons.

Jorge Pablo de Aguinaco.



José Chávez Morado, The evolution and future of medical science (stone, 1957-59).

● *DI*: We have heard that the organization of patients in the Pediatrics hospital is totally different and that it breaks with tradition....

■ *LJ*: Traditionally, patients are grouped by the area of specialization. This is the first hospital in Mexico, and one of the first in the world, where they are divided by age. Each of these biological age groups is under the care of a pediatrician, providing integrated attention to the children of the given group.

● *DI*: What other aspect of the medical care provided here is especially noteworthy?

■ *LJ*: Every child who is admitted, together with his or her family, is immediately placed under the care of a mental health specialist. The goal is to provide patients and families with support so that they can face the illness with the best attitude possible. It must be remembered that health is not just the absence of disease, but biological, social and psychological well-being, and the important thing here is that we are applying this principle.

The 21st Century National Medical Center is a space for science, art and humanism at the service of Mexico and the world, but above all, it reflects the significance of the concepts of health and well-being ✕

Dinorah Isaak
Staff Writer.

The sculptures of University City

Lourdes Cruz González Franco *

From the time of its construction in 1952 up to the present day, University City¹ has been enriched with sculptures by a number of important artists. These works are products of different eras and motivations. The majority of them were made expressly for specific sites on the university campus. Others were donated by private institutions and are set as single pieces at various schools and departments of the university.

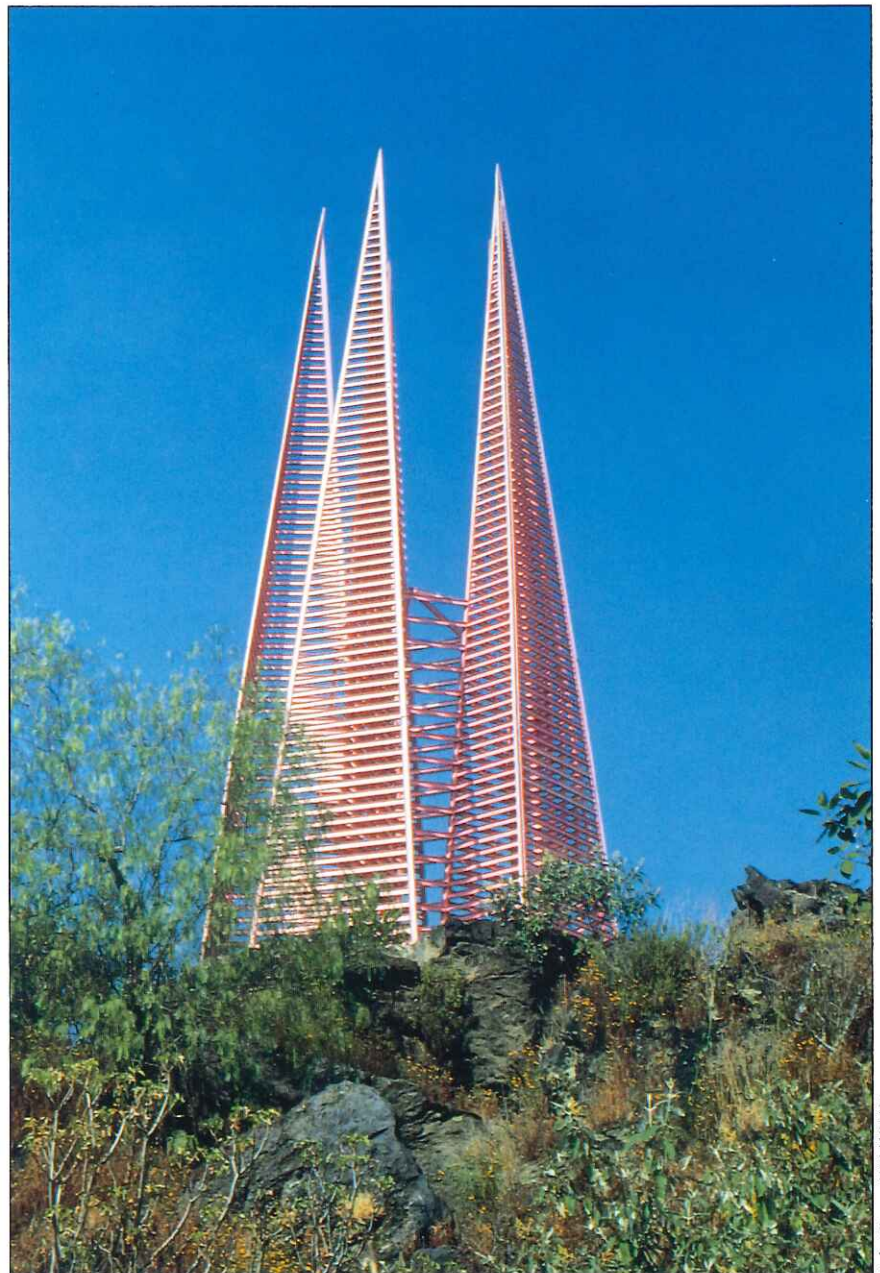
In the 1950s, a stylistic tendency known as plastic integration arose in Mexico as a result of international influences. This current sought a fusion between sculpture, painting and architecture, as a means of forming a unitary whole.

University City served as a canvas for various painters who enriched several buildings on the campus with important murals. Sculpture, such as Rodrigo Arenas Betancourt's *Prometheus bound*, was also involved in the project. This bronze sculpture was originally located in the east patio of the building housing the School of Science (now Humanities Tower II). It was transferred to the new science building in 1977.

This work of tremendous realism symbolizes the human thirst for knowledge. The quest is depicted by a human figure leaping from a

¹ University City is the huge central campus of Mexico's National University (UNAM), located in the southern part of Mexico City.

* Institute of Aesthetic Studies, UNAM.



Mathias Goeritz, Pedregal crown (University Cultural Center).



Rodrigo Arenas Betancourt,
Prometheus bound.

plumed serpent representing Quetzalcóatl. The design of the piece gives the viewer the sensation that it is suspended in mid-air. With the passage of time, the sculpture has become a symbol of the university.

On the site where *Prometheus bound* had been located, a stainless-steel sculpture by Federico Silva,

Lourdes Cruz / IIE / UNAM.



Portrait of Rosario Castellanos (Faculty of Philosophy and Letters).

known as *Bird mobile C*, now stands. This light work is well integrated with the "water mirror" in which it stands, as well as with the surrounding gardens.

There is also an isolated work created by sculptor Germán Cueto, known as *The runner*. This was a cultural contribution to the 1968 Mexico Olympics and is located on university property near Insurgentes Avenue. The sculpture, done in concrete, depicts an abstract figure representing an athlete.

The concrete sculptural mural in the School of Engineering is also noteworthy. This three-dimensional mural was constructed by Federico Silva on the exterior wall of the Javier Barros Sierra auditorium.

Aside from the previously mentioned sculptures, busts of famous personalities are to be found in several university schools. Among them are Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada at the School of Law, Dante Alighieri, Rosario Castellanos and Fray Alonso de la Veracruz at the School of Philosophy and Letters and Albert Einstein at the School of Sciences.

The University Cultural Center

Between 1976 and 1980, an architectural complex was built in the southern part of University City, devoted to cultural diffusion. The complex includes the National Library, concert halls, theaters and cinemas.

A series of large-scale, open-air sculptures also forms part of this architectural space, providing visitors with an interesting visual experience. The sculptures, made from a variety of materials, depict abstract and geometric forms.

Several artists participated in this project, such as master artist Rufino Tamayo, whose work *The University, germ of humanity and wisdom* is on display; so are Federico Silva's *Eight rabbit* and a work commemorating fifty years of university autonomy. Also represented is Sebastián with

Cecilia Gutiérrez / IIE / UNAM.



Federico Silva, Plaza of the serpents of the Pedregal.

Colotti; Helen Escobedo with *Coatl*; Mathias Goeritz with *Crown of the rocky slopes*; Manuel Felguérez with *Variation on Kepler's key*, and Herzua with *Bird two*.

Within the National Library, there is a four-story, domed central patio, providing access to most of the building's offices. Two large-scale

IIE / UNAM.



Rodrigo Arenas Betancourt,
Prometheus bound.



Cecilia Gutiérrez / IIE / UNAM.

Sculptural space.

large surface made of volcanic rock at its center.

The work itself consists of a round platform measuring 120 meters in diameter, made of stone and red *tezontle* rock. 64 concrete triangular modules rise from the circle. Six artists collaborated on

sculptures are located in this patio: *Dino*, by Federico Silva, made of metal and suspended from the domes—its form reminds the viewer of prehistoric birds—and *The union of the human sciences* by Hersua. These works are well-integrated into the building, enriching the architectural space.

The Sculptural Space

The Sculptural Space, inaugurated in 1979 in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of university autonomy, is located to the north-east of the National Library. In line with the original idea of combining art and ecology, the enormous sculpture is open to pedestrians and includes a

Cecilia Gutiérrez / IIE / UNAM.



Federico Silva, Serpents of the Pedregal.

this piece: Helen Escobedo, Manuel Felguérez, Mathias Goeritz, Hersua, Sebastián, and Federico Silva. Aside from being an aesthetic space, over the years it has become a natural stage for concerts and recreational events.

The serpents of the pedregal and the City of Humanistic Research

The monumental volcanic-rock sculpture known as *The serpents of the pedregal*, by sculptor Federico Silva, was completed in 1987. Its purpose was to separate the University Cultural Center from the City of Humanistic Research located to the east of the National Library.

It is made up of two 400-meter-long serpents of volcanic rock, whose heads meet at a plaza. The site also includes a “water mirror” containing a geometric sculpture made of painted concrete, by the same artist. The plaza is surrounded by gardens, offering a pleasant view. Various humanistic research institutes, distributed around a

Lourdes Cruz / IIE / UNAM.



Hersua, The union of the human sciences (National Library).

garden, are located nearby, and there is a large, bright-red vertical metal sculpture in the center of this garden. The complex is dominated by the work of Sebastián, serving as a symbol of the area.

Only the most important works have been mentioned here, although others also make up part of the university’s cultural legacy—a legacy that will surely be enriched in the future by the work of other Mexican artists ✕



Pedro Cuevas / IIE / UNAM.

Helen Escobedo, Coatl (University Cultural Center).

The last pleasure

Rosamaría Casas

My friend Antonia, her mother, Doña María, and I arrived at the ranch during the hottest part of the day.

"Well now, aren't you pretty?" exclaimed Don Esteban when we got out of the car. "And who is this lovely thing?" he asked with a roguish glance as he looked me up and down.

"This is Guillermina, Papa. I asked her to spend the holidays with us, remember?"

Don Esteban's approving smile seemed to say, "You've passed the test, my girl." I thought what beautiful teeth he had; his sunburnt skin made them seem very white.

After supper, we sat under the canopy in the garden opposite the one-story house that was L-shaped to encourage the breeze. A few yards away from the canopy the rows of coffee plants and banana trees began. It was almost ten o'clock at night, yet it was as hot as at midday.

"Let's go down to the water tank to cool off, Mina," suggested Antonia.

We put on our bathing suits and went down to the tank. Our torches barely shed any light and the water looked black.

Our trips to the water tank to cool off three times a day—before the farmhands arrived, at midday when they had lunch, and at night—were the only times my body gave me any relief. The heat had made my skin sensitive, my breasts were swollen and my clothes rubbed against me as though a strange hand were stroking them against my will.

"The tropics make women bloom, my friend. Look how the girls' eyes are shining," I heard Don Esteban say to one of his friends. "They even walk

differently. Look at those hips—just like a mare's rump!"

I knew Don Esteban was talking to someone else, but his words were aimed at me. It wasn't the first time he had done this, while he glanced at me furtively. His gaze fell on me like a streak of fire.

I walked quickly to catch up with Doña María and Antonia, who were a few steps ahead. We went into church for the twelve o'clock mass. The coolness of the half-light was pleasant, but not enough to make the drops of sweat that trickled down from my arms to my waist evaporate. The image of Don Esteban stayed with me like a wave of fire. I don't know if I was blooming, as he said, but my body had begun to change ever since we arrived at the ranch. I couldn't bear the feel of my underwear. The unpleasant itching was only soothed by the water in the tank.

I was thinking about all this instead of listening to the priest's sermon, when I felt Don Esteban's hand on my calf. He had bent down as if to look for something. I froze, terrified that someone would see us. His hand moved up from my ankle to the back of my knee. It gave me goose bumps all over. I crossed my fingers and shut my eyes with a devout expression. I thought that Antonia, sitting next to me, would hear my heart beating. In church!

As we came out of mass, Don Esteban put his hand on my back, with his fingers under my armpit. I wanted to say, "You're just a dirty old man." I couldn't believe he had approached me so brazenly and I refused to admit, in my heart of hearts, that I enjoyed this little game.

I liked it so much in fact that I no longer went riding with Antonia. I preferred to stay at home, wander around the granary, and walk among the coffee trees, always in the hope of bumping into Don Esteban. I had never spoken to him alone; I wouldn't have known what to say. I was physically attracted to him, although I wouldn't have dared to admit it then.

I was lying in the water tank when I saw him in the banana plantation. He motioned me towards him. Before obeying, I put on my sandals and put a towel round my shoulders. I walked slowly towards him. He took my arm and we slipped behind the trees. He took my face in his hands, drawing it close to his until I thought I could see my reflection in his eyes.

"Guillermina, Mina, come closer," he murmured, holding me against his bare chest, that smelt strongly of damp wood.

My first kisses went beyond my wildest fantasies. My trembling and the desire that he caress my whole body with his hands came to an abrupt halt when I heard Antonia's voice calling him. I pulled up the straps of my swimsuit and ran out.

There is no silence in the tropics, I thought as I lay sleepless, listening to the sound of banana leaves rubbing against each other, and the cawing of night birds. Even the stars, twinkling endlessly, seemed anxious. They seemed to be sending me a message that I couldn't decipher.

The damp sheets stuck to my skin, making it even more difficult to fall asleep. Feeling hot, I walked out of my room to lie on the hammock under the canopy. I rocked gently, unable to sleep, when I felt Don Esteban's presence at my side. His hands stroked me expertly, from my ankle to my thighs and then the rest of my body. As he leant over me, he began to caress me with his tongue. I was afraid and wanted to speak, and tell him to stop, but I didn't. I enjoyed the caresses that made my body shiver with pleasure.

I covered my face, to hide my embarrassment and the beads of sweat. I did not move, until he put his hands under my waist drawing the lower half of my body closer to his. A sharp and yet pleasurable pain made me open my eyes. When I saw him astride the hammock and felt him in me, I was ashamed and wanted to stop him. I put my hands on his shoulders, to push him away. A shaft of fear went through me as I thought of Antonia, Doña María and what my parents would say if they saw me.

But instead of pushing him away, I put my arms around him and held him as tightly as I could. My fears subsided, my body was more important than any thoughts. The pain vanished and I was filled with new sensations.

When we were calm again, I tried to sit up and found I couldn't. With Don Esteban's full weight on me, I couldn't put my feet on the ground.

"Please get up, Don Esteban," I begged at the same time as there was a sound of splintering wood. The planks that the hammock hung from

had split. I fell backwards, with Don Esteban on top of me. The canopy roof, held up by the tree trunks and planks that the hammock had hung from, came down on top of us, with a terrifying din. All I needed was for a scorpion to land on me as I was trying to move out from under Don Esteban's body. I managed to push him to one side, get up and run quickly over to the banana grove before anyone could see me.

A few seconds later, the shouts of Doña María and Antonia, who had gone to the canopy to see what all the noise was about, told me that they had found Don Esteban, lying naked on the floor, in the midst of broken palms and tree trunks. I took advantage of the confusion to run to my room, I looked at myself in the mirror, completely dishevelled, with bits of straw in my hair. I cleaned my legs with a towel and dried off my body that was soaking wet, as though I had just come out of the water tank. Trembling, I put on my dressing-gown and walked out, pretending that I had been woken up by the voices.

With the help of two farmhands, Antonia and Doña María had lifted Don Esteban's inert body on to the sofa. I thought that a blow on the head from a tree trunk had left him unconscious. The doctor said that he had died suddenly from a massive heart attack.

During the funeral service, in the church where Don Esteban had stroked my leg, I felt a great sadness. It was painful to see his nose more sharply outlined in death, and his face without its happy, roguish expression. Besides, he had saved my life. His body lying on top of mine had protected me from the falling wood. His was covered in bruises. Thank you, Esteban, I said silently. Still feeling his heat between my legs, I drew closer to Antonia.

"Don't cry, Antonia. I'm sure your father was happy when he died. Can't you see he's smiling?" ❧

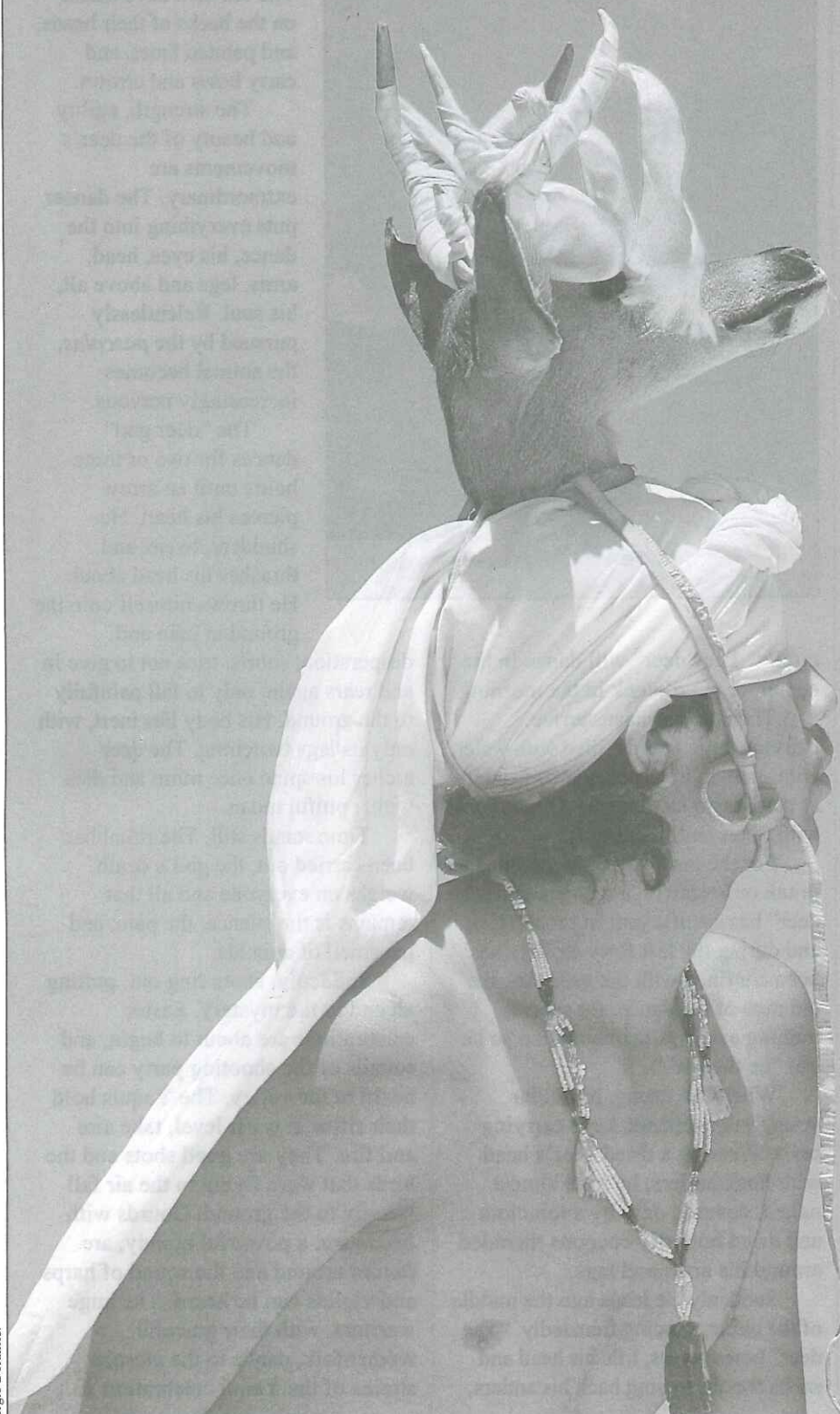


HE/UNAM.

Diego Rivera, Bather (watercolor).

The Sonora Yaquis

Georgina Luna Parra



Sergio Dorantes.

It was the hot season. The Yaqui Valley was dry and ochre-colored, like old gold gleaming in the blazing sun.

The seven tribes were celebrating "Holy Week" in Vikam, one of the oldest villages with a shrine. There is nothing for miles around; everything is dry and poor.

On a long, adobe wall, women sat silent and motionless with their children.

Yaqui women are tall and strong, like all their race. Their copper-colored skin and features seem carved out of mahogany with a chisel. Their long necks make them seem even thinner. They are dressed in mourning, with full dark skirts; their heads are covered with pink and lilac shawls.

Suddenly, the sound of bells rang out from the sanctuary. The silence was broken.

The women, with baskets on their arms, solemnly lined up in two rows in front of the temple.

The main door opened and out of the sanctuary came two huge men, running and shouting, with goatskin hats on their heads.

As they moved, the air was filled with thousands of perfumed flower petals.

Long brown hands could be seen throwing colors and scents into the wind. The women's hard features showed the faintest trace of a smile.

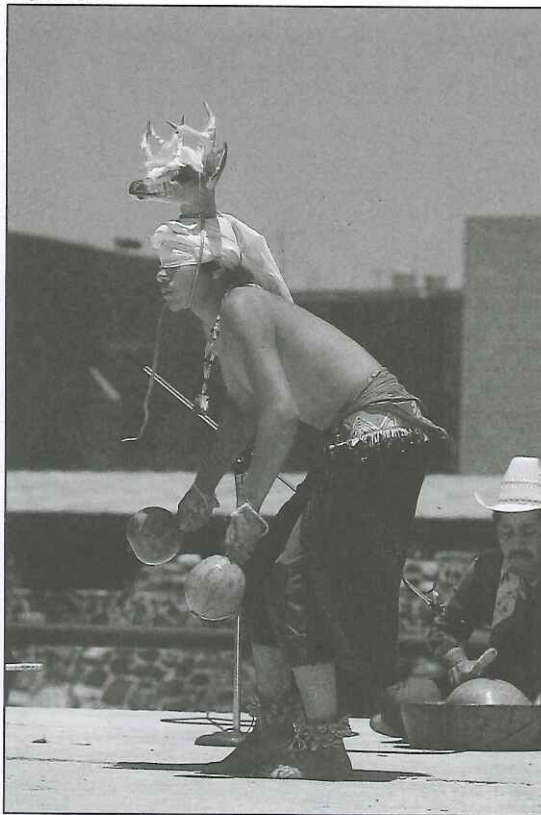
Runaway goats surrounded the valley, bleating furiously. Finally, they huddled together, in silence. A cloud of smoke rose into the air. All the men burned their masks on an enormous funeral pyre.

After their act of floral magic, the women sat still once more, marvelling at the rite, like vestal virgins.

It is Good Friday. Night falls in deathly silence. The only sound is the howling of the wind.

As day breaks, a huge canopy made of branches comes into view. Underneath, the Yaquis are seated in

Sergio Dorantes.



circles. The "deer" will dance in the center, at ten o'clock in the morning.

Then the musicians arrive, carrying large gourds filled with water, with smaller, upturned gourds inside, as percussion instruments. Others come with flutes and skin drums.

For the last forty days, no one has drunk or been with a woman. But "the deer" has spent a year in preparation and during the last forty days he has been confined with the *pascolas*, the old men of the dance, for special training and mystic preparation so he can "be the god."

When the strong, muscular young man appears, he is carrying bells. Wearing a dried deer's head with huge antlers, he trots almost naked, covered only by a loincloth and dried butterfly cocoons threaded around his arms and legs.

Suddenly, he leaps into the middle of the circle, dancing frenziedly. "The deer" hears noises, lifts his head and sniffs the air, tossing back his antlers,

running, jumping, writhing, now enjoying the hunt, now fleeing from the *pascolas* that surround him. The old men have masks on the backs of their heads, and painted faces, and carry bows and arrows.

The strength, agility and beauty of the deer's movements are extraordinary. The dancer puts everything into the dance, his eyes, head, arms, legs and above all, his soul. Relentlessly pursued by the *pascolas*, the animal becomes increasingly nervous.

The "deer god" dances for two or three hours until an arrow pierces his heart. He shudders, twists and thrashes his head about. He throws himself onto the ground in pain and

desperation, snorts, tries not to give in and rears again, only to fall painfully to the ground. His body lies inert, with only its legs twitching. The deer arches his spine once more and dies with a pitiful moan.

Time stands still. The ritual has been carried out, the god's death weighs on everyone and all that remains is the silence, the pain, and the smell of animals.

Suddenly, shots ring out, putting an end to the mystery. Easter celebrations are about to begin, and sounds of the shooting party can be heard in the valley. The Yaquis hold their rifles at waist level, take aim and fire. They are good shots and the birds that were flying in the air fall heavily to the ground. Gourds with *bacanora*, a powerful brandy, are passed around and the sound of harps and violins can be heard. The huge warriors, with their graceful womenfolk, dance to the *mestizo* strains of the Yaqui celebration **M**

Reviews

The fabulous life of Diego Rivera

Bertram D. Wolfe

Chelsea, Michigan: Scarborough House, 1990, 457 pp.

The fabulous life of Diego Rivera is a classic. The book that Bertram Wolfe wrote in 1939 and revised in 1963 is still in print in 1993. Although it reads like a novel, there is an immense amount of information skillfully woven into the context of a chronological approach to the artist's life.

The description of Diego Rivera's early years is accompanied by key events from the history of Guanajuato as well as the political and economic environment of Rivera's parents' world during the late nineteenth century.

The narration of Rivera's school years in Mexico City gives the reader the flavor of the Porfirio Díaz regime. Wolfe includes the political history of Spain during the period that Rivera spent in Europe. The time spent in Paris is enriched by a subtle depiction of Europe on the eve of and during World War I. Angelina Beloff, Rivera's first wife, was part of a community of Russian refugees, leading Wolfe to delve into Russian history.

Rivera returned to Mexico in 1922 and became the hub of a group of artists during an intense period of creativity. He contributed murals to the National Preparatory School, the Ministry of Education and Chapingo University. He also provided work for other artists on his murals and participated actively in the Union of Technical Workers, Painters and Sculptors.

Wolfe presents a first-hand narrative of key people and events. Many of the artists and intellectuals active during the 1920s in Mexico are fully described, including their

philosophical and political positions. Since Wolfe had the opportunity to revise his text, he was able to present these figures with an eye toward what would become of them later.

The story of Rivera's fabulous life continues with his first trip to the Soviet Union. Wolfe's account of the artist's experience in the Soviet Union is outstanding. The sequence of events

"The single best account of his fabulous life and politics."
—*The New York Times Book Review*



THE FABULOUS LIFE OF DIEGO RIVERA



BERTRAM D. WOLFE

which led to his return to Mexico, omitted by many who write about Rivera, is well documented in this book. The source of the information is the author himself, who not only witnessed but shared in the adventure.

The same is true of the period Rivera spent painting in the United States. Here, however, Wolfe openly identifies himself as Rivera's friend and advisor. Subsequent periods of Rivera's life are documented with interviews. Wolfe's selection of quotes is excellent. The documentary material tells the parts of the story that Wolfe himself did not participate in.

Each phase of Rivera's life is accompanied by the intricacies of the political and historical context. Rivera's lifespan serves as a framework for the history of ideas before, during, and after the Mexican and Russian revolutions.

Wolfe, who came to Mexico in 1922 to work with the Communist Party, was in a perfect position to tell the story. His biography of Rivera is not limited to the artist's environment. His description of Rivera's work is detailed and clear, a first-rate source of information for the art historian, especially since the book includes 164 photographs.

The reader unfamiliar with Mexico is treated to a full description of the land, its people and its art by a man unable to disguise his love for the country. When Wolfe discusses José Guadalupe Posada's penny sheets or the leftist newspaper *El machete*, he not only mentions the price, but the fact that this was one third of a laborer's daily wage.

Major issues in Mexico, such as oil, land reform and the role of the church, are viewed through Diego Rivera's work from the perspective of a well-informed and sensitive historian. While Wolfe is not an objective observer, the honesty of his approach is exceptional. An example of this aspect of Wolfe's work is his refusal to identify the person "closest

to Frida" with whom Diego had an affair at one time. The author further clarifies for the reader Frida's appreciation of his discretion.

The fabulous life of Diego Rivera is not an analytical, academic book. Rivera's life is presented chronologically in the context of his times. Yet, in his last chapter, Wolfe provides an in-depth analysis of the artist's role in politics. His "Notes for future biographers" explore Rivera's relationship with the Communist Party and the major ideological figures of communism: Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. The contextual framework which precedes this chapter gives the reader the background with which to evaluate the facts. We have the names, the dates, and the events at hand.

Bertram Wolfe documents his own life in *A life in two centuries*.¹ He lived in Mexico and became a scholar of Russian history by an experiential process. He worked for the Communist Party; then rejected the Party and worked for the U.S. State Department. He wrote extensively about Russian history and is best known for his *Three who made a revolution*.² Wolfe died in 1977 in Palo Alto, California, where he worked at Stanford University.

Susannah Glusker

Free-lance writer, working on a Ph.D. on the relationship between U.S. and Mexican intellectuals.

Reto en el paraíso (A challenge in paradise)

Alejandro Morales
Grijalbo, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes
Colección: Paso del Norte
Mexico, 1991, 452 pp.

Alejandro Morales, the author of this novel, is a professor at the University

¹ Wolfe, Bertram, *A life in two centuries*. New York, Stein and Day, 1981.

² Wolfe, Bertram, *Three who made a revolution*. Boston, Beacon Press, 1948.



of California and, according to Gustavo Sáinz, "the most arrogant, complex and angriest of the Chicano narrative writers."

Reto en el paraíso (A challenge in paradise) combines real-life and fictional elements in describing the last 120 years of California history from a Chicano perspective. The author has created a character named Dennis Barreyesa Coronel, an outstanding Chicano architect of Mexican descent, who while outwardly appearing to be assimilated into the American Way of Life, suffers internal moral conflict since he knows he will never be completely accepted.

Dennis plays tennis in a high-society "Anglo" club, feeling enormous satisfaction every time he defeats one of his conceited opponents on the court. Moreover, he is admired for his professional ability as a building consultant, yet at the same time is the victim of discrimination on the part of the

bricklayers and his professional colleagues. He knows that as hard as he may try, he will never stop being viewed as a "greasy Mexican."

In the same vein as his tennis triumphs, he feels that he settles a long overdue debt each time he sleeps with one of his neighbors' or co-workers' wives, even though he is conscious of the fact that they simply see him as a brown-skinned lover.

When Dennis is on the verge of deceiving himself about his social status, Rosario Revueltas appears. She is a beautiful Chicana who, despite being bourgeois, is perfectly aware that upper-class U.S. culture will never be hers.

The encounter with Rosario changes Dennis profoundly. He remembers that he is the descendent of Mexican immigrants who came to California in search of gold. He will never again forget that his ancestors were persecuted and massacred by the "Anglo" inhabitants of the country; that their lands were taken from them; that they were humiliated over the course of an entire century and that he, Dennis Barreyesa Coronel, is a simple architect who builds houses on land that used to belong to his people.

This encounter with his past confronts him with the inescapable outcome of the incestuous loves of his parents and grandparents. Upon discovering the truth, Dennis may be able to dine at a luxurious restaurant, but when he arrives home, he drags himself along the floor like an animal as he searches for his roots and his historical commitment.

In the original edition of *A challenge in paradise*, the "Anglo" characters think and speak in English, while the Chicanos and the narrative voice speak Spanish. Grijalbo and the National Council for the Arts and Culture published this all-Spanish edition, in which italics are used to indicate passages which the author wrote in English.


Compilation of University legislation (Volumes I and II)

Office of the General Council
General Office of Studies on
University Legislation
National University of Mexico (UNAM)
Mexico, 1992, 454 pp. (Vol.I) and
169 pp. (Vol.II)

The Office of the General Council of the National University of Mexico has published the *Compilation of University legislation*, Volumes I and II, with the aim of disclosing the laws which regulate activities at UNAM.

The first volume includes a compilation of the various regulations, guidelines and statutes which make up the constitutional structure of the university. Among these are:

- The General Statute
- General Regulations for Registration and Examinations
- General Regulation on Payments
- Regulations covering the University Tribunal and Honor Commission
- Regulations covering the university shield and motto
- Statutes regarding academic personnel
- Regulations covering the university gown
- The institutional teaching framework
- National Preparatory School regulations and the founding covenant of the College of Sciences and Humanities
- General rules covering the use of spaces in the University Cultural Center
- General Regulations of the University Extension Centers.

The second volume of the *Compilation of University legislation* contains a reference guide and a thematic index of the first volume, facilitating access to the information contained there and reducing consulting time 



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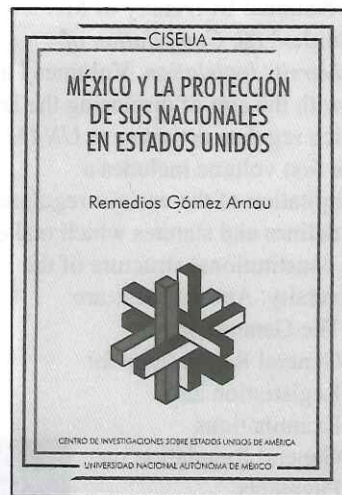
Mónica C. Gambrell y Bárbara Driscoll de Alvarado (eds.), 1992, 283 pp.

This book analyzes the likely impact of NAFTA on: the energy industry, agriculture, geographical regions, in-bond industry; labor rights, immigration to the U.S., social classes; democracy, diplomatic relations; telecommunications and higher education. The NAFTA is considered in light of other trade agreements, U.S. economic requirements and political processes.



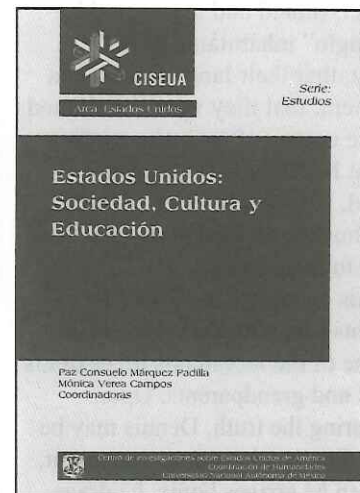
México y la protección de sus nacionales en Estados Unidos

Remedios Gómez Arnau, 1990, 245 pp.
A chronicle of the Mexican government's efforts to protect the rights of Mexican migrant workers in the United States. An impressive study that sheds new light on the issue. Recommended for experts and non-experts in U.S.- Mexican relations and human rights.



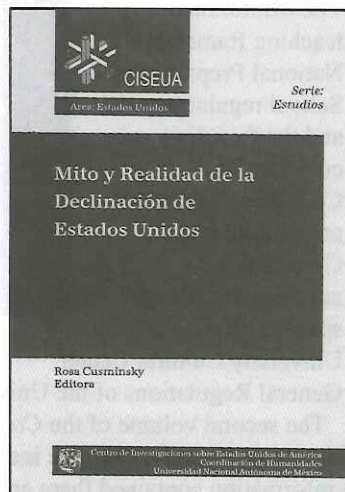
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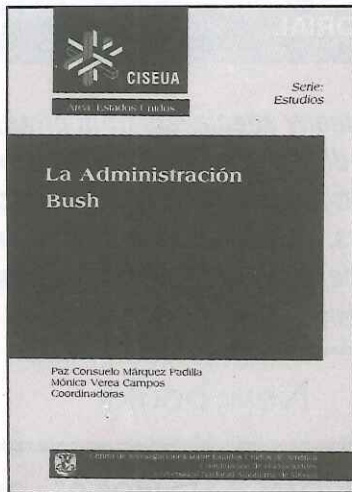
Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla, Mónica Vereá Campos (coords.), Serie: Estudios, 1991, 177 pp.
Thirteen Mexican and U.S. specialists analyze from different perspectives the socio-cultural components of the U.S. as a rich mosaic of cultures and their main forms of expression, the complex social fabric, and the highly-debated U.S. education system.



Mito y realidad de la declinación de los Estados Unidos

Rosa Cusminsky Mogilner (ed.), Serie: Estudios, 1992, 180 pp.
This book contains the contributions of lecturers from various countries who participated in the seminar "The myth and reality of the decline of the United States of America," on the present academic debate about the crisis of the United States' hegemony.

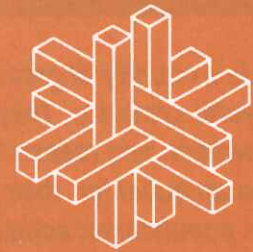




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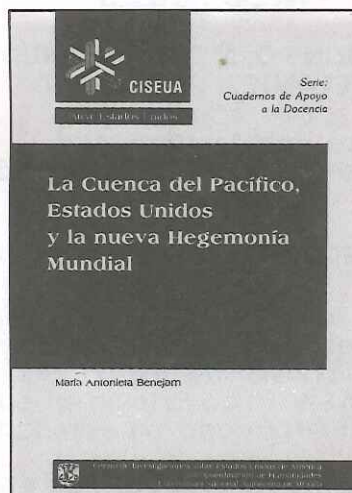
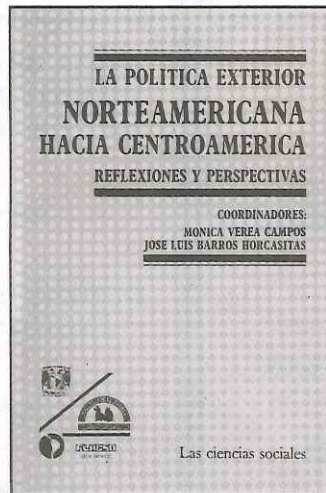
Mónica Vereá Campos, Paz Consuelo Márquez Padilla (coords.), Serie: Estudios, 1991, 210 pp.

Fifteen Mexican and U.S. specialists examine the main events of the first year of the Bush Administration. This includes studies on minorities, arms control, the war on drugs, the economic crisis, foreign policy, and the North American Free Trade Agreement.



La política exterior norteamericana hacia Centroamérica: reflexiones y perspectivas

Mónica Vereá Campos y José Luis Barros Horcasitas, FLACSO, CISEUA-UNAM, Editorial Miguel Angel Porrúa, Serie: Las Ciencias Sociales, 1991, 442 pp.
This book contains various articles written by North American and Central American specialists, regarding the role of the United States in Central America's recent history.

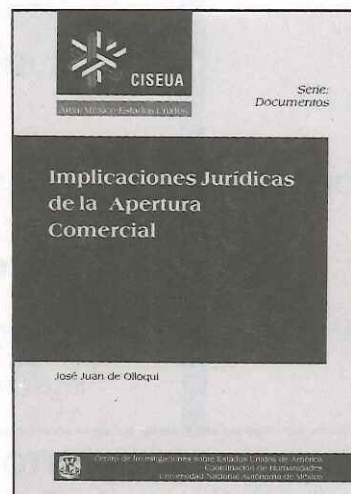


La Cuenca del Pacífico, Estados Unidos y la nueva hegemonía mundial

Ma. Antonieta Benejam, Serie: Cuadernos de Apoyo a la Docencia, 1991, 106 pp.
A book on the leading role played by the United States in the geopolitical processes of the Pacific Rim countries, a region of decisive importance to the future World Order.

Implicaciones jurídicas de la apertura comercial

José J. de Olloqui, Serie: Documentos, 1991, 42 pp.
An in-depth analysis of legal issues concerning free trade. Olloqui examines trade and legal developments under President Salinas' administration, within the framework of the Mexican Constitution, trade in Mexico, the internationalization of the financial system and other topics of interest.



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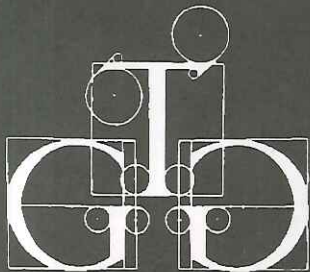
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