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The Mechanics of Democratic Change
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José Gómez de León
Rodolfo Tuirán

On Frida Kahlo And Diego Rivera
Teresa del Conde
Juan Coronel Rivera
Guadalupe Rivera Marín

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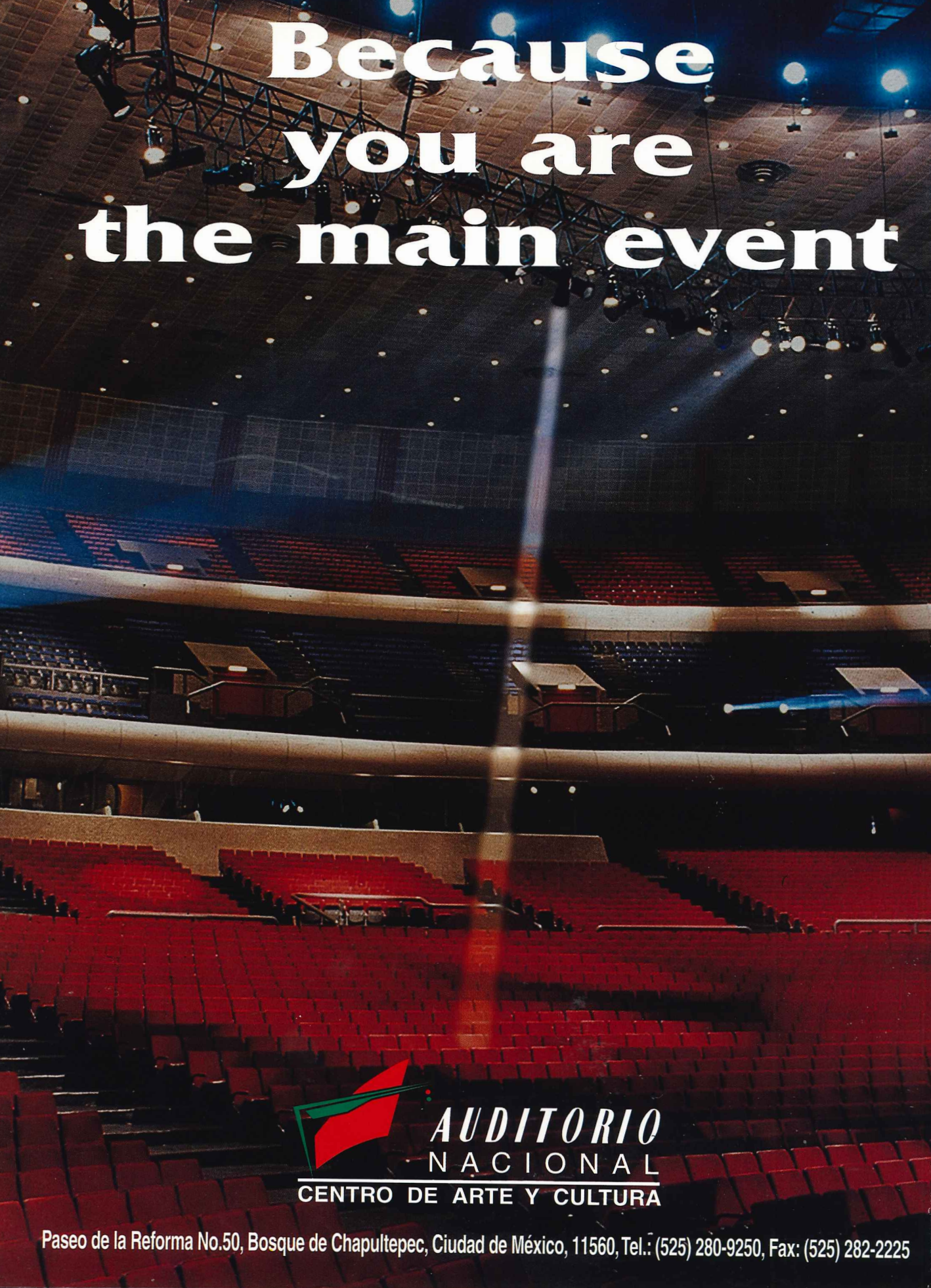
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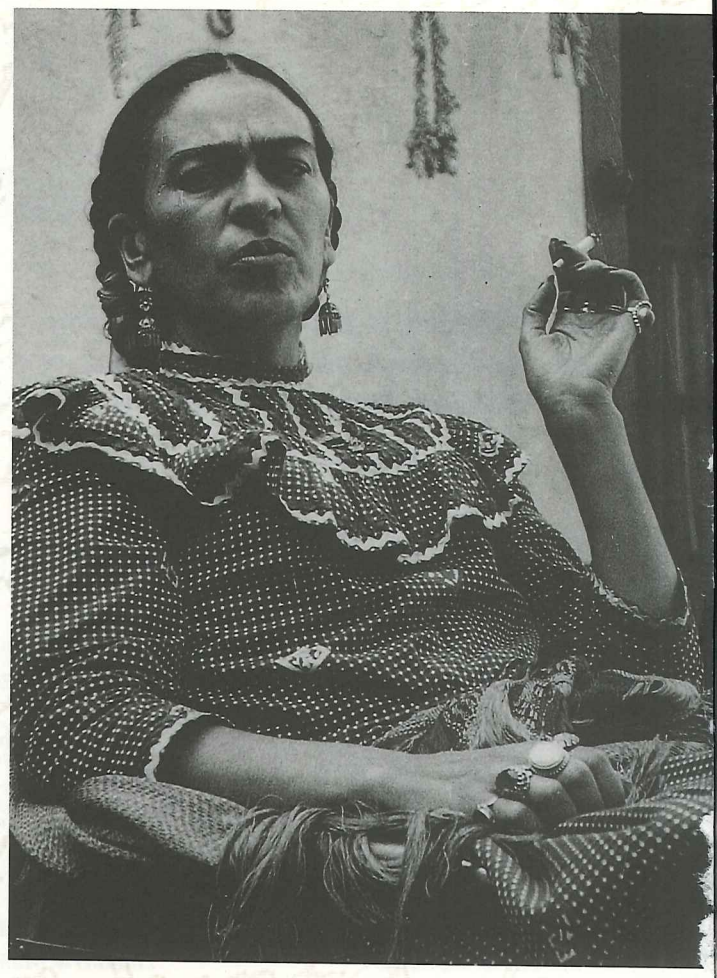

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Front: Diego Rivera, *Self-Portrait with* Chambergo *Hat*, 1907 (oil on canvas).
Back: Frida Kahlo, *Self-Portrait with Monkey*, 1945 (oil on Masonite).
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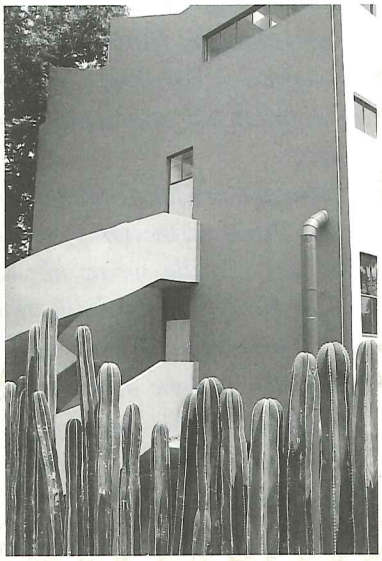

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OUR VOICE

Drug trafficking not only knows no boundaries; it also undoubtedly poses the greatest threat for the twenty-first century because, like it or not, the drug trade affects all social layers of most of the world's nations. The mere possibility that this plague could invade our cities and neighborhoods or poison our children is reason enough to consolidate international cooperation as the best way to confront its scope and consequences. Our times demand solutions that go beyond fixing blame.

Both the United States and Mexico have hard-liners. In our country, the most radical argue that the United States, a society with extremely high drug consumption, inevitably becomes a magnet for the drug trade: it is already the world's most important drug market and Mexico is probably the country that most suffers the consequences. Paradoxically, Mexico has no significant narcotics consumption problem today. The U.S. hard-liners, on the other hand, argue that the drug trade has become a problem of state in Mexico, fostering enormous corruption on all levels of government and making it the world's main drug distributor to the U.S.

This means that we must comprehend that the impact of "narco-politics" is so great that it may soon affect society as a whole and become a problem of state in both countries. Drugs are not sold only in poor schools or on the streets of bad neighborhoods. The drug trade has invaded the best schools, the government and even the ranks of yuppies, who take large amounts of drugs. Once we accept that it concerns us all, we must forge a strategy to take advantage of the so-called "third wave" and utilize modern instantaneous information technology to jointly wage the war. The strategies require good will, team work, flexibility and creativity because, as of now, the battle is being lost.

It is in this sense that we can say that the design and implementation of concrete policies against drug trafficking has definitive consequences on both sides of the border. Therefore, we must confront the common enemy —the drug trade itself— and not waste time on mutual recriminations which only benefits the drug traffickers.

In this issue of Voices of Mexico, *Mexican specialist María Celia Toro looks at the drug trade. Her article deals basically with the paradox that arises when effectively restricting drugs use pushes the price up, thus spurring production. This, in turn, leads to a higher drug supply and consumption, the well known effect of any "prohibition" policy.*

The "Society" section of this issue also includes another topic of great interest to U.S.-Mexican bilateral relations: migration. Today, illegal migration is conceived of as a structural problem; this is in itself a step forward. Mexico's General Director of Population Programs, José Gómez de León, and General Secretary of the National Population Council (Conapo), Rodolfo Tuirán, outline the Mexican position on migration based on Conapo studies in an attempt to dispel myths and misunderstandings about the question.

The "Politics" section offers two articles dealing with the current state of Mexico's democratization process. Germán Pérez Fernández del Castillo writes about the reform of the state, specifically emphasizing the areas where the most steps forward have been made and the problems and obstacles in those areas where they have been slower in coming. In his opinion, the greatest achievements have been in electoral matters, establishing the basis for effective democratic advancement.

The results of Mexico's elections next July 6 will probably reflect to the greatest degree in history the real will of the electorate, in the tradition of Rousseau, because, for the first time, they will be based on broad agreements and consensuses among the different political players about the rules of the game. Also for the first time, the head of Mexico City's government —the chief executive for more than 11 million capital residents— will be democratically elected.

José Woldenberg is currently the president of the General Council of the Federal Electoral Institute, a key institution in the this process. In his contribution to this issue, "The Mechanics of Democratic Change," Woldenberg emphasizes the process whereby different forms of organization are being sought to express Mexican society's growing pluralism. He underlines how, although gradually, fundamental changes in democratic policy have been consolidated.

In the past, Mexican immigrants who acquired U.S. citizenship automatically lost their Mexican nationality. Today, a legislative process has begun to establish Mexicans' right to keep there original nationality even though they acquire U.S. citizenship. Legal scholar Alonso Gómez Robledo, a specialist in international law, concludes the "Politics" section with an article about this topic, analyzing the political and social consequences of the constitutional amendments currently underway.

An article by George Yudice, a New York University expert in American studies, begins the section "Science, Art and Culture." Yudice explains that the U.S.- Mexico Fund for Culture's main goal is enriching cultural exchange and mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries, and, to that end, fostering a creative and fertile dialogue between their artistic and intellectual communities is fundamental. Voices of Mexico *invites its readers involved in culture and the arts to request this organization's financial support: we agree that it is only through dialogue and deeper mutual understanding that we can establish better and more productive relations between our two nations. We are happy to report that* Voices of Mexico *currently enjoys the fund's support for its work in building bridges between our two cultures.*

Patricia Galeana, the director of Mexico's National Archives, has written an article about the times and customs of Diego Rivera and his wife, painter Frida Kahlo, illustrated with original photographs preserved by the institution she heads.

Alvaro Rodríguez Tirado, Mexico's cultural attache in Washington, D.C., explains efforts to promote Mexican culture in the United States. Rodríguez particularly emphasizes the excellent reception in different U.S. cities of an exhibit of Diego Rivera's work and the interest there in the life and work of two of our most important cultural and artistic exponents: Rivera himself and Frida Kahlo.

This issue of Voices of Mexico *—particularly in its "Science, Art and Culture" and "The Splendor of Mexico" sections— is dedicated precisely to this pair of artistic and intellectual geniuses. Despite their stormy relationship and mutual personal enrichment, Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera each made a distinctive and authentically Mexican form of art, leaving our nation and the world a body of work impressive in size, visual vitality and ideological content.*

We have included articles describing different features of their daily lives (their tastes and political pref-

erences, their friendships and their times), as well as pieces written by some of the most prominent specialists in their work.

Food is often a good way of getting to know what people's private lives are like, so we offer our readers an article about the recipes Frida used for celebrating certain Mexican holidays. Besides interesting stories about the painters' lives, it tells us about their culinary tastes. This excerpt from the book Frida's Fiestas *includes dishes that Frida and Diego served their guests in March, when tradition and religious beliefs dictate Lenten menus.*

Teresa del Conde and Juan Coronel Rivera, both specialists in the field, write of the magnificent work of Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo. Del Conde, currently the director of Mexico City's Museum of Modern Art and one of Mexico's most important art critics, has contributed an article about Frida the woman, Frida the political activist and, of course, Frida the great painter. Del Conde analyzes little examined aspects of some of Frida's most important paintings, among them their thematic link to Asian philosophy and their magical and mystical content.

Juan Coronel Rivera's article presents thorough research into little known aspects of Diego Rivera's work on the murals adorning the walls of Mexico City's Palace of Fine Arts, the most important contemporary forum for the country's performing arts.

"The Splendor of Mexico" section boasts three more articles about Frida and Diego. While Diego's murals are famous, his cubist period is relatively unknown. Edgardo Ganado Kim and Luis Gallardo, both of Mexico City's Carrillo Gil Museum, fill this gap with their article about Diego Rivera's Cubism.

But, what did Diego think of Frida and Frida of Diego? The last two articles in this section provide an answer with original texts by the artists themselves. They each present their thoughts about the other, about their relationship and their life as a couple.

In "United States Affairs," Juan José de Olloqui, former Mexican ambassador to the United States, expresses his opinion that, more than a rhetorical, confrontational foreign policy, Mexico needs to defend its traditional principles of sovereignty and self-determination, as well as concrete measures to benefit the nation. De Olloqui also considers that diversifying economic relations is a prerequisite for Mexico to enjoy real autonomy. In his opinion, Mexico's great cultural strength guarantees that greater diversification will not put its national identity at risk.

Our "Canadian Issues" section features an article by Elisa Dávalos, a specialist from CISAN, focusing on interesting features of Canada's economy. On the one hand, Canada is part of the Group of Seven, the world's seven most industrialized countries. But, on the other hand, its economy is based fundamentally on exporting raw materials. According to Dávalos, the economies of the United States and Canada have complemented each other appropriately, but, since the more industrialized countries are those which most benefit from the world economy, Canada needs to design a strategy for producing goods with a higher technological content.

The "Literature" section presents a chapter of a forthcoming book by Diego's daughter, Guadalupe Rivera, describing the motivation behind her father's political development.

Our "Ecology" section presents an article about the medicinal plant popularly known as "the flower of the heart," often used to treat "heartache."

Lastly, our "Museums" section is also dedicated to Diego and Frida, with three descriptions of museums that either house their work or exhibit their collections of Mexican art. The Anahuacalli Diego Rivera Museum exhibits his life-long —above all pre-Hispanic— collection of objects and works of art. The Dolores Olmedo Museum exhibits a great many works of art, outstanding among which are the magnificent collections of Diego's and Frida's work. Its contents were gathered by Dolores Olmedo, the great collector, promoter of Mexican art and friend of Diego Rivera, during her many years of intensely fostering Mexican culture; just being there creates a refuge for the spirit.

The Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo Studio-House Museum, in Mexico City's beautiful colonial San Angel area, allows the visitor to walk into both the place and the atmosphere that permitted Diego to create.

Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla
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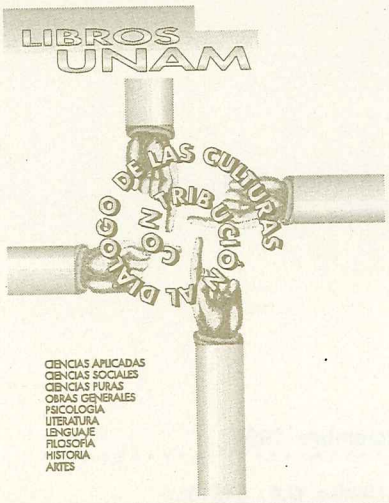

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ESPECIAL

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The Reform of the State

THE POLITICAL-ELECTORAL REFORM IN MEXICO

*Germán Pérez Fernández del Castillo**

The 1994 victory of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) demolished some —or at least a sizeable number— of the opposition's expectations, particularly those of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), that the party which had governed this country for the last six decades might lose a presidential election. At first, some of the PRD's "organic intellectuals" tried to de-legitimize the voting results by denouncing what they called an unprecedented fraud: PRD legal advisor Samuel del Villar unashamedly claimed that the 1994 elections were "the biggest and most spectacular fraud in the history of the world." Given that the PRD came in third, its censure did not have the impact it expected, especially since the National Action Party (PAN) recognized the PRI victory despite its claim that the conditions for running competitive campaigns had been unfair. Slightly later, the opposition strategy, especially that of the intellectual left, was to demand an immediate electoral reform whereby the opposition parties would finally achieve the conditions they needed to compete in and win elections, even though it was not really very clear just what should be changed in the electoral process and institutions.

In response to this demand, the winning presidential candidate called on all groups in society to participate in a definitive electoral reform with the idea that it would aim to permanently solve structural problems involved in the organization of elections. A definitive reform would make it possible for later reforms to simply fine tune some questions, but not change what was in essence already agreed upon. On January 17, 1995, the four parties with seats in Congress signed the National Political Agreement for the Reform of the State in Los Pinos[1] with the president as an honorary signatory.

The reform of the state turned around three broad areas of concern. The first was the establishment once and for all of the rules of access to power. This point would include the federal electoral reform —which we will come back to— touching on some questions involving state legislatures and the issue of the democratization of Mexico City, the Federal District.[2] For the first time in many years the election of the head of Mexico City government by universal ballot was discussed. This once again broached the old idea of conferring on Mexico City the status of a municipality which Alvaro Obregón,[3] for reasons of governability, squelched in the late 1920s.

* Academic Director of the Latin American Department of Social Sciences, Mexico Headquarters.

[1] Mexico's official executive residence. [Translator's Note.]

[2] Mexico City proper (as opposed to the metropolitan area as a whole) is officially called the Federal District and is the seat of the executive branch of government. Its mayor or head of government was appointed by the president until the 1996 reform, which stipulates that as of the July 6, 1997 elections, the post will be filled by universal, secret and direct ballot of Federal District inhabitants. [Editor's Note.]

[3] Alvaro Obregón, Mexico's president from 1920 to 1924, was assassinated in 1928 after having been reelected. [Editor's Note.]

Imagenlatina-Marco Antonio Cruz

With the reform, for the first time, the Federal Electoral Institute will seat no government representatives. Its decisions and policies will be completely autonomous.

The second matter dealt with the rules for exercising power: the idea was to establish rules to strengthen and create equilibrium in the relationship between the federal government and the states without weakening federalism; rules which would also strengthen the balance of power among the different branches of government, giving the legislative branch more prerogatives not only to legislate, but also as auditor and comptroller of the federal executive branch. Naturally, reinforcing the judicial branch would also be part of this discussion.

Finally, a third area of concern touched on by the Agreement for the Reform of the State was the relationship of the different branches of government with the public, that is between the state and society. It was clear that there was a need to open up and fortify the channels of communication between the state and what is called civil society, made up of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the media, social interest groups like indigenous peoples and, in general, all sectors interested in having an impact on government decisions or at least communicating more freely with the government.

The reality has been that the reform of the state has not dealt with all the points of these three areas of concern. Given the economic crisis that the government and the country went through over the last two years, the diverse aspects of the reform got off to uneven starts and have developed differently. Some points have moved ahead quite a bit, as in the case of the reform to the judiciary which has given the Federal Supreme Court a new structure and attributions, created a Judiciary Council with administrative functions and the power to appoint officials and moved ahead in establishing a career civil service system for this branch of government.

The legislative branch is also undergoing a reform: amendments to the laws governing the legislature's operations and the internal rules of both chambers of Congress are currently being prepared. However, the new attributions of legislative bodies have still not been defined, and on some points negotiations have broken down, such as the debate about naming an opposition deputy to head up the congressional committee which supervises executive spending.

There are also some advances regarding the relationship between the federal government and the states: to wit, a certain decentralization of health and educational services and almost all government services, as well as larger transfers of federal funds to the states through bilaterally decided coordinating agreements.

Imagenlatina-Tomás Bravo

One of the topics still to be discussed is the transformation of government informational policy and the public's right to know.

Perhaps the most important question —not so much in and of itself, but because of its impact in the mass media— is the political-electoral reform. Negotiations among the political parties, with the arbitration of the Ministry of the Interior, took more than 18 months. The results include, first, agreements among the three main national parties, presented to the Chamber of Deputies for discussion in April 1996. Then, in June, all the parties with congressional caucuses approved constitutional amendments, a step of enormous importance because it was the first time since Independence that consensus was reached on matters of political reform, therefore setting a historic precedent. Lastly, in December, Congress passed the enabling legislation for the constitutional reforms.

The definitive reform touched on many points; I will point to only a few:

1) For the first time in Mexican history, the political rights of the public are legally protected through specific legislation.

2) The reforms to Article 116 of the Constitution define the principles on which the individual states must base their legislation and electoral procedures; this aims to harmonize them both among themselves and with regard to the changes on a federal level.

3) The Federal Electoral Tribunal (with its new official name, the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary) is now part of the federal judiciary and is empowered to review and hand down judgments on cases of protection of citizens' political rights and on the constitutionality of the actions and decisions of both federal and local authorities. This last point is extremely important because it guarantees that post-electoral controversies involving the states will not be resolved on a partisan basis as in the past, but strictly following due process.

4) The momentous amendments to Fraction II of Article 105 of the Constitution give the judiciary the right to review the constitutionality of both federal and state legislation, as well as enabling the national leaderships of political parties to formally participate in the proceedings thereof, which will come under the aegis of the Federal Supreme Court and not the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary.

5) The constitutional amendments also satisfy the public's demand that the executive no longer play any direct role in federal or state elections. This means that from now on, the executive will not be represented in the Federal Electoral Institute's (IFE) General Council or on the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary. This, in turn, means that the IFE General Council is totally in the hands of individual citizens, nine electoral councilors including the president,

Negotiations among the political parties, with the arbitration of the Ministry of the Interior, took more than 18 months.

Imagenlatina-Alfonso Manzano

Announcing the reform. In the center, the Vice Minister of the Interior, Arturo Núñez Jiménez.

all presumably non-partisan and the only members of the council with the right to speak and vote. It is also important to point out that the legislative branch representatives have definitively lost the right to vote they had prior to 1994. Just like political party representatives, they now have only a right to speak in the council.

6) Conditions for fair electoral competition became very polemical after 1994. With regard to this point, a more equitable model for government financial support to political parties has been set up. Prior legislation provided that 10 percent of all government funding was divided in equal parts among all the political parties and the other 90 percent was distributed proportionately among the parties according to the number of votes they had received in the previous federal elections. The new legislation stipulates that 30 percent of all government campaign funding will be divided equally among the political parties and the part divided among them according to their vote count will be reduced to 70 percent. Also, due to the substantial increase in government financial support to electoral campaigns, for the first time in history, all the political parties will be able to set up truly national structures and ensure that they not become regionalized. In particular, in an unprecedented set of circumstances, the left will for the first time have sufficient funds to ensure continuity in its activity as well as increased training of its activists and a deeper study of the country's problems so it can make proposals to solve them. All these measures serve to even up the playing field for carrying out a competitive campaign and make the elections more equitable.

For the first time in history, all the political parties will be able to set up truly national structures.

7) Government time slots given over to political parties for commercials in the electronic media have increased significantly.[4] Ten thousand radio spots a month will be distributed among the political parties using the same percentages as in funding: 30 percent in equal parts and 70 percent according to each party's vote count.

These modifications all make for a considerable change. Clearly, the electoral reform, the initial great achievement of the reform of the state, gives us for the first time in history an undisputed electoral system that will undoubtedly result in the consolidation of a strong party system and in turn facilitate the transition to democracy. Electoral democracy, then, is within arm's reach. However, it has made the public expect too much: it would almost seem that as if by magic, more competitive elections and the possibility of really alternating parties in government were the solutions to society's most urgent problems. We should remember that the Constitution itself offers a definition of democracy that includes social justice, and no democracy can exist without a culture of democracy that transforms day-to-day life. That is why it is important not to lose sight of the fact that just like elections, the economic system must also be transformed to make development more equitable for all. In addition, nothing will eliminate authoritarian attitudes in society's organizations —unions, schools and even families— if democratic values like debate, deliberation, tolerance and consensus are not consolidated. VM

[4] In Mexico, the law stipulates that radio and television stations must give over eight percent of the total time they have for commercials to government public service announcements. This air time is free and is normally divided among different government and civic bodies, including political parties. During electoral campaign periods, the media must increase the percentage to give more time to partisan ads. [Editor's Note.]

The Mechanics Of Democratic Change[1]

*José Woldenberg**

In this article I will present a series of reflections about the mechanics of democratic change in Mexico, emphasizing the fundamental topics of elections and political parties.

When I speak of political change in our country, I do not mean momentary change, no matter how important. I am not alluding to this or that legislative or constitutional reform, or to one demand or another. I am trying to underline the idea of a process which, though lengthy, is no less significant.

The underlying theme is that we are face to face with a society which has diversified and become more complex and is seeking new channels of expression.

My starting point is the recognition of the fact that Mexico is a plural society which has reached a relatively high —though very unequal— degree of modernization. That is to say, it has a relatively high degree of productive and urban development, organizational complexity, diversified culture, and it is profoundly influenced by and interrelated with the rest of the world.

This highly diversified society produces different ways of being, sensibilities and analyses, as well as distinct, even opposing, proposals. We now face a situation in which multiple sensibilities and/or ways of thinking of different social sectors can no longer be unified under a single discourse, a single set of ideals, a single organization. A situation in which sensibilities and ways of thinking materialize in different organizations and institutions which must interact with each other. If I emphasize the plurality of Mexican society so heavily, it is because it seems to me to be the defining trait of the end of the century. What is more, I consider it the real motor of political change.

Throughout Mexico, sensibilities and ways of thinking have mixed and reorganized, incorporating themselves into mechanisms with their own dynamics, according to specific interests which come into play among many others. The diversification of society also produces different groupings: from organizations that defend or project their own interests, groups that aim to protect one area of social activity or another, to parties which offer different understandings of the situation and ways of doing politics.

If Mexico's transition to democracy achieves one thing, it is precisely this: adjusting the formulas for policy making, representation and government to a plural nation. Putting it in perspective, the history of the democratic transition is the history of that adjustment: building, inscribing and appropriating a process for resolving political disputes and generally carrying out

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[1] Paper presented to the National Convention of Industrial Entrepreneurs, November 18, 1996, at the "Mexico: Profile of the Nation. Political Reform and the Economic Future of Mexico" workshop. It was first published in *Nexos* magazine, no. 229, January 1997, pp. 11-13.

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The new IFE General Council. Since the recent electoral reform, only ostensibly non-partisan individuals have the right to be voting members.

political activity together for an end-of-century society.

The advances in political freedom, the emergence of groups to put forward demands and propound their points of view, the succession of electoral reforms, the growing strength of political parties and the increasingly intense electoral competition are all symptoms of this process, of the effort to model norms and institutions to the new reality of society.

To illustrate the magnitude of the change, we have only to remember how until just a few years ago, the key moment of changeovers in the public administration at different levels was not election day, but the day candidates were nominated: after that, the electoral campaign itself was virtually a ritual. A great deal of Mexican political history of less than a decade ago emphasized and underlined the nomination of candidates of the majority party much more than the electoral process itself. For many decades, the tensest and most passionate moment in any election was the *destape*;[2] everything that followed was just going through the motions with no real competition.

In recent years, however, competition has not only increased, but has also broken with many unwritten rules previously considered unchangeable. Little by little, the process of differentiation of the vote, a result of the differentiation taking place in society itself, created and strengthened alternative parties which here and there made electoral races closer and closer.

We can now see many more indicators of this process: we have governors from parties other than the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI); mayors from a wide variety of organizations; city halls ruled by different political currents than the one in the state house; plural, dynamic local congresses; and, above all, parties that sustain and strengthen these processes of change and political adjustment.

In this way, the dynamic of systematic, regular elections aids in reinforcing the presence of the political parties which, with their own efforts, also increase the competitiveness in these processes.

However, just as the parties have developed not only de facto but *de jure*, elections have not only become more and more relevant and competitive, but their organization and the conditions in which they are carried out have been the subject of reforms that foster, delimit or model electoral campaigning itself.

Suffice it to point to the way in which the elections of 1988 and those of 1994 were organized or the questions dealt with in electoral legislation only five or six years ago compared with today, the fact that elections tend to become more and more institutionalized and the increasingly open way in which the different political options compete.

It is true that the conditions in which campaigns are carried out continue to be unequal, and that is one of the most important aspects of the recently discussed electoral reform. However, it is also true that, despite this and other delays, fewer and fewer elections lack real competition and the races get closer and closer with

[2] The moment when the PRI nomination was made public or "uncovered". [Translator's Note].

each ballot. For example, when the voters went to the polls in the State of Mexico, Hidalgo and Coahuila in 1996, it was once again very clear: elections have become normal things; the voters decide; there are fewer post-electoral disputes; the contenders accept both defeat and victory naturally; and the map of governmental representation and leadership changes.

I understand that this kind of mechanism —progressive, slow and gradual— may make some people impatient and others nervous. But the changes are constant, permanent; they happen every day and, as far as I can see, they are unstoppable.

In and of itself, this represents an enormous change in our political customs and traditions: accepting the existence of others, dialogue, getting along and competing with others, knowing how to win and learning how to lose. But there is also something more: the modification in the party system has an impact on and brings changes to our system of government. Increasingly competitive elections, the resulting changes in government posts and the vote oscillating among the different options with the possibility of no party receiving an absolute majority also all shake up governing mechanisms, forcing them to change.

Until today, under the republican, democratic, federal, representative system set up by the Constitution, a single political bloc held a permanent majority in all spheres of state power. This situation is beginning to erode, forcing negotiations, accords, alliances and, in general, a higher degree of communication and exchange than in the past.

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José Woldenberg Karakowsky, president of the General Council.

Political parties are not only consolidating as electoral options, but are increasingly taking a place in the engine room of the political system, in the very heart of the state.

As is clear, we have already come a long way. It is not my place to venture opinions about the future of the democratic transition in Mexico. I can, however, look back, recognize the different stopping points on the road we have traveled and ponder its functioning with two aims: first, to recall the difficulties and the sluggish stages inherent to the process and, second, to confirm that, despite the zigzags, the steps backward and the apparent postponements, the democratization process will not stop for the simple reason that this is a plural society which demands both a political format and method appropriate for its expression.

I believe that this is the most important political task facing us at the end of the century: to normalize, construct and consolidate elections as the method of Mexicans' living together and working out our political disputes. Octavio Paz has said that this is a "civilizing" task, since Mexico would thereby leave behind a tragic centuries-old tradition: trying out democracy only

For many decades, the tensest and most passionate moment in any election was the destape, *the moment when the PRI made its candidate's name public.*

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Jaime Cárdenas and José Barragán, two of the nine new electoral councilors, selected by Congress for their political neutrality.

to then fall into the chasm of ungovernability.

That is not the case today. And to a great degree this is because of the kind of road we took, because of the mechanism used: gradual but sure, systematically negotiated although not without conflicts. Allow me, then, to close by summarizing that road as I see it.

1. Changing voting patterns is a manifestation of the society's real plurality nationwide. At the same time, it expresses the different sensibilities, analyses and proposals in our society, reinforced as an irreversible expansive wave of change.

2. This differentiation demands and strengthens the system of political parties that slowly but surely is being built in the country.

3. The deepening roots of the different political options change the traditional nature of elections, transforming them from non-competitive rituals into highly contested races.

4. And this mechanism of successive elections turns the political parties into central entities of political dispute.

5. This process is changing the political map and political relations. Gradually, but seemingly irreversibly, we see fewer and fewer candidates whose victory is preordained and others destined inevitably for defeat. It is the citizens who have the last word.

6. But, as the political map changes, it also becomes more complex. In city governments, representatives of different parties coexist; governors from one party have to learn to live with municipal governments ruled by another, even in their state capital; the balance of forces in local congresses changes, and in some cases the state executive has to live with a legislature with a majority that raises another party standard; and the federal government itself is subjected to new relations with state and municipal governments, at the same time that the federal Congress is becoming plural.

7. This dynamic modifies the relationships among the different seats of power both vertically and horizontally. Among the president, governors and mayors, necessarily both tense and collaborative relationships are being built; and at the same time the traditional formulas for relating among local congresses and governors and the president and the Congress are changing.

8. All of this should be seen as fortunate, as an expression of a democratization process of the political relationships in Mexico.

9. However, given the uncertainty generated by the movement toward democracy itself, plus the enormous difficulties stemming from other spheres of society (particularly the economic crisis), some people begin to yearn for the past or may even place their bets on the situation's perpetual decomposition, getting bogged down or conflict.

10. Faced with these conservative or antidemocratic pressures, politicians from all parties have an enormous responsibility to guide the democratic process through institutional and pacific channels. In order to do that, all-encompassing pacts and political moves are needed. That was the underlying significance of the electoral reform negotiations: the need to include all the political actors, particularly those represented in the two chambers of Congress.

11. If the process of democratization continues, the mechanics of elections will show us, as it is already doing,

The democratization process will not stop for the simple reason that this is a plural society which demands both a political format and method appropriate for its expression.

that there are really no absolute winners and losers, much less perpetual victors or vanquished. That is to say, democracy means alternating in office, which, in turn, generates political activity.

12. These changes are occurring within an institutional framework —which is at the same time being modified— that fosters and allows for them, and this is not a small thing.

13. Elections, then, are beginning to become what theory tells us they should be: the source of legitimacy for governments and the possibility for the public to opt among different proposals.

14. The fact that post-electoral conflicts are on the decline not only shows that institutional and legal arrangements are better than in the past; it also demonstrates that at this point, fraud would be very costly.

15. In summary, we can say that the vote continues to show its power and possibilities; the vote as a formula for living together and competing in a civilized fashion.

This is the task in which we are immersed: making elections an open book, transparent, clear and unquestionable. In my view, this is a goal we can neither renounce nor postpone. VM

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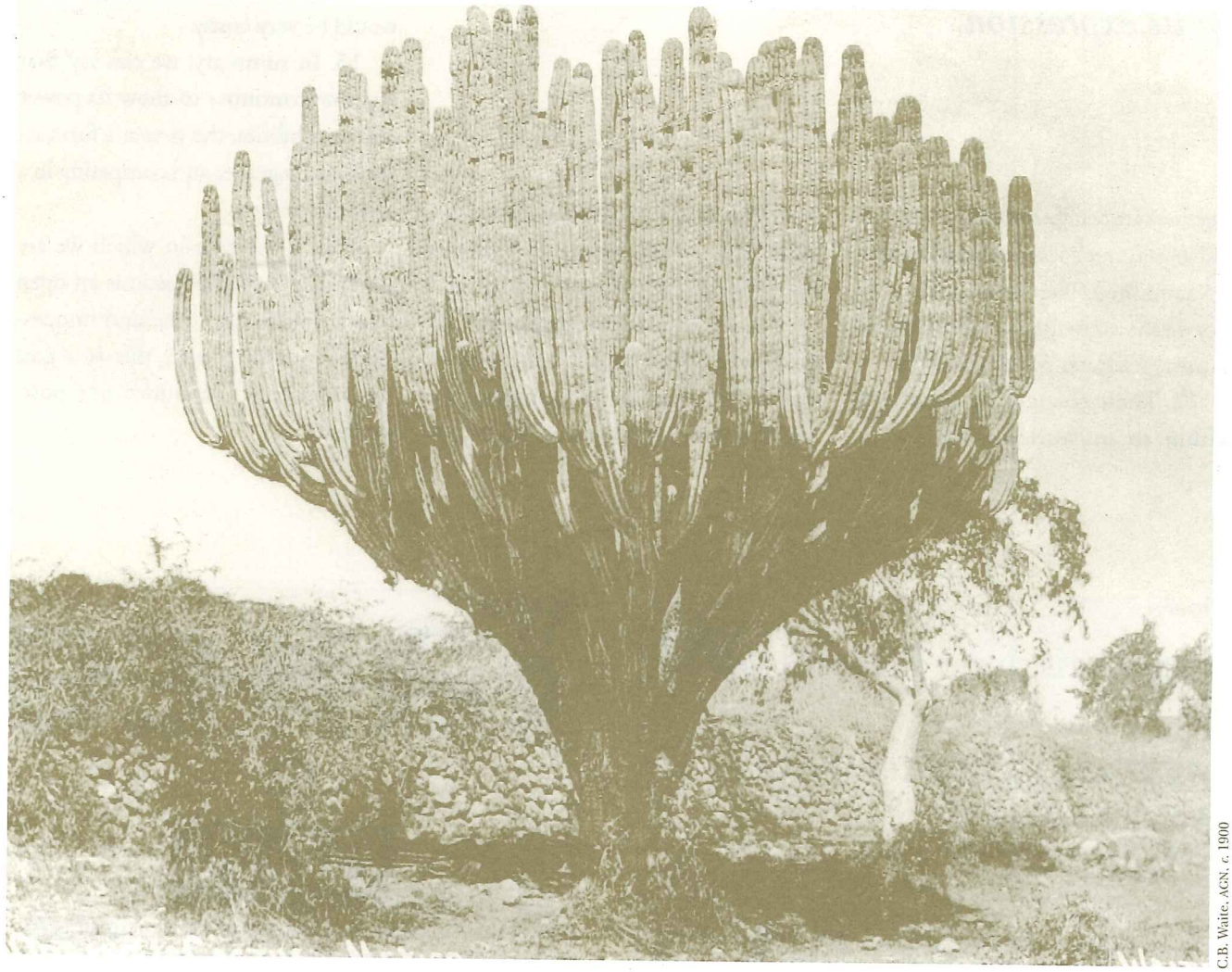

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Mexico Allows Dual Nationality

*Alonso Gómez Robledo Verduzco**

Constitutional Reform

On December 5, 1996, the Mexican Senate approved by consensus the decree to reform Articles 30, 32 and 37 of the Constitution to include the concept of "dual nationality."[1]

The decree, which will go into effect at the end of this year, will require changes in approximately 80 federal laws which mention Mexican nationality and the 1993 Law of Mexican Nationality to regulate the exercise of the constitutional rights of Mexicans who hold another nationality.

Among other things, this new legislation could allow more than two million Mexicans who have become naturalized U.S. citizens to exercise their right to vote in Mexico.

To understand the scope of the constitutional reforms, we must briefly mention a few basic points of international law dealing with the attribution of nationality.

Criteria of Attribution

The rules of international law establish a commitment between the state's exclusive jurisdiction and the rule of the "effective link" between the individual and the state.

International precedent, established both by the current International Court of Justice (World Court) and its predecessor, categorically gives the state the exclusive power to confer nationality through legislation.

The criteria for attributing nationality of origin are practically universal: by reason of filial consanguinity (*ius sanguini*) and by reason of a territorial link (*ius soli*).

Along with these two criteria, nationality may also be conferred as a result of the individual's express wish to acquire a new nationality; this is called "nationality by naturalization."

However, World Court decisions, mainly in the "leading case", or Notteböhn Case (April 6, 1955), have added an extremely important limitation to the states' discretional ability to attribute nationality.

In order for the attribution of nationality to have its full effects with regard to diplomatic protection, particularly in the case of naturalization, that nationality must be recognized by the affected states or the objective arguments must be in place which make it legally possible to oppose those third states. This is the case when there is an "effective sociological link" between the state and the individual.

In current international law there is no doubt that an arbitrating body, an institution with international jurisdiction or a joint grievance commission (for example, the many Mexico-U.S., Mexico-Germany, Mexico-Great Britain joint commissions, among others) are completely competent to decide whether an individual whose rights have been violated effectively and authentically has the

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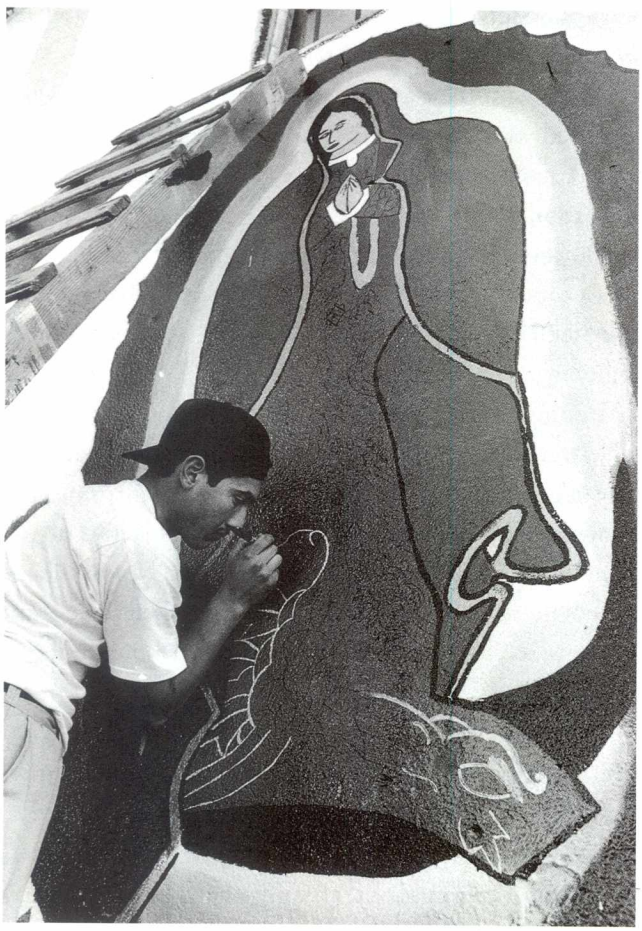
[1] Throughout this article, the term used will be "dual nationality" and not "dual citizenship" since Mexico's Constitution confers citizenship on its nationals only upon coming of age. The legal changes discussed in this article have not yet been extended to all rights of citizenship, but only to nationality. [Translator's Note.]

Until recently, Mexico had always opposed conferring dual nationality. If an individual held one or more nationalities, Mexican law and jurisprudence only recognized one.



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Dual nationality could allow over two million Mexicans, who currently hold U.S. citizenship, to vote in Mexico.

nationality that he or she claims to have in order to enjoy diplomatic protection.

EFFECTIVE NATIONALITY

"Dual nationality" almost always refers to one individual simultaneously possessing "apparent nationality," which he or she claims under the laws and regulations of a particular legal system, and "effective nationality," based on different kinds of de facto considerations of unequal weight.

Therefore, when a controversy with regard to dual nationality is brought before jurisdictional bodies of one of the two states involved, there is generally no great difficulty in making a decision, given that the judge must apply the law of the government to which his court belongs.

The problem becomes much more complex when the question of dual nationality comes before the court of a third party state or an international body, whether arbitrational or court.

International jurisprudence on this question considers the judge or arbiter must inquire into the individual's "active or effective nationality," thus taking into consideration all the circumstances and facts which will allow for the determination of his or her real, authentic nationality: among other things, home address, habitual residence, place of work, language, etc.

DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION

It is important to mention a significant legal principle generally accepted in most international legal practice today: the principle that one state cannot legitimately exercise diplomatic protection for one of its nationals vis-à-vis another which also considers that individual its national.

This principle was established in international jurisprudence in the last century. But here, it should suffice to recall the World Court's "consulting opinion" on the "Case of Reparations to the United Nations Service," which established this ruling for the first time, stating that a claimant cannot be protected against his or her own state. This is a question of common law.

Loss of Nationality

The legislation of most countries establishes provisions for the loss of nationality, usually due to the *breaking* of the bond between the individual and the state in question.

Currently, the great majority of states have provisions which establish that obtaining citizenship of a new country, or naturalization, is sufficient cause for the loss of the nationality of origin.

However, this disposition is not without its contradictions. For example, a person should be allowed to repudiate his or her nationality at the same time that he or she retains a home address in his or her country of origin.

Obviously, the loss of nationality may make an individual stateless: he or she is the national of no state at all. This happens mainly under dictatorships, as was the case of Germany under the Third Reich or the ex-Soviet Union (a paradigmatic case was that of the Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn).

In these cases, the international community has attempted to limit the right of a state to take away its citizens' nationality. Today, the international community holds that a state must not deprive individuals of their nationality for purely political, racial or religious reasons.

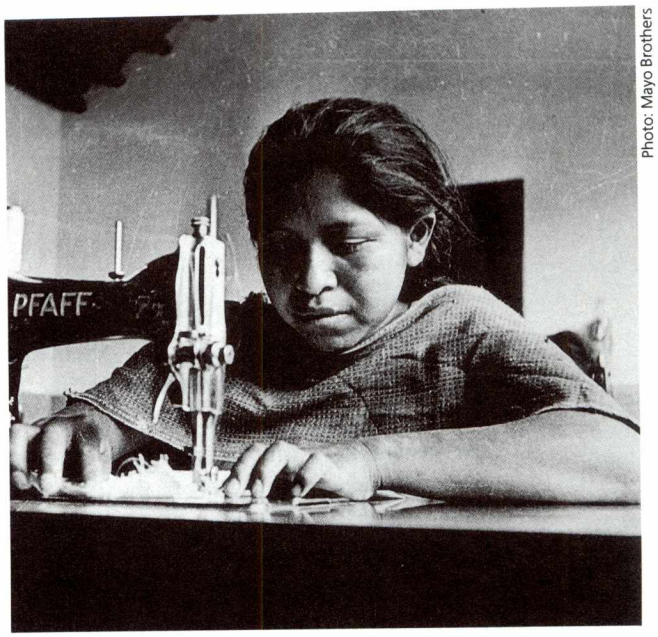

Photo: Mayo Brothers

Mexicans in the United States will be able to obtain American citizenship without losing their own.

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Dual nationality will transform life on the border.

The Change in Mexico's Policy

Until very recently, Mexico had always opposed conferring dual nationality. If an individual held one or more nationalities besides the Mexican, Mexican law and jurisprudence only recognized one, whether it be the one corresponding to the country where he/she had his/her habitual place of residence or the one to which he/she was most closely linked by circumstances.

The recent constitutional reforms were an about-face in Mexican government policy.

We should not forget that the Law of Mexican Nationality (June 21, 1993) establishes that Mexican nationality is not lost when naturalization in another country was acquired by a Mexican: a) by law of that country; b) by simply residing in that country; c) because it was a strict requirement for employment in that country; or d) in order to preserve already acquired employment (Article 22, Fraction I).

From that perspective, we must ask ourselves whether it would not have been much better to broaden, increase or thoroughly detail the Law of Mexican Nationality so that our countrymen and women abroad be allowed to keep their original nationality instead of embarking on the extremely sensitive road of reforming the Constitution, with all its attendant problems, particularly since, as we have seen, the exercise of diplomatic protection is practically void in these circumstances. VM

ON NAHUATL WISDOM

The following is an exerpt from **Los once discursos sobre la realeza** (The Eleven Discourses on Royalty), **Book Six of the Florentine Codex**, ed. Salvador Díaz Cíntora, UNAM, Mexico City, 1995.

Serve and labor! Come to the heavy burden, difficult to lift, unbearable. Open thy wings, and draw beneath them thy subjects, thy vassals; in thy care, in thy shadow shall they place themselves, that thou hast been made our lord, a luxurient silk cotton tree and juniper; now the governed shall be prosperous and happy.

This is all that I put in thy hands and on thy feet, my supplication to thy heart and thy body; firm and silent, our lord and governor, beloved lord. Serve and labor! Join our Lord, come to thy city. VM

Translating Culture
The U.S.-Mexico Fund for Culture

George Yudice*

The Internet has a web page with information in Spanish and English on acquired immuno deficiency syndrome (AIDS) and other sexually transmitted diseases. Besides medical and therapeutic bulletins, listings of nongovernmental organizations that deal with AIDS and other AIDS-related web links, it even offers downloadable videos showing preventative measures. The logo at the bottom of the page, "SIDA-AIDS Web," is identified by its institutional site, the University of Guadalajara. This is "a binational project financed by the Fideicomiso para la Cultura México/USA" (U.S.-Mexico Fund for Culture). Why the link between a foundation that funds culture and an AIDS web page you may ask? For the fundamental reason that information on medical and sexual matters is culturally sensitive. And cultural awareness, particularly about differences among communities, is perhaps the *fideicomiso*'s most important incentive, after making grants.

Before examining how some of the more than 280 grants increase cross-cultural awareness, you may want to know exactly what the U.S.-Mexico Fund for Culture is. Let's go back to the web page, that tells us that it is an independent organization, created by the Bancomer Cultural Foundation (Bancomer is one of Mexico's largest banks), the Rockefeller Foundation and Mexico's National Fund for Culture and Arts (FONCA). Its purpose is to enrich cultural exchange and mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries by encouraging creative, fertile dialogue between their artistic and intellectual communities.

Cross-cultural dialogue has been the name of the game ever since the three sponsors entered into discussion in the late 1980s to attempt to better relations between both countries. A Wingspread report had given a bleak picture of distrust and little understanding just as the talks leading to the North American Free Trade Agreement were gearing up. By the time the Rockefeller Foundation stepped up the initiative for the partnership, relations between the countries had improved. The early days of the Salinas presidency were characterized by a flurry of action and optimism, and much of the enthusiasm stemmed from Mexico. Alberta Arthurs, then head of the Arts and Humanities Program at the Rockefeller Foundation, was able to tap this enthusiasm when she proposed shared funding and binational collaboration on behalf of the arts and culture. The initiative would also be a way of encouraging philanthropy in Mexico, a topic covered in the April-June 1996 issue of *Voices of Mexico.*

At about the same time, another woman, Ercilia Gómez Maqueo Rojas, had started the first professional philanthropy at Bancomer. She conceived of it as a hands-on initiative. On a visit to the Rockefeller Foundation's offices in New York, she and Alberta Arthurs met and found they had a natural common interest. The new philanthropic venture would build on Bancomer's already heavy investment in the arts.

* Professor of American Studies at New York University.

Photos reprinted courtesy of U.S.-Mexico Fund for Culture

Andrea Ferreira, *Earthly Paradise*, the "Alternativas Phoenix-Mexico Alternatives" exhibit (1994).

Alberta Arthurs also spoke with people at the National Fund for Culture and the Arts, a government endowed institution now directed by Executive Secretary José Luis Martínez. Since the partnership among government, the corporate sector and nonprofit organizations works synergistically in the U.S. to raise funds for culture and the arts, it was thought that something similar might be possible in Mexico. A section of this government office was enlisted to help raise funds from corporations and to develop the nonprofit or "third" sector.

The fund was created within the framework of the agreement signed by the Mexican and U.S. governments for the creation of the U.S.-Mexico Commission for Educational and Cultural Exchange, which has housed the fund at its Mexico City headquarters since 1991.

Since its inception, the three partners have become quite dependent on each other, with Mexico providing about two-thirds of the funds and the Rockefeller Foundation another third. The Mexican-American Foundation has also provided a smaller grant for holding binational meetings of artists and cultural institution officials. There are plans to expand partnerships for regional events and meetings, particularly in cooperation with U.S. state arts councils. Another possibility might be to seek a similar accord with Canadian foundations.

In its five years of existence, the U.S.-Mexico Fund for Culture has become a model of a good working partnership on behalf of the arts and humanities at a time when funding for culture is precarious, particularly in the United States, now that the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the

Photo: Nancy Mellgren

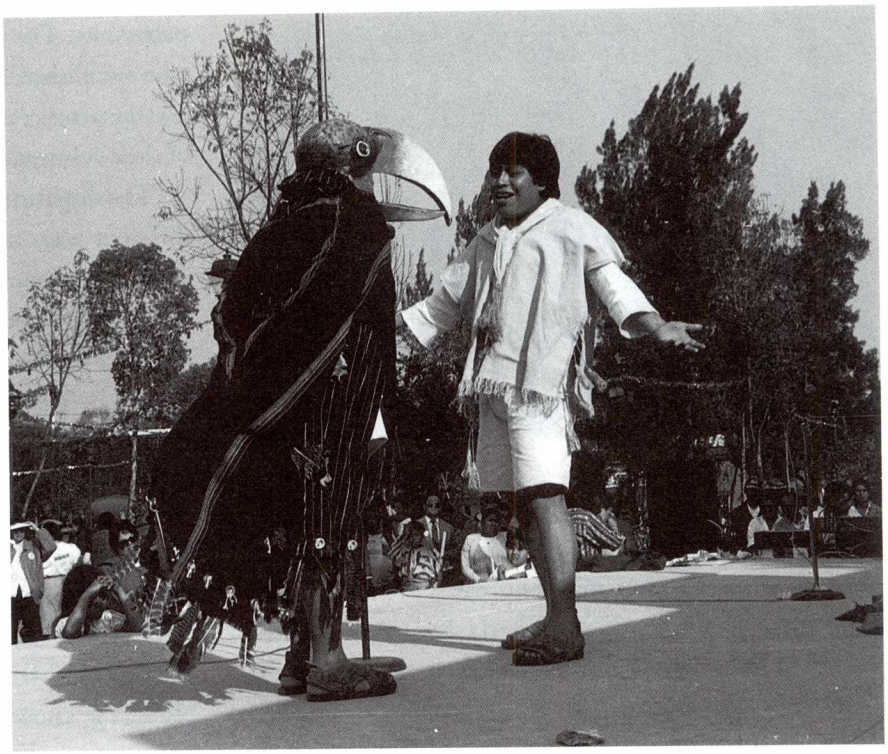
Partners Who Touch, Partners Who Don't Touch, "Do You Remember?" collaborative dance project by Mexican choreographers and American dancers, of the Sara Pearson-Patrick Widrig company (1994).

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) have been decimated. Not only has the fund established a style for philanthropy, it has also set a precedent for binational and even transnational third sector initiatives.

Under the directorhip of Marcela S. de Madariaga, the fund provides subsidies in the performing arts (dance, theater, music), visual arts, media arts, cultural studies, museum and library development and literary and cultural publications. The most important criterion for eligibility, assuming a good track record in the field, is binational relevance. Most of the grants, ranging from U.S.$2,000 to U.S.$25,000, have gone to collaborative projects between parties in both countries; to performances, exhibitions, residencies and conferences held in the partner country; and to studies and publications concerning both countries or carried out by people from one country on topics dealing with the other. An example of the first type was the collaborative dance project, "Do You Remember?" Together, American dancers and Mexican coreographers explored, through movement, how immigration incites and disturbs us and how we experience emotions in relation to our cultural differences. Held at the Dance Theater Workshop (DTW) in New York City in 1994, the project also brought together, in addition to the fund and DTW, different funding agencies like the NEA, the Jerome Foundation, the Suitcase Fund and the Harkness Foundation for Dance. An enduring relationship was established, and the choreographers have continued to work together.

Rose Johnson, *Shame*, the "Alternativas Phoenix-Mexico Alternatives" exhibit, X-Teresa (1994).

Collaborations have ranged from the best known theater and dance companies in New York and Los Angeles as well as Mexico City and Monterrey, to smaller groups in the border areas in both countries, in Chiapas and Baja California in Mexico, and the Southwest and California, in cities with concentrations of Mexican-Americans and Latinos in the United States. Examples range from Edward Albee's series of round table discussions with members of the theatrical and cultural communities in Mexico to indigenous community theater in the Highlands of Chiapas; from a Guillermo Gómez Peña performance at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., to a play about La Malinche by the Arizona Company.



Indigenous community theater overcomes cultural differences.

Music projects have dealt with the use of instruments in both countries, traditional music in Mexico, exchanges, commissions and performances, such as "Jazz on the Border," which provided support for a festival featuring the music of Charles Mingus in the twin cities of Nogales, Arizona, and Nogales, Sonora. In the visual arts, projects have ranged from exhibitions or studies of Orozco, Tamayo and Nahum Zenil to the work of Chicanos and Chicanas, border art exhibits and site-specific installations. Whether in media arts or in the other arts, supported work may range from the traditional, such as the exhibition of Mayan textiles from Chiapas or the cataloguing of dyes used by Navajos, Tzeltales and Tzotziles, to the experimental, such as the exhibition of new conceptual artists from Mexico at the Museo del Barrio in New York or the collaborative performance and high-tech exhibition "Alternativas Phoenix-Mexico Alternatives", at X'Teresa, a new multimedia space in the "ex-church" of Santa Teresa in Mexico City. "Alternativas" was reviewed in the remarkable bilingual art magazine *Poliester* (summer 1994), which is also the recipient of a *fideicomiso* grant.

Other subsidized publications include translations, anthologies or essays on the work of such well known writers as William Burroughs, Guy Davenport, W.S. Merwin, Scott Momaday, Charles Simic, Mark Strand and Walt Whitman from the United States, and Alberto Blanco, Ramon López Velarde, Tomás Segovia and Xavier Villaurrutia from Mexico. Almost equal attention has been given to the writing of U.S. minorities, particularly Chicanos and Chicanas, as well as the oral traditions of indigenous groups in Mexico. One of the most represented topics is the border, a space for the imagination with much cultural activity on both sides and a distinct flavor. It is also the concrete place of binational encounters. The Mexican Cultural Heritage Project, for which the Houston Public Library received funding, provides, like several other heritage recovery endeavors, an institutional space for border area writing and art.

Much scholarly work in the field of cultural studies also examines the border imagination as well as more translocal kinds of binational relations. Carlos Monsiváis, one of Mexico's best known writers, weighs the impact of U.S. culture on Mexico, while Néstor García Canclini, a leading anthropologist and cultural studies theorist, probes the Latinization of the United States. Their work, like that of many other scholars who survey the commonalities and

The fideicomiso *has become, by the very recognition of both countries' differences, one of the most fecund laboratories for understanding and experiencing U.S.-Mexico relations.*

"Jazz on the Border."

differences between the two nations, points to a problem that has come up time and again when evaluators from both countries discuss certain criteria that are presumably identical. For example, a goal of all three sponsors of the *fideicomiso* is to serve diverse artists, scholars and public. However, it has become evident that a notion like "diversity" can be interpreted differently as one moves from one country to the other. In the United States, the emphasis falls on differences of race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. Multiculturalism provides a set of standards whereby an equitable distribution of public services is mandated in schools, government, museums and even the corporate sector. Increasingly, Americans believe that different groups have different cultures and that one feature of democracy is to recognize the value of these cultures.

In Mexico, on the other hand, where, at least since the Revolution, culture has been overseen by state institutions, and centralized in Mexico City, diversity is understood in terms of class and geographic differences. Although it has recently been recognized, even officially, that indigenous groups have not enjoyed the same citizenship rights as others, this recognition rarely extends to a reexamination of cultural institutions, such as museums. This is what Marco Barrera Bassols and his colleagues argue in their *fideicomiso* funded study, "Museos AL REVÉS" (Museums INSIDE OUT). The community museum movement, which began in 1986, although aided by national and international museum professionals, has sought its raison d'être in local practices. As such, these museums have declared independence from the proprietary-conservationist ethos of a national patrimony. The study finds that the indigenous people who established these museums value the objects displayed and the practices enacted, insofar as they relate to the needs of their community.

The disparities in the notion of diversity translate into different ways of addressing target publics. In Mexico, where newspapers and the media are more centralized, it may suffice to publicize cultural activities in national venues. In the United States, however, there are myriad specialized publics, and no one public sphere adequately reaches them all. This, at least, is one working hypothesis devised by the directors and evaluators, drawn from quite contrasting experiences in reaching artists, scholars, cultural organizations and audiences. The *fideicomiso* has become, by the very recognition of this difference, one of the most fecund laboratories for understanding and experiencing U.S.-Mexico relations. As such, the fund is itself producing knowledge. It would do well to fund a project of its own: a glossary of terms and concepts understood differentially in relation to the two national or the various regional contexts. VM

THE WEALTH OF CULTURE

Diego Rivera in the National Archives

*Patricia Galeana**

One of any people's greatest riches is its culture. Through the ages, Mexico has always been a land of creators. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the inhabitants of these lands created harmoniously designed urban centers like Teotihuacan, exuberant architecture like Chichen Itzá, sculpture in the monumental Olmec style or the exquisitely refined Chac Mool and beautiful, enigmatic paintings like those of Bonampak.

Those peoples used the concept of zero before the Europeans and could calculate Venus's trajectory in the skies many years before their encounter with the West. The richness of their culture has had a decisive influence on later generations of Mexicans.

During the colonial period New Spain was a cultural pioneer: the first print shop and the first university in the Americas were set up here. The perfect lay-out of the cities, the magnificence of the churches and palaces in New Spain and the sumptuousness of the baroque altars show the cultural wealth and artistic splendor of the creators of that era.

In contemporary times, the Mexican Revolution was a decisive moment for the nation; the first social revolution of our century, it introduced social rights for the first time into universal constitutional thought and produced a myriad of thinkers, politicians, writers and artists.

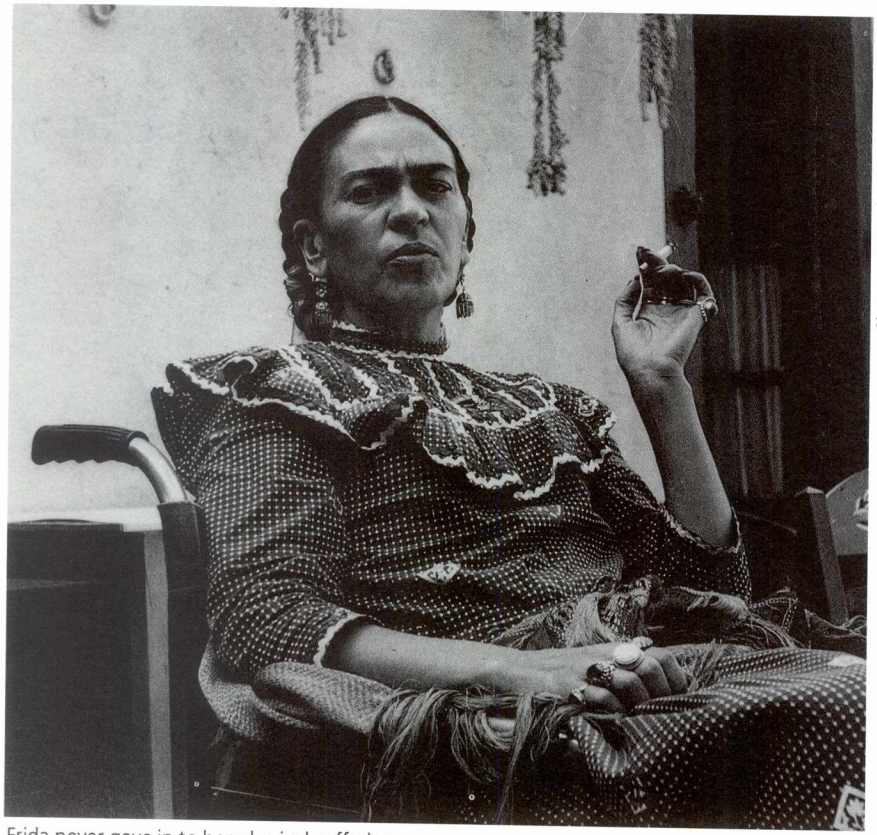
Out of the revolutionary struggle came the muralist movement, the pinnacle of twentieth century Mexican pictorial art. Its central figures are Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros. Muralism consecrated the values of the revolution and exalted the people's struggle for social rights, placing the figures of peasants and workers at its very center.

Diego Rivera, a disciple of landscapist José María Velasco, the great painter of the Valley of Mexico, rebelled very young against stiff classicism. He lived through the pictorial revolution of impressionism in Europe. His analysis of Paul Cézanne's forms, Paul Gauguin's intense colors and the different post-impressionist schools undoubtedly had an important influence on his work, particularly during his cubist period.

Alfonso Reyes[1] explains quite well both the role that European art played among the muralists and the fundamental importance that it had for the search for their roots: "Our *compañeros* who went to Europe did not go to be inspired by the false tradition of the academies, but to look for themselves at the great works and directly observe the free play of the newest trends; when they returned, they were determined to discover everything about their native land and its glorious artis-

* Director of Mexico's National Archives.

[1] Alfonso Reyes (1889-1959) was one of Mexico's most influential intellectuals and writers at the beginning of this century. The vast body of his work exemplifies the cultural environment of the revolutionary period. [Editor's Note.]



Photos courtesy of Mexico's National Archives

Frida never gave in to her physical suffering.

tic past."[2] This was the case of Diego Rivera who, drenched in Mexico's cultural roots, transcended the styles of his era through great and unique art.

Rivera's murals put into sharp relief not only his gifts as a master sketcher and a great colorist, but also the development of someone committed to social causes.

Several cities in the United States, like Los Angeles, Detroit and New York, have examples of Rivera's talent. Unfortunately, his frescoes at the Rockefeller Center were covered over and later destroyed because Rivera refused to accept the suggestion by Nelson A. Rockefeller, who had commissioned him, to eliminate the portrait of Lenin he had painted in them.

In 1929, Diego joined his destiny to that of an exceptional woman, Frida Kahlo, whose love of Mexico and everything Mexican showed in every act of her life, from her dress to her work, inspired essentially in folklore.

Frida left us works of cascading imagination that express her immense love for Diego but also speak to us of her torment, the result of an accident that left her with a broken body when she was 16.

Her art, introspective, surrealist and of excellent manufacture, has awakened in contemporary generations a singular attraction that has become a source of veneration for this woman of profound sensibility and exceptional personality.

Diego Rivera once referred to her work as "acid and tender, hard as steel and delicate and fine as a butterfly's wing, adorable like a beautiful smile and profound and cruel like the bitterness of life."[3]

Frida never gave in to her physical suffering, and she found in painting the way to communicate the strength of her spirit. As one of her biographers said, "The struggle against pain that she engaged in from her sickbed and her heroism would have been a small thing had they not transcended, [but] she transformed that heroic struggle into a titanic battle of will through the supreme radiance of her spirit."[4]

The lives and work of Diego and Frida are, then, part of a golden age in contemporary Mexican culture. Mexico's National Archives, the Americas's largest documentary repository, contains documents which, placed one on top of the other, would be 40 kilometers high. Among them are some touching on Diego Rivera's political life.

One is the original of an article published by Rivera in the United States and written in collaboration with journalist Stanley Pierce. In the article, the painter states his support for Juan Andréu Almazán, the opposition candidate for the 1940 Mexican presidential elections, and attacks Manuel Avila Camacho. Rivera presents an impassioned defense of Almazán, whom he considers the grass-roots candidate.

[2] Ignacio Márquez Rodiles, *El muralismo en la Ciudad de México*, Colección Popular, Mexico City Government, Mexico City, 1975, p. 76.

[3] Raquel Tibol, *Frida Kahlo. Una vida abierta*, Editorial Oasis, Mexico City, 1990, p. 59.

[4] Antonio Rodríguez, "Frida Kahlo," *Catálogo de la exposición Pasión por Frida*, Blanca Garduño and José Antonio Rodríguez (compilers), Diego Rivera Studio Museum-De Grazia Art and Cultural Foundation, Mexico City, 1992, p. 30.

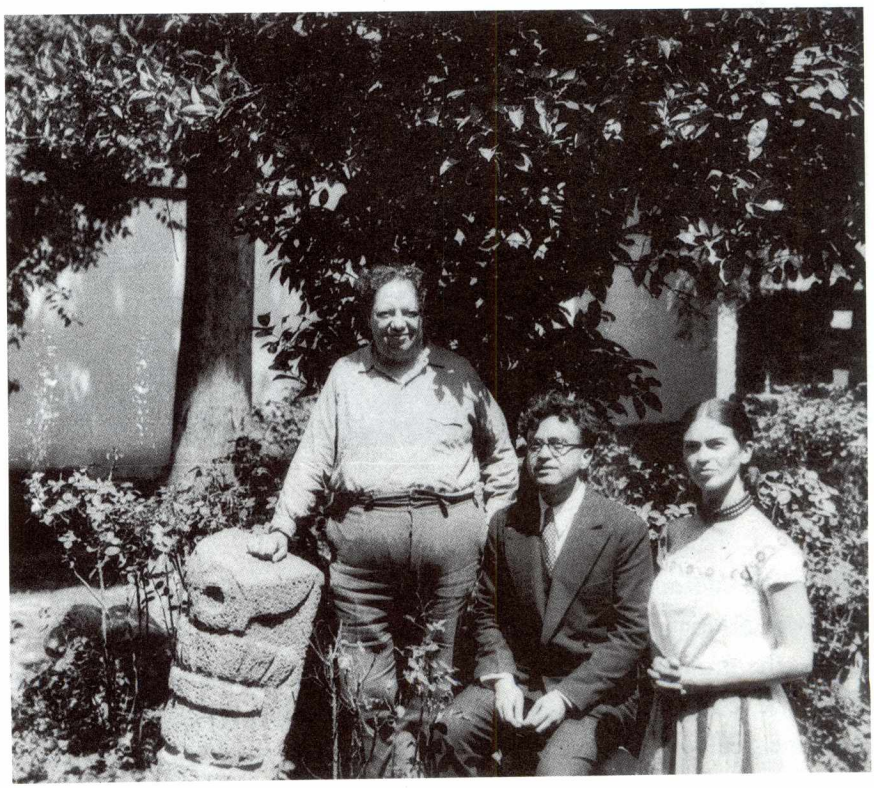
Rivera's murals put into sharp relief not only his gifts as a master sketcher and a great colorist, but also the development of someone committed to social causes.

Diego at work.

"The Mexican people," he writes, "is the most important ally of General Almazán, the discontented general."[5]

Even when he was abroad, Rivera continued to participate actively in politics. So, for example, as a member of the Mexican Workers and Peasants League he sent President Abelardo L. Rodríguez a telegram on October 3, 1932, from Detroit, Michigan, to request the papal delegate be expelled from the country for having "openly attacked the Mexican workers and peasants," when he took a political position on domestic questions. On that basis, Rivera demanded the law be enforced and the prelate deported.

Ambassador Francisco Castillo Nájera telegraphed President Lázaro



Diego and Frida with composer Carlos Chávez.

[5] Diego Rivera, "México es una dictadura militar," July 24, 1940, Mexico City, National Archives, Lázaro Cárdenas Document Group, File 544.1/33.

Diego in his studio.

Frida and Diego with friends.

Cárdenas to inform him that the U.S. press was printing statements from Rivera, the untiring activist, to the effect that actress Paulette Goddard (then married to Charles Chaplin) had helped him escape from Mexico because he considered his life to be in danger.

"Today, American press sensationally reproduces Diego Rivera statements made arrival Los Angeles with film artist Paulette Goddard. Rivera states forced escape Mexico to save life. Adds escape possible thanks Paulette Goddard."[6]

The National Archives also preserves the different presidential agreements authorizing budgets for Rivera to paint the murals in the National Preparatory School, the Library of the La Piedad Educational Center, the Ministry of Public Education, the Gabriela Mistral School and the National Stadium.[7]

Among the more than 6 million images kept in the National Archives are practically unknown photographs of Diego and Frida, some of which are reproduced here. Two such strong personalities could not help but have an impact on anyone who met them. Diego and Frida continue to move everyone who sees their work, Mexican and foreigner alike.

The ideology of the Mexican Revolution was the most important inspiration for Diego's work. As Frida herself says, "The revolution is the harmony of form and color and everything is ruled by one law: life....Anxiety and pain and pleasure and death are no more than a process for existing. The revolutionary struggle in this process is the doorway to intelligence."[8] VM

[6] Telegram sent by Ambassador Francisco Castillo Nájera to Agustín Leñero, secretary to President Lázaro Cárdenas, June 12, 1940, Mexico City, National Archives, Lázaro Cárdenas Document Group, File 546.6/77, no number.

[7] Ministry of Public Education agreements of March 31, May 6 and 20 and June 24, 1924, Mexico City, National Archives, Obregón-Calles Document Group, vol. 54, file 121-E-E-52, no number.

[8] Raquel Tibol, op. cit., p. 27.

What Role for Promotion Of Culture and the Arts?

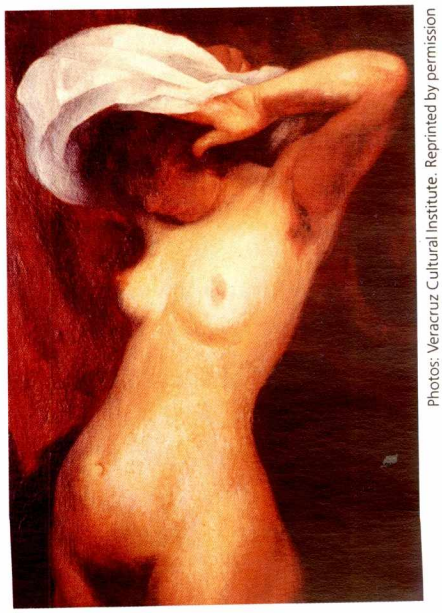
Alvaro Rodríguez Tirado*

I think we must begin by acknowledging the rather annoying fact that, to many people, the cultural links between two countries —any countries— are last on their agenda. They think cultural links must come at the very end, if at all, on the list of priorities. "How can we compare," they ask, "an exchange of exhibits between two countries —say, the exhibition *Diego Rivera: The Master at His Easel* (presented last year at the Mexican Cultural Institute in Washington, D.C.), and the *Masterworks of the National Gallery* (until very recently on display at Mexico City's Anthropology Museum)— with any *real* trade issue, cooperation in the fight against drug trafficking or the migration problem?"

Many reasons might explain the reaction toward cultural cooperation that I've just described, but there are two fundamental ones with which I would like to take issue. First, one tends to view the items in any specific area of bilateral cooperation as if they existed all on their own, that is to say, without a real and serious consideration of what happens in other areas of bilateral relations, and of the many ways in which all these areas interact and influence one another. Secondly, underlying the tendency to make light of the cultural links between two countries is a simplistic and, hence, distorted, view of what culture, the culture of a given country, is all about. Let me explain.

If we are asked what "culture" is, there is very little we can say apart from a quite general definition of the word, that is, what the concept "culture" is. We could say it refers to everything related to the human spirit. This, although true, says both too much and too little. In particular, it says that without appealing to a given culture, you would encounter some difficulty in defining a nation and all that comes with it: the concepts of nationalism, national character, traditions, history and patriotism, for example. This cannot be stressed enough, especially in our time, when globalization and international flows of capital and information have made nations across the world seem like an endangered species.

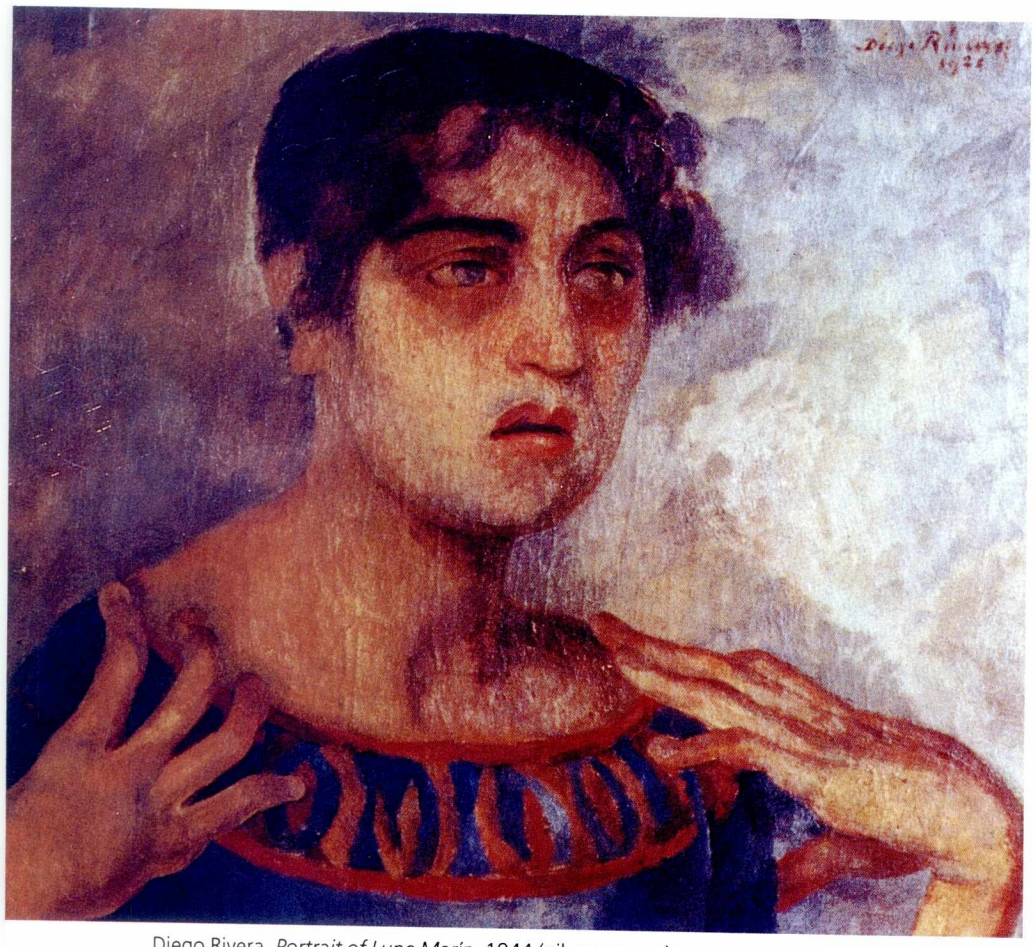
Thus, the culture of a given nation is a *sine qua non* to define its identity: the stronger the cultural ties among the



Photos: Veracruz Cultural Institute. Reprinted by permission of the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature.

Diego Rivera, *Nude*, 1919 (oil on canvas).

* Minister of Cultural Affairs at the Mexican Embassy in Washington, D.C., and Director General of the Mexican Cultural Institute in Washington D.C.



Diego Rivera, *Portrait of Lupe Marín*, 1944 (oil on canvas).

people of a given nation, the stronger that nation's identity in the world. It is because of the language we speak, the beliefs we hold, the values and myths we share that we recognize ourselves as members of a larger whole, a society. It is here where we learn some of the axioms of morality; for instance, that the limit of my freedom is precisely where the exercise of someone else's freedom comes into question. Therefore, in a very literal sense, it is because we are immersed in a given culture that we become the sort of people we are.

The culture of a given nation is a sine qua non *to define its identity: the stronger the cultural ties among the people of a given nation, the stronger that nation's identity in the world.*

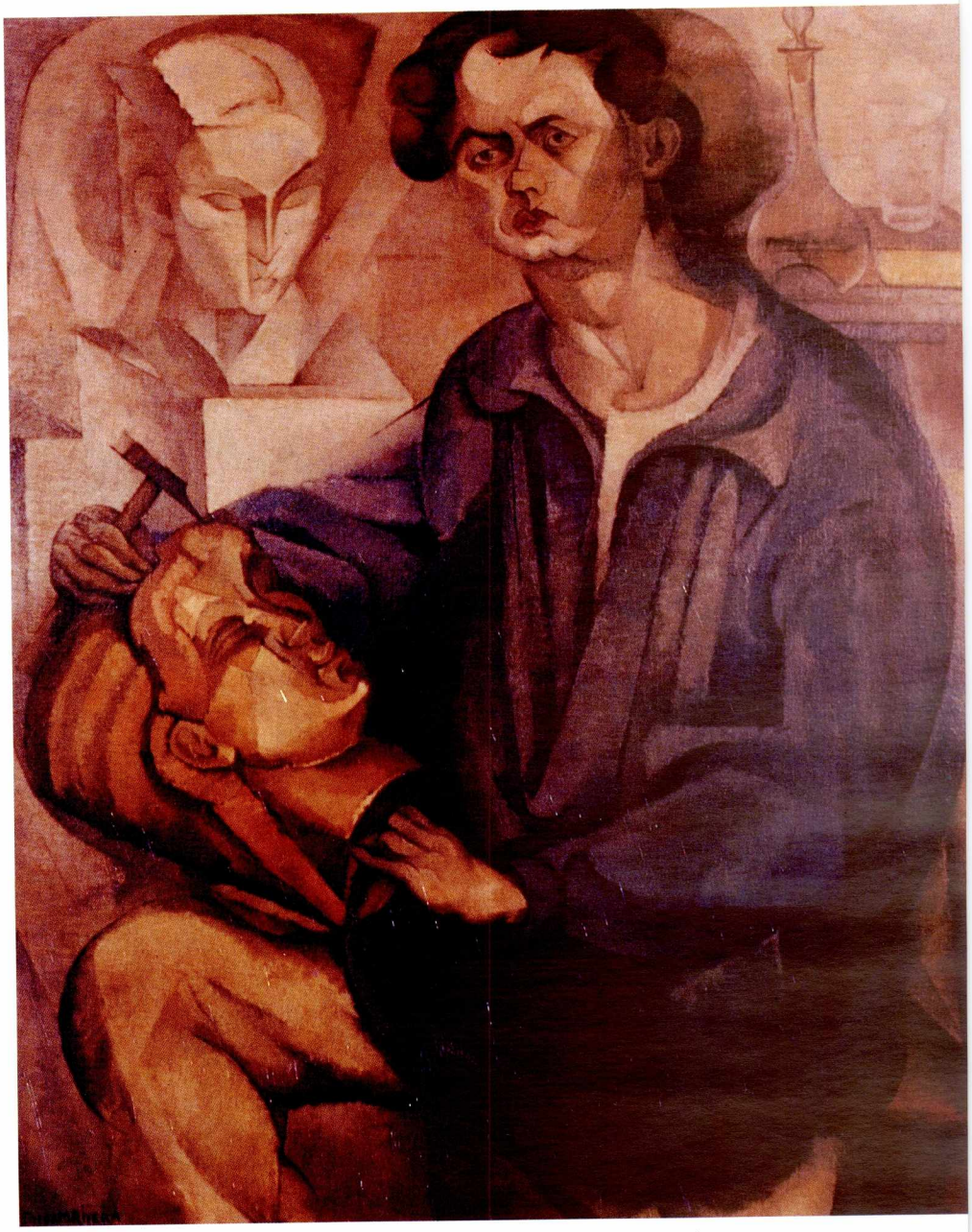
How, then, shall we best ponder the cultural ties between two countries? It is my contention that we shouldn't view cultural links as "one more" set of items on the bilateral agenda, whether we place them in first or second place or last on the list of our priorities. Rather, we'd do best to regard them as *underlying* all our endeavors in the bilateral relationship. The reasons for this are obvious by now, I hope: There is no other way of telling whom you are dealing with, or what sort of people you are trading with or cooperating with against drug trafficking, or what have you, unless you can identify them, unless you can tell what these people are like. But there is simply no way of doing *that* if you have no clue as to what their culture is all about.

This is, in fact, the predominant view of cultural cooperation that has prevailed in Mexico since time immemorial. And, surely, it is an assessment of this sort, or something close to it, that helps explain the amazing success of Mexico's extravaganza some years ago: I am referring, of course, to the superlative cultural and artistic activities revolving around the exhibit *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries*, first displayed at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. An exhibit like this was a clear example of the highly effective ways in which the discourse of nationality proffered through art objects can be articulated. Naturally, its unabashed purpose was, and is, to transform negative stereotypes into positive ones and, in the process, to im-

prove the political and economic standing of our country. So, we come to see these exhibitions as intricate, multilayered engines of global diplomacy, which are, truly, the best self-promotion.

The official name of the celebration I've just referred to was *Mexico: A Work of Art*. This name reveals the way we Mexicans have learned to think about our country. Mexico's culture and art are the very source from which we derive our sense of pride. This can hardly come as a surprise to anyone. Actually, it did come as a shock to Bernal Díaz del Castillo when he arrived in Tenochtitlan and witnessed what he called "things never heard, nor seen, nor even dreamed." But that was almost half a millennium ago. In any case, Mexicans find it easy in one way or another to trace back their origins to the cultures of Mesoamerica, where the Olmecs, the mother culture of them all, loom large in space and time.

Last year the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., mounted a phenomenal exhibition, *Olmec Art in Ancient Mexico*, the first comprehensive showing of the artistic achievements of Mexico's oldest civilization. More than 250,000 Americans came out of the exhibition with a pretty clear idea of what a portentous civilization the Olmecs were. Those magnificent colossal stone heads from San Lorenzo, the massive altars, as well as the sophisticated anthropomorphic and zoomorphic statues, spoke eloquently to the mystery and the monumentality of their art. And the Olmecs lived and created their art more than 1,000 years before someone came up with the idea



Diego Rivera, *Portrait of the Sculptor Oscar Miestchaninoff*, 1913 (oil on canvas).

Mexico has never ceased to produce art and thus contribute to the continuous art currents that make up human lore.

of building what was to become such a symbol of western art: the Parthenon in Greece.

Since the time of the Olmecs, Mexico has never ceased to produce art and thus contribute to the continuous art currents that make up our human lore. We have always believed that a culture that closes itself off, however rich and varied its own splendors, will soon dry up and eventually vanish. Aware of this, Mexico has traditionally fostered cultural ties and has promoted academic and cultural links with other countries. I mentioned earlier the role of international exhibitions as superb engines of global diplomacy. Let me now add some other welcome effects of these exhibitions: the promotion of tourism, increased attendance of the public at museums and the development of international business and political connections.

Diego Rivera, *Man Carrying a Turkey* (oil on tempera on Masonite).

A good example is precisely the National Gallery's Olmec exhibition and the many events organized by the Mexican Cultural Institute in Washington, D.C. As I mentioned earlier, the institute hosted an exhibition of the celebrated muralist Diego Rivera. This landmark exhibit included Diego's early European paintings, landscapes, portraits, still lifes and the splendid *Kneeling Woman with Sunflowers.* Of course, it would have been wonderful if we had been able to bring to Washington the works that make Diego one of the most famous painters of all time, his murals, but that is simply impossible. Just to give you an idea of this man's amazing strength, we can remember that his series of 124 frescoes in the patio of the Public Education Ministry cover 1,585 square meters, or over 17,000 square feet: the equivalent of a painting one foot tall and over three miles long.

At a very early age Diego managed to travel to Paris. There he met, as was to be expected, Picasso and Juan Gris, Picabia and Modigliani, Apollinaire, Cocteau and all the rest. The influence Picasso exercised on him can be easily detected. Diego is reported to have said, for instance, "I have never believed in God, but I believe in Picasso." The other great influence was

Cézanne. Indeed, it is said Diego Rivera was left absolutely speechless only three times in his life while looking at a painting: before a window in Paris when he saw his first Cézanne; when he gazed at Posada's engravings and standing in front of some of Giotto's murals in Italy.

Diego Rivera spent the year 1956, that is, one year before his death, almost entirely in Moscow. He went there because he was convinced that they would cure a cancer he had been suffering from for quite some time. He also wanted to know the latest news about the so-called "social-realist school" and, of course, he spent most of his time drawing and painting. Five of those masterly drawings were included in the exhibit *Diego Rivera: The Master at His Easel* at the Mexican Cultural Institute in Washington, D.C. They are all a humble tribute to the anonymous worker that occupied such a large place in Diego's heart throughout his life.

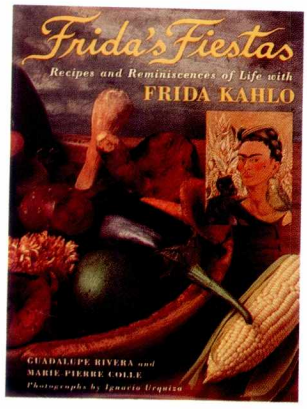
In conclusion, Mexico has invariably shown a single, persistent determination through an incredible variety of forms, manners and styles. As Octavio Paz said, "There is no apparent commonality among the stylized jaguars of the Olmecs, the gilded angels of the seventeenth century and the richly colored violence of a Tamayo oil; nothing, save the will to survive through and in form." To share and disseminate these forms is none other than the main goal of whoever happens to be responsible for promoting culture and the arts in the international arena.

Diego Rivera is reported to have said, "I have never believed in God, but I believe in Picasso."

Diego Rivera, *Kneeling Woman with Sunflowers,* 1944 (oil on canvas).

Frida's Fiestas[1]

Guadalupe Rivera *
Marie-Pierre Colle **



Frida's Fiestas. Recipes and Reminiscences of Life with Frida Kahlo takes the reader through life with Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera, two of Mexico's world renowned painters, by way of their kitchen. In collaboration with Marie-Pierre Colle, Guadalupe Rivera Marín, Diego's daughter by a previous marriage, wrote this book about the year she lived with the couple in Frida's famous blue Coyoacán house when she was 18 years old. *Voices of Mexico* is proud to present its readers with exerpts for the month of March from this best-selling book.

TEOTIHUACAN WHERE LIVE THE SUN AND MOON

The hot winds of March had begun to blow. Ash Wednesday arrived and with it the meatless meals of Lent.

When we sat down to eat one Thursday, I noticed that Frida was very upset. She had just read a newspaper article that linked my father romantically with an attractive Hungarian painter. The reporter, who was a woman, declared that Rivera was going to marry the Hungarian as soon as he divorced his current wife, the painter Frida Kahlo.

"At least this is between painters," Frida said. "I have to admit, Piquitos, that I'm not surprised. It won't be the first time your father has left one artist for another. Just remember how he abandoned Angelina Beloff for Marievna, when both of them were pregnant!"

Then she said, "Come on, let's go to the library. We can talk more comfortably there."

In the library she took out her hidden treasures to show me. There, in two wood and glass display cases, was the splendid pre-Columbian jewelry that my father had given her over the years. There also were her collection of folk toys and her *retablos* on votive themes. She showed me marbles made of old glass, in all sizes. The many colored cat's eyes in the center made them seem like magical objects, whose shifting hues could predict the future.

We ended the afternoon consulting the work of Sigmund Freud. Frida had decided to paint something relating to the prophet Moses, about whom the Viennese master had written so brilliantly. She needed insight into Moses as a mythological figure. Her doubt about how much of

* Director of the National Institute for Historical Studies of the Mexican Revolution.

** Expert on Mexican art.

[1] Guadalupe Rivera and Marie-Pierre Colle, *Frida's Fiestas. Recipes and Reminiscences of Life with Frida Kahlo,* Kenneth Krabbrenhoft (trans./text), Olga Rigsby (trans./recipes), Pavilion Books Ltd., New York, 1994. Photographs: Ignacio Urquiza; Recipes adapted by Laura B. de Carazo Campos.

Photo: Ignacio Urquiza

Frida used to make her husband special dishes for each month of the year.

Moses to see as human and how much as something else was reflected in her own work, where fantasy often substituted for reality, transforming it from a human experience into a superhuman or mythological one.

More evidence of Frida's search for identity was to be had the following day.

She was so angry at my father that she proposed we disappear. We left before daybreak the following day, with Cristina Kahlo in her little Ford. I had no idea where we were going. The only landmark I noticed, after we had driven the length of Insurgentes Avenue from south to north, was the road to Pachuca, capital of Hidalgo state. Then I realized we were going to San Juan Teotihuacan, a magical place not far from Mexico City.

In the ancient Nahuatl language Teotihuacan means "city of the gods." In those days the silence of a holy place reigned over the site. When we arrived the sun was beating down on the pyramids and palaces of the city. Because at that hour the majestic Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon cast no shadows, they looked like two-dimensional drawings on a background of clear blue sky, as if we were gazing at a stage set lacking perpective or chiaroscuro contrast.

Frida was completely caught up in the spirit of the place. She reached automatically for the notebook she carried in her embroidered Otomi-style cloth handbag. Once again she sketched the silhouettes of the pyramids and the Temple of Butterflies, which stands next to the Pyramid of the Moon. She executed the sketch exactly as she had when she painted the portrait of Luz María, granddaughter of Don Tomás Teutli and his wife Rosa, direct descendants of the builders of Teotihuacan.

In this portrait the girl wears a sweater made from local materials woven in a regional design. She is sitting in a chair; in the background we see a pale moon and a washed-out sun, celestial bodies half extinguished by the child's presence, which boldly asserts her native identity. The pyramid's silhouette is also fuzzy, and the background is as somber as Frida's mood at the time of our visit.

Later Cristina drove us over a rough road to the edge of the holy city. Here was Don Tomás's house, surrounded by magueys and organ cactus, agaves and prickly-pear plants. Don Tomás was standing in his doorway, and when he saw us, he cried. "Doña Frida! We've been waiting for you since yesterday afternoon! I felt the sadness that brings you to us. I'm very happy to see you have arrived safely. Please come in, come in to my home."

He gave us something to drink, then asked Frida to go with him through the hallway to the garden. When he had finished speaking and the talk turned to other things, that simple, quiet man was suddenly transformed into a menacing creature like Quetzalcóatl, the Teotihuacan deity. A strange light shone in his eyes, and he spoke prophetic words.

"Niña Fridita", he said, "you have more suffering before you, but you will die sheltered and protected by the one who causes your present pain. You and Don Diego will not be able to live apart. Sometimes you are united in love and affection, other times hatred keeps you apart. But you will die together and, after your death, be a single shining star, sun and moon in conjunction. Have no doubt, my dear girl; you are destined to live forever in this universe, each one merged with the other in eternal eclipse."

With these words his prophecy was finished, and he was once again the humble, mild-mannered peasant who had waited for us amid the agaves and magueys, in the doorway to his house, with the peace of time reflected in his face.

After offering us the traditional refreshment of *agua de chía*, Doña Rosa invited us to eat. She had prepared a number of Lenten dishes typically served throughout the central Mexican plain, where the gods that Frida invoked in her paintings had once upon a time resided. As it turned out, Doña Rosa and Don Tomás extended their hospitality to us for three more days, days in which reality was inseparable from magic.

Photo: Arturo Piera

"Frida and Diego lived in this house, 1929-1954."

Photo: Arturo Piero

Frida's kitchen. Frida Kahlo Museum.

Menu

Potatoes in Green Sauce

Refried Beans

Shrimp Tacos

Lima Bean Soup

Cold Chiles with Vegetable Stuffing

Red Snapper Veracruz Style

Lettuce, Tomato, Cauliflower and Beet Salad

Mango Sorbet

Potatoes in Green Sauce

(8 servings)
2 pounds/1 k small potatoes
2 pounds/1 k tomatillos, peeled
1 cup/250 ml water
4 serrano chiles
salt
3/4 cup/100g coarsely chopped coriander
2 tablespoons lard
1 large onion, finely chopped

Peel the potatoes and parboil them for one minute. Set aside. Simmer the tomatillos with the water, chiles and salt to taste until tender. Let cool slightly, then puree with the coriander. Heat the lard in a skillet and sauté the onion until translucent. Add the tomatillo puree and cook for 10 minutes. Stir in the potatoes and continue to cook until the potatoes are tender, about 15 minutes.

Photo: Ignacio Urquiza

Potatoes in Green Sauce.

Refried Beans

(8 servings)
1/2 pound/250g lard
1 onion, finely chopped
3 cups/500g cooked beans
1 cup/250ml cooking liquid from beans
salt
Grated añejo cheese (or parmesan)
Totopos (fried small tortilla triangles)

Heat the lard in a skillet. When it starts to smoke, add the onion and sauté until golden. Add the beans and cooking liquid. Mash the beans to make a puree. Season with salt to taste. When the beans are well fried and pull away from the bottom of the pan when stirred, remove from the heat. Place the fried beans on a serving platter, shaping them into a log. Sprinkle with cheese and garnish with *totopos.*

Shrimp Tacos

(8 servings)
1 medium onion, chopped
4 serrano chiles, chopped
4 tablespoons/65g butter
3 medium tomatoes, peeled, seeded and chopped
salt and pepper
1 pound/500g cooked shrimp
24 medium tortillas

Sauté the onion and chiles in butter until the onion is translucent. Add the tomatoes and salt and pepper to taste. Cook for 10 minutes, until the tomato is thoroughly cooked. If the sauce becomes too thick, thin it with a little chicken broth or water. Add the shrimp and cook 2 minutes, just until they are heated through. Fill the tortillas with the shrimp mixture and serve piping hot. Or serve the shrimp mixture with the tortillas on the side.

Lima Bean Soup

(8 servings)
1 pound/500g dried lima beans
3 quarts/3 chicken broth
4 tablespoons corn oil
1 1/2 cups/450g tomatoes pureed
with 1/2 onion and 1 garlic clove and strained
2 parsley sprigs
salt and pepper
2 crusty rolls, sliced and fried

Soak the beans in cold water overnight. Drain and discard the water. Cook the beans in chicken broth until tender. Let cool slightly, then puree with their liquid. Heat the oil in a stock pot. Add the tomatoes and parsley and cook until tomatoes are thickened. Add the pureed beans and season with salt and pepper to taste. If necessary, add a small amount of chicken broth. Simmer for 15 to 20 minutes to blend flavors. Serve the soup piping hot, garnished with fried bread slices.

Photo: Ignacio Urquiza

Lima Bean Soup.

Cold Chiles with Vegetable Stuffing

(8 servings)
16 *poblano* chiles, roasted, seeded and deveined
2 medium onions, sliced
1/4 cup/60ml white vinegar
1 tablespoon *each* fresh thyme, oregano, marjoram
and coriander
1 bay leaf
1 cup chopped cooked cauliflower
1 cup chopped cooked carrots
1 cup cooked peas
4 avocados, peeled and cut in cubes
2 scallions, finely chopped
1/2 cup/125ml olive oil
3 tablespoons vinegar
salt and pepper
3 cups/750ml heavy cream
1/2 pound/250g añejo cheese, crumbled (or parmesan)

Place the chiles in a saucepan with water to cover. Add the onions, white vinegar, and herbs and cook until tender. Drain and let cook. Combine the vegetables with the oil, vinegar and salt and pepper to taste. Stuff the chiles with the vegetables mixture. Top with cream, sprinkle with cheese, and serve at room temperature.

Red Snapper Veracruz Style

(8 servings)
1 red snapper (about 4 1/2 pounds/2k)
salt and pepper
6 medium tomatoes, sliced
20 pimento-stuffed olives
2 tablespoons capers, rinsed
1 tablespoon dried oregano
5 bay leaves
3 thyme sprigs

5 garlic cloves, peeled and sliced
2 large onions, thinly sliced
8 *güero* chiles, pickled or fresh
1 cup/250 ml olive oil

Dry the fish thoroughly. Sprinkle with salt and pepper and arrange on a large baking dish. Top with tomato slices, olives, capers, oregano, bay leaves, thyme, garlic, onions and chiles. Drizzle with the olive oil.

Bake in a preheated 375°/190°C oven for about 40 minutes, or until the fish is cooked, basting the fish with its juices 3 times during cooking.

Lettuce, Tomato, Cauliflower and Beet Salad

(8 servings)
1 head romaine lettuce, cut in chunks
4 medium tomatoes, peeled and quartered
2 cups cooked cauliflower
2 beets, cooked and sliced

Vinagrette

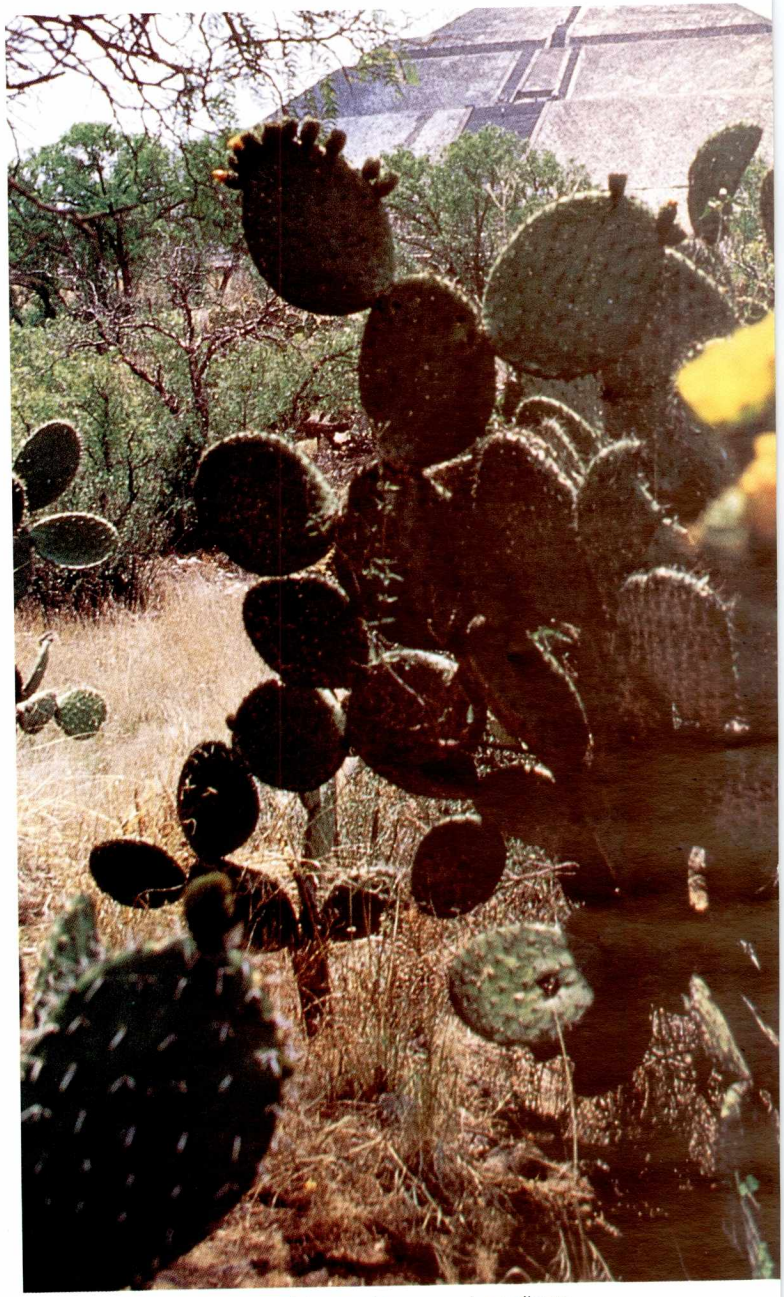
1/2 cup olive oil
2 tablespoons lime juice
1 teaspoon mustard
salt and pepper
1 teaspoon honey

Arrange all the vegetables in a salad bowl. Dress with the vinagrette. To make the vinagrette, combine all the ingredients in a jar with a tight-fitting lid. Shake to blend thoroughly.

Mango Sorbet

(6 to 8 servings)
1/2 pound sugar

Photo: Ignacio Urquiza



Nopal cactus leaves are one of the most common ingredients in traditional Mexican cuisine.

1/2 cup water
2 cups mango pureed with 1/2 cup water

Combine sugar and water and heat until syrupy. Remove from heat. Stir in mango puree. Strain if desired. Chill, then place in an ice cream maker and freeze according to the manufacturer's instructions.

Photo: Arturo Piera. All photos reprinted by permission of the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature

Frida Kahlo Once Again[1]

*Teresa del Conde**

On July 13, 1954, Frida Kahlo reached that perfect state of equilibrium in which opposites meet and nothing new or irregular can disturb the eternal embrace of the earth. A few months before, on February 4, she transcribed in her diary the thought of a Marxist theorist, "Changes and struggles disconcert us; they terrify us because they are permanent and unrelenting. We seek calm and peace anticipating the death we die each second....We shelter ourselves, we tie ourselves to irrationality, magic, abnormality, for fear of the extraordinary beauty of certainty." This woman who, perhaps as no other, personifies the love of life based on the recognition in herself of a death compulsion, had already learned many years before to sublimate her frustrations not only in her painting but also in the artistry that she gave her very existence and the formidable projection of her personality, which Diego Rivera described as "like the two faces of Janus, as adorable as a beautiful smile and as profound and cruel as the bitterness of life."[2]

Frida's slow suicide, marked by alternating self-destructive explosions and displays of a will to live so intense that sometimes it was furious, began years before and took the form of a painful pilgrimage, colored with ritual, to doctors' offices, medical centers and hospitals. It reached its height in August 1953 when her doctors, Dr. Luis Méndez and Juan O'Farrill, decided to amputate her gangrenous right leg. An entire study could be written exclusively based on the stories and medical reports and Frida's relationships with her doctors. It would not begin in 1925 when she had her terrible accident, but in 1913 when she was stricken with polio, or even before.

In her early maturity, Frida —in her own words, "murdered by life"— had an unimaginable sense of humor and a compulsion for authenticity comparable only to her will to live. Those who knew her said, "She needed the exaltation woven into love, joy and truth. She decorated the truth, invented it, took it apart, extracted it, provoked it; but she never distorted it."[3] These words describe succintly not only a trait of Frida's personality, but also a fundamental aspect of the way she approached the themes in her painting. Everyone knows that a good part of her work is made up of self-portraits, self-portraits that not only reflect a mirror image, objectifying and simultaneously separating reality from the other parallel reality on the canvas. There is much more. It is not just simple repetition. We know that the compulsion

* Director of Mexico City's Modern Art Museum.

[1] A first version of this essay was published by Mexico City's National Art Museum under the title "Frida, The Great Concealer," in the catalogue for the 1981 Frida Kahlo-Tina Modotti exhibit.

[2] Bertram D. Wolfe, *Diego Rivera, su vida, su obra y su época*, Ercilla, Santiago de Chile, 1941, p. 412.

[3] Raquel Tibol, *Frida Kahlo. Crónica, testimonios y aproximaciones*, Ediciones de Cultura Popular, Mexico City, 1977, p. 19.

Opposite page: *Flower of Life*, 1944 (oil on Masonite).

to repeat is a sort of uncontrollable force that commonly reflects the non-use of past experience, not reliving it in the here and now in order to always present it as new.

And there is something else: though Frida is openly the center of her work, she lived basically turned into herself; she did not consider what she made with her hands part of herself. That is why she gave away many of her paintings. Her person grew with all its products and powers, but at the same time transcended her primary narcissism because even pain and love, with all their danger and hostility, become a dual demand. On the one hand, her obvious sadomasochism was oriented to self-preservation, and, on the other, she tried to project herself to others with a clear sense of respect and veneration of everything living: revolutionary ideas, the people she knew, the causes she believed in and, of course, animals, plants, the earth —in a word, everything susceptible to being transformed.

Photo: Arturo Piera

Portrait of Luther Burbank, 1931 (oil on Masonite).

Little has been said about her beliefs. I think they were based on a syncretism in which the love of her fellows had its deserved place (although not exactly in the Christian sense), side by side with the principle of the renovation of matter, or perhaps better said, with the strength emanating from everything alive and even inanimate objects.

This kind of belief assumes that besides the organs of the senses, there is a seeing organ that is not the eyes. This idea, symbolized by the third eye present in many of Frida's most important paintings allows abstractly for the realization of truth and unity with reality, a unity achieved through a series of embraces that are a metaphor for the interrelation of everything in the universe. A 1949 painting illustrates this point, even in the title, *The Loving Embrace of the Universe, the Earth, Diego, Myself and the Lord Xólotl.*

In another painting, *Sun and Life* (1947), the main concept is a face with the third eye drawn as the center of concentric circles. This "plant," not quite a sunflower, is surrounded by bulbous vegetables shaped like germinating seeds. The two open rudimentary leaves of the seed plant are the shape of uteruses and reveal the organs within: they have both the feminine and masculine principles, undifferentiated by gender but to a certain extent reversing functions. So, what look like Fallopian tubes are at the same time pistils spouting semen, and the uteruses themselves function as sort of phalluses. A small embryo is developing at exactly the same level as the third eye, an allusion perhaps to nature's own quality as a "seer."

Moses (1945) is, perhaps, of all of Frida's work, the painting which best represents this aspect of her iconography. He appears as a child of the sun in the act of being born at the center of a symmetrical composition depicting representatives of all humanity throughout the ages. The origin of life and the transformation of energy into matter are this painting's predominant concepts.

This kind of pantheism with evolutionary highlights has its mystical aspects, rooted in ancient Asian doctrines. Frida probably came into contact with these currents of thought from her early youth and increased her interest in them through some of her high school friends, the group called *los cachuchas* (so called because they wore caps). In a photograph taken by her father on February 7, 1926, she is seated, dressed in a loose, dark silk robe, adorned only with a double Asian insignia on her breast. In her right hand she is holding a half-open book identified only by an astrological sign. In her student days, she used a symbol to sign her name: an isosceles triangle sometimes drawn with the vertex pointed downward and other times pointed up, depending on her mood.[4]

[4] Manuel González Ramírez, a friend of Frida's from high school until the eve of her death, told this story to her biographer, Hayden Herrera. Unfortunately, González did not elaborate on the origins of the signature's symbolism. Herrera does not touch on the possible relationship between iconography and Frida's writings and occultism in his excellent and very complete book, *Frida. A Biography of Frida Kahlo*, Harper & Row, New York, 1983.

Photo courtesy of Modern Art Museum

The Two Fridas, 1939 (oil on canvas).

Frida's predilection for these things was not of the kind of esotericism promoted by Breton and the surrealists. I believe it was derived from a complex constellation of factors: first, her religious spirit (religion as in *religare*, meaning "to unite with," not in the sense of a dogmatic body of beliefs and norms); the Catholic education her mother insisted she have; and its German Jewish counterpart inherited from her father (which contributed the Bible, the kabbala and probably certain Masonic principles). Other elements are her possible fatalistic convictions, fed by incidents in her own life; the very physical person of Diego and some of the directions of his thought and culture; and on top of all this, the convergence between certain astrological premises and the cultural and religious heritage of our ancient Mesoamerican civilizations.

None of Frida's paintings could have been born of a spirit with any other country than Mexico as its origin.

On one occasion, she called herself "the great concealer," and she also liked to call Diego "the architect of life." She used to say, "You are the combination of all numbers."

Frida began painting at the age of 19, in 1926, after her accident. Before that, she had clearly said that she wanted to study medicine, but she did not really pursue that intention with any fervor. However, art was not unknown to her; you could even say she had it in her genes. Very able at overcoming adversity, had she ever determined she wanted to, she would undoubtedly have become a doctor. Painting was a momentary solution that she was not fully conscious would be her road to realization.

Her first paintings, *Portrait of Alicia Galant* and *Self-Portrait* (1926), are "aristocratic." Somehow they bring to mind Roberto Montenegro in their pursuit of a refined aestheticism which they never quite achieve because of their freshness and the simultaneous rusticity of a first attempt. *Portrait of Miguel N. Lira*,[5] one of her high school friends (who was, by the way, possessed of a profound knowledge of Chinese poetry), shows her aim of using a much broader pictorial vocabulary. Apart from the art deco elements upon which its composition is based, this painting has certain touches of Futurism that show the intention of seriously becoming involved in the perception and handling of form.

She did not continue on this road. Her personal circumstances, her fascination with herself and, above all, the enormous wealth of knowing how to see herself and how to associate her person with significant parts of her real and imaginary surroundings would lead her to paint introspective self-portraits as her main genre. Her particular form of introspection, especially from 1931 on, is full of symbolism that could well be confused with joys or fantasy. However, her fantasy is tinged neither with megalomania nor irrationality. It is profoundly realistic; it always deals in facts or the relationship among facts which for her were of the most absolute certainty. We cannot even speak here of an aim to bring pre-conscious factors to the fore because her constructions are deliberate and follow a complex but strict logic based on empirical experience, although it be saturated with elements from dreams or daydreams. These states are also experienced and, therefore, real.

The primary sources of Frida's painting are, then, in herself, and she is part of the "Mexican-ness" popular in the years when she began developing as a painter. None of her paintings could have been born of a spirit with any other country than Mexico as its origin. The critic and art historian Bertram D. Wolfe speaks of the hope (much more in the sense of "forward looking" than of "naive"), at once both happy and melancholy, with which Frida selected her motifs. Something similar can be found not only in the painting of former priests or nuns, but in folk art in general.[6] Several of her works evoke the folk art form of the *retablo*,[7] of which she formed a vast and fascinating collection, aided by Diego, as well as the Christian martyrologies. In some she looks like a lay saint, or a goddess, surrounded by her appointments, which, instead of crowns of roses or the palms of the martyr, are thorn collars, slightly muzzle-like pre-Hispanic jewels, or ribbons wound several times around her neck ambiguously suggesting the possibility of hanging. The shine of rigid lace becomes a nimbus or halo and, at the same time, a parapet in the two self-portraits in which she wears the headdress of women from Tehuantepec. The 1943 canvas has the image of Diego emerging from the double arch formed by her requisite joined eyebrows. The general structure recalls that of a great neuron and this reminds the viewer of Frida's enor-

[5] This painting is on exhibit at the Modern Art Museum, on a three-year loan from the Tlaxcala Institute of Culture.

[6] Teresa del Conde, "Lo popular en el arte de Frida Kahlo," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 45, UNAM, Mexico City, 1976.

[7] *A retablo* is both an altar-piece and, in Mexico, a painting, usually small, done on tin by the faithful to thank a particular saint for a miracle he or she has performed. These paintings, also called "miracles," describe the problem that has been overcome. Part of Frida's large collection of these pieces of folk art is today exhibited in the Frida Kahlo Museum. [Translator's Note.]

mous interest in the microscopic world, the world of laboratory slides, of elemental organisms and cells ready to be inseminated.

The Little Deer (1946) plays with, among other things, the principle of the dual sexuality of each individual, which Frida was profoundly convinced existed, perhaps without even needing to read Freud. The animal's body is that of a male deer. (Granizo, the little domesticated deer the Riveras owned, was the model.) The head is Frida's, with deer ears and antlers. The horns probably symbolize something more (like feeling that she was being cuckolded by Diego)[8] and this element also probably combines with the pain inflicted by the arrows piercing the animal's body. Naturally the images of Saint Sebastian and *La Dolorosa* (Our Lady of Pain) come immediately to mind: we should remember that, according to legend, Saint Sebastian was not killed by the shower of arrows, but lived an active life for many more years. Likewise, tradition has it that Mary did not die from her pain, but became an active promotor of the faith and, according to the Apocrypha, she became a "wise woman." Frida would not die of the arrows that in her 1946 painting combine with a live branch of a young tree the trunk of which has been cut away.

Frida dressed in black, rested and serene, walking slowly through the halls of her house in Coyoacán accompanied by her monkey Guayabito and her dog Xólotl; Frida outspoken and using vulgar language, captivating the attention of the Mexican and foreign elites at the January 1940 inauguration of the Gallery of Mexican Art surrealist exhibition; Frida the teacher, giving instructions to her pupils, Arturo García Bustos, Guillermo Monroy, Fanny Rabel and Arturo Estrada.

"Doña Frida de Rivera
A modern painter
says, 'You must paint life'
Let's leave school behind."[9]

Photo: Arturo Piera

Portrait of Miguel N. Lira, 1927 (oil on canvas).

Frida desperate, weepy, on the brink of hysterics because she knows she can never have the children she wants so badly; Frida enthusiastic and seductive, with all her attention focused on Trotsky; Frida painting Stalin's portrait almost on the eve of her death; Frida given over to Diego like a solicitous, loving mother and at the same time a young comrade, capable of making sagacious, penetrating criticisms of his work, which she valued above all things; Frida jealous, resorting to escapism to free herself from the ponderous image of her spouse; Frida bringing her adolescent love for Alejandro Gómez Arias up to date through experiences with other, later, friends; Frida deciding to paint "to earn her living" and not just as a form of exorcism or self-projection; Frida in private, writing rhyming prose, sometimes critical, others elemental, in that diary of hers that has now been published in

[8] This is a play on words based on the same root of the word for horns or antlers (*cornamenta*) and to be cuckolded (*ser cornuda* or *sentirse cornamentada*, literally "to have the horns put on you"). [Translator's Note.]

[9] The verse is taken from a *corrido*, a type of popular Mexican song, composed by Erasmo Vázquez Landechy to decorate the walls of the La Rosita *pulque* saloon.

Photo: Arturo Piera

Portrait of Alicia Galant, 1927 (oil on canvas).

a facsimile version;[10] Frida generous and open, moving heaven and earth to help people in trouble, whether she knew them or not; Frida childish, dressing her dolls and her cardboard Judases[11] with all the love of a little girl playing "mommy"; Frida admired by Kandinsky, Breton, Ernst, Picasso and Noguchi, all smiles, malice, satire and charm; Frida writing "Diego and I" at the same time that her lawyer sent her the papers for a divorce that would last only a year; Frida truly mourning her mother, "the little bell of Oaxaca," who had epileptic attacks in sympathy with those of her husband, the great photographer Guillermo Kahlo; Frida impassive, threatening, dressed as a man, seated in a yellow chair holding the open scissors with which she cut her long hair, surrounded by the locks and hacked braids that have taken on their own life in her 1941 *Self-Portrait.*

"If I loved you for your hair,
Now that it's cropped, I don't love you any more."

Frida provoking in others that sense of humor shaded with sexuality, double entendre and sometimes necrophilia, one more aspect of her creativity.

"I like your name, Frida,
but I like you more
in the 'Fri-dom' of your decision
and in the end, because you give.[12]
Seeing the down on your lip,
like a bald little boy
I feel it would be my joy
to become a queer."[13]

Frida heroic, attending in her wheelchair with her almost disintegrated body the Communist demonstration to protest the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz, the president of Guatemala victimized by the CIA; Frida painting a blazing still life, pulsating with life a few days before her death; Frida painted by Diego in *Dream of a Sunday Afternoon at the Alameda*, dressed in the white costume of the women from Tehuantepec, holding in her left hand a sphere with the signs of ying and yang, the principles of life and death, of the light and the shade, of the soul of darkness and light.

All this and much more form the image of the unconventional and wilful woman, who was honest with herself, theatrical to the marrow of her mutilated bones, on occasion a snob, truly convinced of her political positions that gradually changed and that she betrayed, but that she reaffirmed in her conscience throughout her whole life.

Today, a "star," she is the best known, most sought after and idolized woman painter in Latin America and the world, and not only because of her small *opus* nor the mass reproduction of the most beloved of all her works, *The Two Fridas.*[14] Her person, her existence, made a work of art in itself, by herself, her acts, have been elevated to the level of myth. But what will endure as of genuine value is her painting. VM

[10] "Diario de Frida," *Frida Kahlo: Diario autorretrato íntimo*, Harry N. Abrams, Inc. and La vaca independiente, Verona, Italy, 1995. This book was reviewed in *Voices of Mexico*, no. 34, January-March 1996, p. 25.

[11] Cardboard figures of devils representing Judas, traditionally sold in Mexico before Good Friday when they are burned in effigy. [Translator's Note.]

[12] The poet is playing with the two syllables of the name Frida: "Fri-" equals "free", the English word, and "da" the Spanish word for "give." [Translator's Note.]

[13] I found these lines in the correspondence file at the Frida Kahlo Museum in Coyoacán. I did not, however, find the author's name. I quoted them in *Frida Kahlo*, a small volume published in 1976 by the Ministry of the Presidency.

[14] This piece is venerated more than valued and enjoyed by visitors to the Modern Art Museum in Chapultepec Park, sometimes with the only aim of coming face to face with her.

Three Extra Bonuses and Another Brouhaha

Two of Diego Rivera's Aesthetic Decisions[1]

*Juan Coronel Rivera**

The Bonus: Three 1933 Panels

The texture of a wall prepared for a fresco is something like the skin; even though it's cold —in the mornings, icy— it retains a burnished humidity. It's not like touching a dead body, but more like an unusual reptile. The grayish color of recently mixed plaster is only barely discernable in the deep white it takes on once dry. If you put your tongue to it, the devil takes hold of it; you have to paint it first.

Diego Rivera was part of romantic modernism. With certain variations, his way of describing progress was through historical materialism; that is, he experienced the liberalism which reigned in his day —laissez faire and *laissez-passer*— as a rebel. He was a member of that vanishing breed, the intellectual resistance. Diego idealized two contemporary historic situations from a distance, but despite having the opportunity, he did not participate: one, the 1910 Mexican Revolution, the other, the Soviet struggle of 1917. During these great struggles, Diego "took refuge" in Europe and fate decreed he would arrive in both countries at the time of the 10-year commemoration of their initial battles.

Immersed as he was in the period and customs of the School of Paris European artists, Rivera developed his work in periods, or to be more direct, in modes, since some of these ways of understanding and conceiving of artistic endeavor frequently reappear in cycles. In one of these periods, perhaps the longest, Diego constructed a dichotomous world, especially in his murals, handling the same way the national symbolisms of Lenin and Zapata, to which he gave a similar moral value. One image is distinguishable from the other because the works involving the Mexican hero and his context illustrate a non-Western world view using Western systems of expression, such as perspective, realism, drawing, etc. That is, Diego painted in the European manner, giving his work the appearance of *mestizaje*.[2] On the other hand, the works on Soviet topics depict a Western world in Western terms. This is why the first are the archetypes for a new manner of art, the Mexican School, and the second are part of absolutely Western realism.

The first panel I will describe is entitled *The Russian Revolution* or *The Third International*. It is actually a simplified version —a detail, in fact— of the fresco *World War*. The story of this small piece dates back to March 1933 when Diego Rivera began a commission which would turn out badly, the fresco *Man at the Crossroads Looking with Hope and High Vision to*

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* Mexican art critic.

[1] This article and the photographs were originally published in *Los murales del Palacio de Bellas Artes*, Sandro Landucci Lerdo de Tejada (coord.), Américo Arte Editores-INBA, Mexico City, 1995, pp. 42-49.

[2] *Mestizaje* means mixed blood, referring to the mixture of Spanish and indigenous peoples typical of the Mexican population. [Translator's Note.]

The Carnival of Mexican Life, "Mexican for the Artsy-Craftsy and the Tourist" (panel I), 1936.

Photos by Enrique Bostelman. Reprinted by permission of the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature

the Choosing of a New and Better Future for the RCA building at New York's Rockefeller Center. When Nelson Rockefeller realized that the mural would include a portrait of Lenin and the painter refused to eliminate it, he decided the fresco not be finished, ordered the work stopped and paid Diego his full fee for the mural. Some stories say the mural was later destroyed and others that it was covered with a layer of paper.

With the money Rockefeller gave him, Rivera decided to protest by working on a series of 21 mobile panels for the New Worker's School, *Portrait of America*, which he painted between July 15 and December 8, 1933. Thirteen of the twenty-one frescoes were sent to Pennsylvania and later destroyed in a fire in 1969. The rest are scattered in public and private collections. When he finished, he still had a little of the money paid by Rockefeller, which he used to do two small pieces, both including Lenin, which he gave to the House of Trotskyism and another, practically a miniature, for Frida, which at this writing has not been catalogued.

These three panels were conceived based on *Portrait of America*. The smallest, currently in the Frida Kahlo Museum, is a scene from panel F called *Civil War*. The second, *The Fourth International*, is a version of panel S, *Proletarian Unity* (I do not know the current whereabouts of this work). Finally, we have the piece which is today on display on the second floor of Mexico City's Palace of Fine Arts, a detail of panel K, *World War*.

World War, now part of Luis Echeverría's collection, was number 11 in

the catalogue prepared in New York for its sale together with the last four frescoes. The catalogue reads:

> Panel II - *World War.* Wilson in the center, Lenin and Trotsky at the top right. [This is where the fresco I am describing is taken from.] The foreground features realist portraits of the rich Americans who schemed to get the United States into the First World War. On the left is John D. Rockefeller, with a cadaverous face, and Clemenceau asking him for money. Behind Clemenceau are Coronel House and King Albert of Belgium. In the center is Tsar Nicholas and at his side, Lloyd George, taking money from J.P. Morgan. Other faces are those of the [sic] Mikado, DuPont and Bernard Baruch. Above all of them are Italy's [Prime Minister] Orlando and the Munitions King, Sir Basil Zaharoff.

The moveable fresco panel entitled *The Russian Revolution* or *The Third International* measures 0.95 square meters and shows Lenin and Trotsky guiding their people to socialist freedom and well-being. An idyllic work, deeply romantic and manipulative, it presents a mature satisfied Lenin and Trotsky, in front of him, displaying that iron-willed attitude that he is leading a revolution with a clear conscience. The ethical underpinnings of the two figures are implicit in the multitude behind them, thousands of free men who fought for their own well-being and against tzarism. This piece is now completely out of context historically and is beginning to be valued only on the basis of its pic-

The Carnival of Mexican Life, "The Dictatorship" (panel II), 1936.

torial value. Many of the visual details used in this fresco, as in the other two in the series and the group of 21 for the New Worker's School, were first done in sketches and watercolors in 1927 and 1928 during Diego's first trip to the Soviet Union. Today, these works are located in Moscow's *Album of May First.*

The Brouhaha: The First Murals For the Reforma Hotel (1936)

In 1930, the trip to Puebla took several hours. The highway, paved in some places and unpaved in others, was always surprising, especially because of the scenery linked together by snowy peaks. Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo were newlyweds, and when their work allowed, they went out of town even if only for a couple of days. Frida enjoyed these trips much more than Diego's previous wife, Lupe Marín. In Puebla they went shopping in the Barrio de la Luz, where they bought brown and black ceramics, pot-bellied little men and clay pots decorated with Mexico's national emblem for cooking *mole* sauce. Later, they would go to the market to see if the potters from Izúcar de Matamoros had set up their stalls. During all this, Diego would be edgy because what he really wanted was to get to the little town of Huejotzingo as fast as possible: it was the week of Mardi Gras, or Carnival.

Huejotzingo began to celebrate the Carnival in the nineteenth century, taking as its central theme the

The Carnival of Mexican Life, "The Dance of the Huichilobos" (panel III), 1936.

The Carnival of Mexican Life, "Agustín Lorenzo" (panel IV), 1936.

commemoration of the Battle of Puebla, in which Zacapoaxtla Indians and Mexican troops beat the French interventionist army. The Huejotzingo Carnival features different dances, among them the carnival, *huejotzinca* and *chinelos* dances. The central spectacle of the whole week's festivity is the representation of the historic event with a parade of the Mexican and French troops. The inhabitants, divided into two groups, usually dress up in masks made of molded and painted leather, decorated with finely woven horsehair, and either "Frenchified" or regional Mexican dress. The "battle" features explosions and skirmishes and a certain amount of confusion; one of the main characters is Agustín Lorenzo, who kidnaps a maiden, supposedly Empress Carlotta. The whole pageant ends with the victory of the Zacapoaxtlas and the burning of the bandit's house.

On those occasions, Frida could be heard to shout enthusiastically, "Damned French, sons of..." while Diego made literally hundreds of sketches of the goings-on. From 1930 to 1935, Rivera developed this theme in drawings, watercolors and on canvas. But in 1936 he had the opportunity to do a mural on the topic. Diego tells us how it all began:

> My old friend Alberto Pani, who had helped pay for my trip to Italy, then offered me a commission to paint four panels for the great dining room of the Reforma Hotel, then under construction....Pani promised to pay me 4,000 pesos, almost 1,000 dollars. I decided to use themes from the carnival to

"The Dictatorship" (detail).

go with the decor of the dining room (Rivera/March 1963: 169).

The motifs Diego used came from the Huejotzingo Carnival festivities.

After his experience in the United States with the Rockefeller Center mural, from 1933 on and while he worked for the New Worker's School, Diego sought structural solutions so his work would not be destroyed if his patron was unhappy with it, solutions that could also be implemented in Mexico. In 1935, Rivera asked his friend Federico Bach, Assistant Director of Statistics for Mexico's Ministry of Education, to investigate the possibilities of importing materials similar to those he had used to build the moveable panels in New York. Bach wrote to Professor Villeman at the University of Geneva, an honorary member of the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics, asking him to price the materials. Villeman answered:

> I just received an answer from Mr. Lucien Montant, of the Maison L. Montant & Companie, specialized in construction materials (Rue Pierre du Niton 6, Geneva), who sent me the following prices: iron frames or iron bars by the meter (all the prices are for buying the items by the ton), 35 francs per 100 kilograms. White French cement, 9 francs; hydrated lime, 7.80 francs; marble powder, 6 or 7 francs, depending on the quality; river sand, 8 francs per cubic meter....They tell me that distilled water costs 20 centimes per liter, but I think that if you buy hectoliters, you can get a lower price (unpublished original letter).

"Mexico for the Artsy-Craftsy and the Tourist" (detail).

Diego bought his paints at The Renaissance, a store founded by the Frenchman E. Benoit, located in Mexico's downtown area, at Allende #1. These pigments were powdered, sold in 250-gram containers with such exotic names as "Blanc Saint Jean," "Noir Invoire," "Rouge de Pouzzoles."

> As my plans evolved, I took to adding touches of satire to my paintings on topical subjects. Given my still recent experiences in New York, where such delicate artistry could provoke a controversy, I made the moveable panels so that if Pani decided to "do a Rockefeller" there would be no excuse for destroying them....Of the four panels, two are of traditional Mexican festivals, one centered on the ancient god of war, Huichilobos, and the other in honor of the generous bandit Agustín Lorenzo who fought the French and once tried unsuccessfully to kidnap the Empress Carlotta. The other two panels are on more contemporary subjects: one makes fun of the Mexico tourists see and of artsy-craftsy ladies. It mocks urban idiots and satirizes their imbecilic pretensions by having donkey's ears sprout out of their heads. The other presents the carnival of Mexican life today: men in symbolic uniforms with mask-like faces charging straw scarecrows while street crowds obediently twirl their noisemakers.[3] Among them, a general with a pig's face dances with a woman symbolizing Mexico and surreptitiously puts

[3] Noisemakers, clappers for example, twirled rapidly to make loud clacking noises, became a tradition at Mexican political rallies both to ensure enough commotion was made in favor of some speakers and to silence others. [Translator's Note.]

"Agustín Lorenzo" (detail).

his hand over her shoulder to steal the fruit she has in a basket on her back. A man who looks like a sheep, symbolizing intellectuals for hire, is broadcasting an official report of the festivities holding up a dry bone.[4] A gesticulating cleric is peeping over his shoulder. Behind an enormous malformed figure appears the head of a Mexican capitalist. The horrible gesticulating giant who darkens and dominates the panel has the features of Hitler, Mussolini, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the emperor of Japan. In his hand he is holding a flag that is a composite of the colors of Germany, Italy, the United States and Japan (Rivera/ March 1963: 169-170).

Diego brought together these four works under the name *Huejotzingo Carnival*, giving each an individual title: I. *Mexico for the Artsy-Craftsy and the Tourist;* II. *The Dictatorship*; III. *The Dance of the Huichilobos*; and IV. *Agustín Lorenzo.* Each panel is 3.89 by 2.11 meters. Diego painted these pieces for the Maya Room of the Reforma Hotel, although a few days after they were finished, just before the inauguration, the frescoes were altered, and later they were stored in a warehouse. This is Rivera's description of what happened:

Right away the cognoscenti began bubbling with conjecture: the intriguing family features of General Pig looked very much like those of President Cárdenas or his minister of agri-

[4] In Mexico, the word for bone, *hueso*, also means a sinecure, unwarranted post or a post or funds acquired through influence or corruption. [Translator's Note.]

culture, General Cedillo; the features of the fat prelate were awfully familiar, etc. And also, wasn't there a clear reference in the other disguised figures and their hangers-on to the group in power, the so-called "Men of the Revolution" and the several industries they controlled? (*Memoria* / Wolfe, 1972: 282-283).

The fact is that the allusions were clear and the caricatures were implacable. For example: panel I. *Mexico for the Artsy-Craftsy and the Tourist* contains a figure disguised with a *chinelo*-shaped hat and a tiger's mask which gives it a clear likeness to General Calles —the *Jefe Máximo*.[5] In his left hand the figure holds a chicken, on his back he carries a milk can and next to him a servile horse is holding a bag full of eggs: these were all businesses that Calles controlled. In case that did not suffice, the figure is decked out in a golf outfit and is holding a golf club: this sport became fashionable in Mexico because Calles, by that time in exile, played it. The confrontation was made public:

> Mr. Alberto J. Pani, an engineer and owner of the Hotel [Reforma], did not want to hurt anyone's feelings and therefore ordered that the polemical murals be put into storage, replacing them with some elegant, attractive mirrors....On this question, extensively reported in the United States, before ordering the murals be withdrawn completely from his hotel, Mr. Pani said, "I decided to change the murals because Diego Rivera painted some heads of state and other people in an unfavorable light....One figure represented President Franklin D. Roosevelt. I changed that figure because Mr. Roosevelt is president-elect of the United States and a personal friend of mine....Other figures were of General Cárdenas and General Calles. Rivera painted General Calles in the National Palace as a great man, but in the hotel he painted him in a derogatory way. I am a friend of both President Cárdenas and General Calles. The latter is a man who has fallen from grace and I cannot tolerate that his misfortune be taken advantage of....I asked Diego to change the murals and he refused. I made the same request of other painters, who also refused: therefore I made the changes myself, which goes to show that it is easy to paint like Rivera" (*El Universal*, November 24, 1936).
>
> Before leaving the capital [Diego was in Pachuca when the panels were removed], Rivera stated that Mr. Alberto J. Pani and his nephew Mario had changed the murals "to get publicity....The San Francisco Stock Market garnered almost U.S.$800,000 in free publicity and Rockefeller Center almost a million and a half in their conflicts with me. That's why the Pani brothers decided to do the same thing with their hotel....The way they have changed the murals show they are friends of Calles and international fascism" (*El Universal*, November 24, 1936).

After his experience with the Rockefeller Center mural, Diego sought structural solutions so his work would not be destroyed if his patron was unhappy with it.

Diego and Pani went to court over the panels. Rivera called a strike with the support of the Construction Workers Union, which blocked the hotel entrance. With the help of the union's lawyer, he brought proceedings demanding that "the reactionary mutilation and alterations to Rivera's paintings favoring the workers" be repaired, which they were. Besides the U.S.$1,000 which Rivera had been paid for his original commission, he also received U.S.$2,000 in damages and the workers had to be paid their wages for the time they were out on strike.

After keeping the murals for more than 10 years, Pani sold them to Alberto Misrachi, the owner of the Publications Central gallery. To get rid of this "hot item," Misrachi put them up for sale on consignment at Inés Amor's Gallery of Mexican Art, where they were finally sold in 1963. They were bought through the Administrative Committee of the Federal School Construction Program, headed up by architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez. Ramírez

[5] Plutarco Elías Calles (president of Mexico from 1924 to 1928) held enormous sway over the presidency for years after his administration ended. This period in Mexican history has been called the *Maximato* and Calles was called the *Jefe Máximo* (the Big Boss). [Editor's Note.]

had plans to exhibit them in the National Anthropology Museum, which he had designed. For some time the murals were divided up: panel IV. *Agustín Lorenzo* was in the Anthropology Museum's room "The Synthesis of Mexico," and the other three in the Palace of Fine Arts. Later panel IV was transferred to the Palace of Fine Arts, designed by Adamo Boari, where they are today.

In one of Diego's last autobiographical works, which he dictated to Luis Suárez, he expresses his opinion —not without malice— of the murals there:

> All Mexican painting up until today has something positive in it. Even Tamayo's painting may in the long run be attacked, although it has an 80 percent chance of surviving because, even within his point of view, the international —that is, imperialist— manner of expression, Tamayo undoubtedly husbands a great deal of sensibility and a great talent that are genuinely Mexican, like himself, and the undoubted gift of the true mural painter. In the Palace of Fine Arts, which holds works of Orozco, Siqueiros, Rivera and Tamayo, undoubtedly Tamayo's are the only ones which are really adapted to and compatible with the building's architecture. That is not praise for the building's horrendous architecture, but praise, serious praise, for the painter who knew how to make a beautiful painting live in harmony with the abject architecture that frames it (*Confesiones*/Suárez, 1962: 163). VM

"Dance of the Huichilobos" (detail).

Diego Rivera, Cubist

*Edgardo Ganado Kim**
*Luis Gallardo**

Photos: Carrillo Gil Art Museum. Reprinted by permission of the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature

* Curators of the Carrillo Gil Art Museum.

Painter at Rest, 1916 (oil on canvas).

Opposite Page: *The Architect*, 1916 (oil on canvas).

Everything indicated that Rivera, the "child prodigy," would be an outstanding painter of the old school.

Diego José María Concepción Juan Nepomuceno Estanislao Rivera Barrientos Acosta y Rodríguez, better known as Diego Rivera, was born December 13, 1886, in the Mexican city of Guanajuato. While still a child, he moved to Mexico City to study painting and drawing at the Academy of San Carlos. By 1896, Rivera was already studying with teachers of the stature of Félix Parra and José María Velasco, pillars of what was at that time a still very rigid nineteenth century art school. Everything indicated that Rivera, whose precociousness earned him the description of "child prodigy," would be an outstanding painter of the old school.

In 1907, the governor of Veracruz, Teodoro A. Dehesa, awarded him a scholarship to continue his painting studies in Europe. Rivera chose Spain, where Eduardo Chicharro, a renowned realist painter, received students at his workshop. From 1907 to 1913, Rivera emulated the realism of his teacher and other contemporary Spanish painters of the same school. However, it would be El Greco who would become the most permanent influence in the work of the young painter. In those years, Rivera made many trips through Europe. He traveled to England, France and Belgium to observe and take nourishment from different aspects of their art. He also devoured all the secrets of brushwork and the use of color.

Undoubtedly his arrival in Paris in 1911 heralded the beginning of a transcendental change in his work. Rivera took up with an artistic milieu teeming with seductive personalities, in a cosmopolitan France where all artistic proposals found an echo, in a climate of complex intellectual relationships that stimulated, supported and fostered the arts. Rivera was a privileged spectator and actor. Possessed of a singular analytical capability, he scrutinized the avant garde trends. As part of his feverish activity, Rivera periodically visited other European cities to exhibit his work, and the strong ties of friendship he established with important members of the Parisian cultural milieu allowed him to participate in the innovative trends.

In 1913, Pablo Picasso and George Braque began to abandon analytical cubism to develop a new trend, synthetic cubism. Diego Rivera made his first notable incursions into this style after coming into contact with Juan Gris. Gris' synthetic cubism is characterized by his compositions using

the golden section, his uniform smears of color and his gradual use of pictorial textures instead of collage.

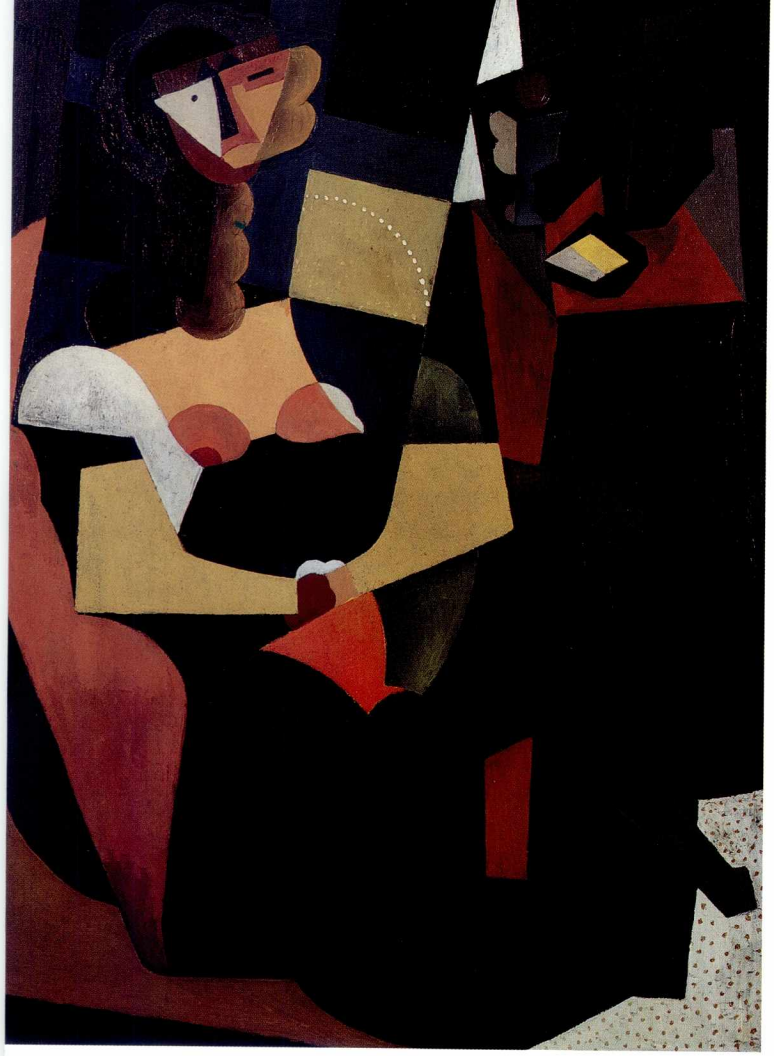
Diego Rivera's work took a new turn in 1914 after a couple of encounters with Pablo Picasso (who, incidentally, praised Rivera very eloquently). The two painters talked extensively about the possibilities offered by permanent experimentation with form and spacial representation. Unfortunately, World War I was about to break out and Rivera, Angelina Beloff (his partner at the time), Jacques Lipschitz and other artists left for the island of Mallorca.

In Mallorca, Rivera notably enriched his palette. His painting, which in previous periods had been markedly monochromatic, veered toward a new vein of multi-colored experimentation. Shortly thereafter, one of his greatest stylistic and thematic contributions began to appear in his work: marked elements of regionalism, such as the serape in *Portrait of Martín Luis Guzmán* or the theme and characters in *Zapatista Landscape.*

Throughout the following years until 1917, Rivera would identify himself as a cubist painter. However, a personal reversion to Cézanne's formalism, especially vis-à-vis the plastic organization of space, would gradually lead to new forms of composition and representation. Another determining factor in this change in Ri-

Diego Rivera's work took a new turn in 1914 after a couple of encounters with Pablo Picasso.

Portrait of Maximilian Volonchine, 1916 (oil on canvas).



Woman in an Armchair, 1917 (oil on canvas).

vera was his review of the literature on the theory of art. Firmer and more traditional drawing would lead his work to be increasingly characterized by the marked individuality of each of its formal elements.

By 1920, when he left Paris to travel through Italy to study the great Renaissance masters, Rivera's break with Cubism was inevitable. He began a new crusade in favor of formally classic and socially committed art. Mexican muralism had its first, best and most transcendental moments in the 1920s and Rivera was destined to be one of its most important representatives.

Mexico City's Carrillo Gil Museum has seven Riveras that belong exclusively to his cubist period. Alvar Carrillo Gil bought them in Brazil. Just why these canvases ended up in Brazil has been the subject of much speculation, but one thing is certain: Dr. Carrillo was particularly interested in this period because of the formal contribution this work represented, in a style that no other Mexican painter used with such force and personality.

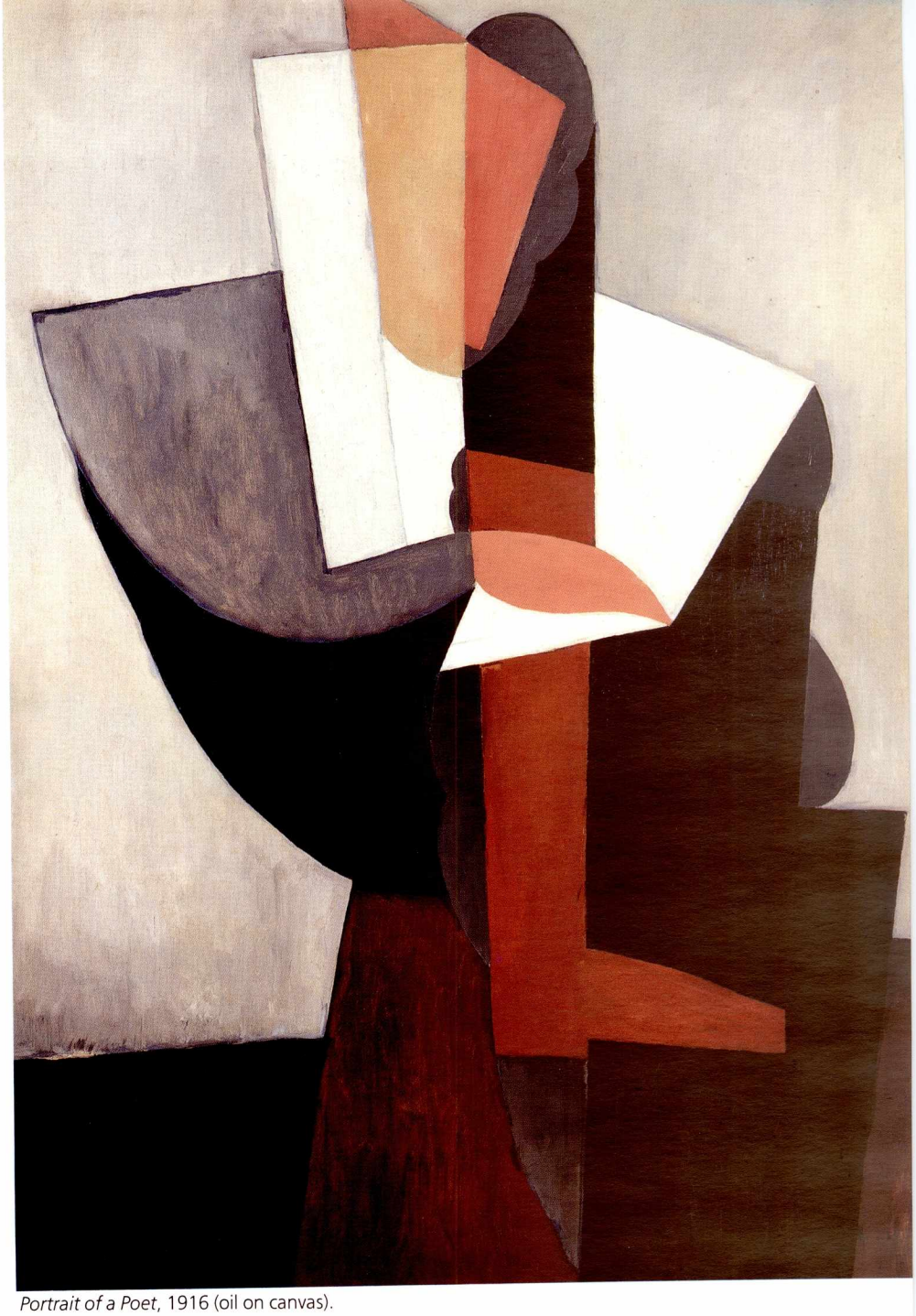
All seven works are portraits. Strictly speaking, none of them can be considered orthodox examples of Synthetic Cubism since that style sought to reveal the planes of the objects painted with a maximum of precision and with short brush strokes, using a limited range of color; Rivera sometimes broke with these canons. Formally, Rivera's Cubism has elements of the analytical period since the painter simultaneously presented different visual angles of the portrait's subject. However, in this case —and in contrast with Analytical Cubism— the planes become fields of local color, sometimes with the whole spectrum of one color or covered with daubs of another.

On some levels Rivera plays with the appearances of pictorial representation, sometimes inserting elements of realist figures or simulating textures with academic fidelity; creating tricks for the eye between classical realism and cubism; using leitmotifs recurrent in Gris or Braque (instruments, still lifes, printed paper, etc.). Therefore, in *The Architect* we observe a seated figure facing front, possibly posing, behind his work table. In some sections, we see internal structures of the piece of furniture, which are transparent, allowing us to see its forms; in other sections the painter emphasized the wood with certain naturalism in a fashion similar to the synthetic cubist artists who sometimes resorted to gluing original materials on their canvases, like wallpaper or bottle labels. The hands are depicted in multiple images, fanned out to show their different angles and the work tools they hold. The faceted features of the architect's head are perfectly delineated by black lines and changing colors, which tend toward whites on the right and blacks on the left. The background of this work is particularly interesting since the floor blends with the wall in the farthest plane, with the materials and textures. The colors the artist used make the composition slightly dynamic and give it a particularly rich contrast in light.

The series of three seated women, *Woman in Green, Maternity* and *Woman in an Armchair*, tend toward sober colors and a taste for straight lines and angles, characteristic of Rivera's work around 1916 when he had his first child with the Russian artist Angelina Beloff. Two of them are

portraits of Angelina: *Woman in Green* and *Maternity*. The former depicts Angelina pregnant and the latter, noticeably tender, shows her nursing the child. In both canvases, the artist was clearly interested in composing a painting around a centered frontal view and a hierarchical arrangement of the weight of the composition compensated by an angular, asymmetrical delimitation of the form, which is also emphasized by the treatment given to the backgrounds.

There are similarities among *Portrait of a Poet, Painter at Rest* and *Portrait of Maximilian Volonchine* in the artist's intention of simplifying the expressions even more, as well as in his handling of large chromatic areas where there is a geometrical synthesis of the figures. Both the austere geometrical forms and the neutral backgrounds, which emphasize the characteristics of the figures represented, retreat from the use of vibrant colors and the richness of line that the artist had previously used. These paintings announce Rivera's evolution, interest and exploration between 1913 and 1917 when he made a notable incursion into one of painting's most important avant garde movements.



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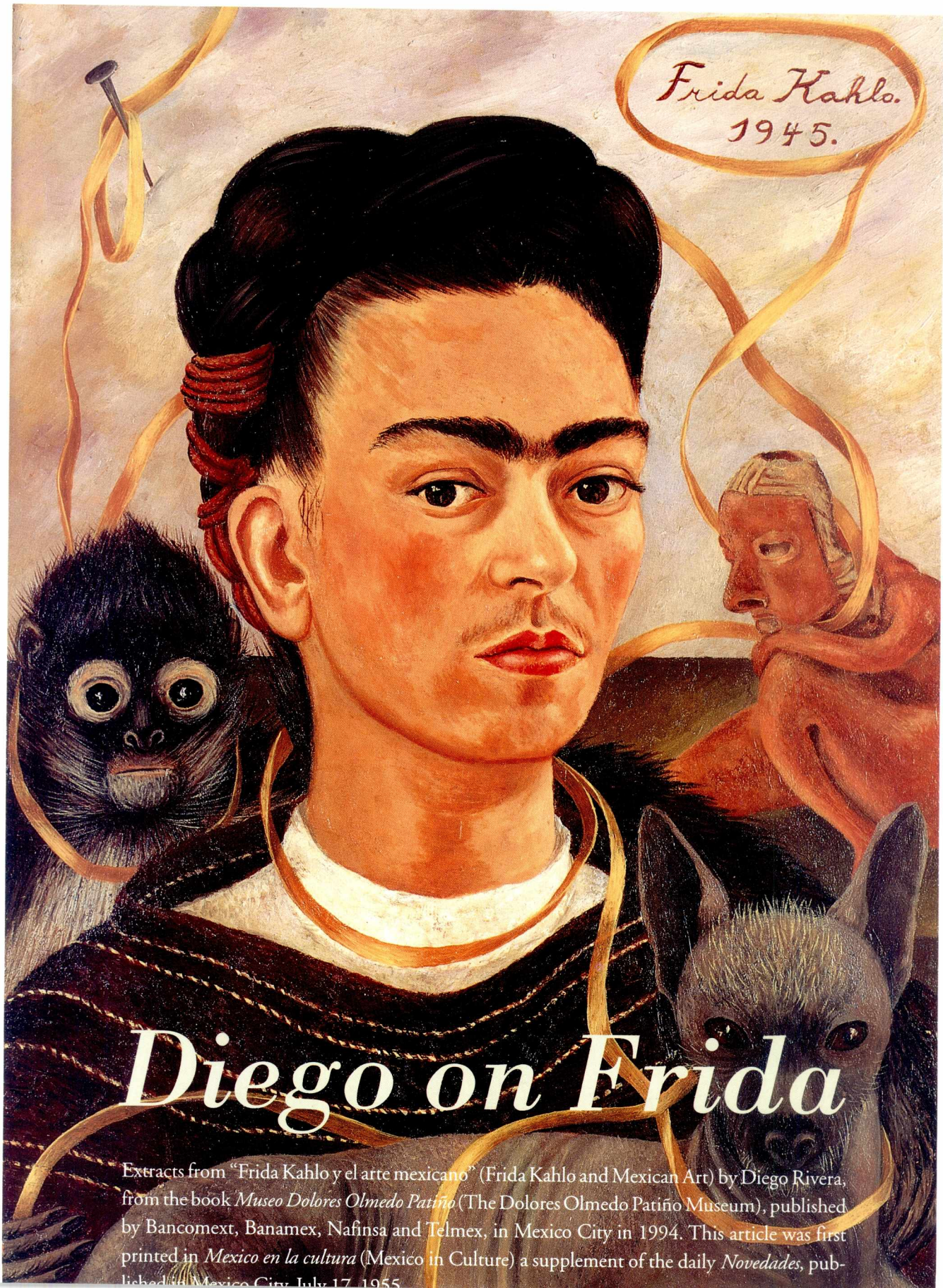


Photos by Arturo Piera

Diego on Frida

Extracts from "Frida Kahlo y el arte mexicano" (Frida Kahlo and Mexican Art) by Diego Rivera, from the book *Museo Dolores Olmedo Patiño* (The Dolores Olmedo Patiño Museum), published by Bancomext, Banamex, Nafinsa and Telmex, in Mexico City in 1994. This article was first printed in *Mexico en la cultura* (Mexico in Culture) a supplement of the daily *Novedades*, published in Mexico City July 17, 1955.

In the midst of all the good Mexican painting produced over the last 20 years, like a diamond at the very center of the setting, clear and hard, precious and sharp, glitters the work of Frida Kahlo Calderón. The Christ, the Virgin and the saints have all disappeared from the *retablo.*[1] Instead of just any old miracle, we have the permanent miracle of painting, the life force always flowing, always different and always the same as it circulates through veins and the firmament. One life contains the elements of all lives, and if its bottom is reached, the profundity of the abyss, the dizzying heights and the tissues of the infinite ramifications reaching through centuries of light and shadow of LIFE are to be found.

That is why Frida's *retablo* always paints her own life. The two Fridas, one just like the other, but different.

The German analyst, builder-destroyer and fanciful skeptic —the father's genes— took the upper hand, opposing everything Spanish and allying with everything Indian —the mother's genes. Behind the gate to heaven, wide open, there was only space, implacable and marvelous, whence the sun and the moon are at the same time atop the pyramids, portentious in their grandeur, microscopic next to the star and the planet and immense in their systems of proportions which are those of the entire universe. The little girl seated at the center of the world had a toy plane, much faster than the speed of light, with the velocity of the imagination, the reason she could know the stars and cities before going there by telescope and locomotives. The velocity in Frida, alone in mechanized space, lying on a cot from which she sees, weeping, that the life-fetus appears to be a flower-machine, a slow snail, a manniquin and bone frame [corset] but is, essentially, about imagi-reason that travels faster than light.

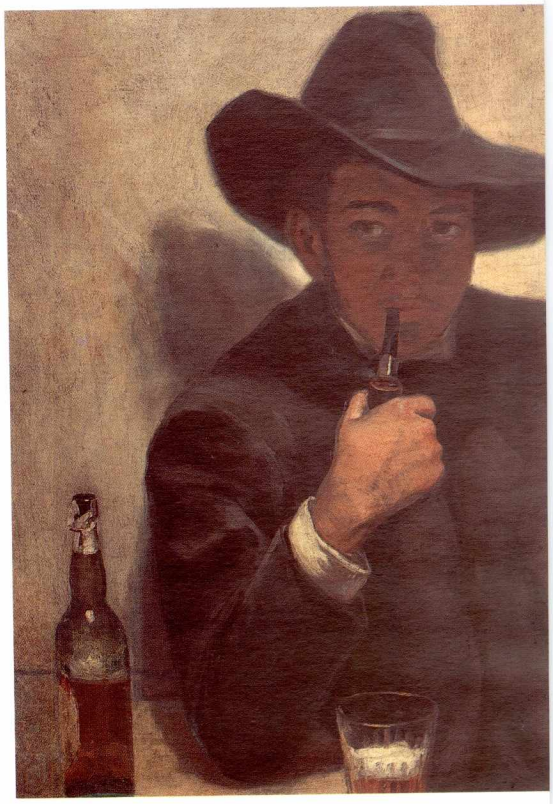
A recurring self-portrait which never looks the same and increasingly looks more like Frida, changing and permanent like the universal dialectic.

Monumental realism glitters, occultist materialism is there in the heart cleft in two, the flowing blood of the tables... the arteries closed by the painter's hemorrhage-stopping foreceps....

Collective-individual is Frida's art. A realism so monumental that in its sphere everything possesses infinite dimensions; as a result, she paints the exterior, the interior and the deep recesses of herself and the world all at once.

And Frida is the only example in the history of art of someone who rent her breast and heart to tell the biological truth about what she felt there, and, possessed of the reason-imagination faster than light, painted her mother and her nurse, knowing that she had not really seen their faces, the face of the "nurturing nana only in an Indian mask of hard stone and her glands... the face of the mother, *mater dolorosa*, with the seven daggars of pain that make the gaping hole from which the child Frida emerges possible, the only human force that, since the Aztec master who sculpted in black basalt, has plastified birth in its very and real action.

Birth that produced the only woman who has expressed in her art the feelings, the functions and the creative power of women... that produced the most masculine painter of the woman painters and the best proof of the rebirth of Mexican art. VM



Diego Rivera, *Self-Portrait with* Chambergo *Hat*, 1907 (oil on canvas).

Opposite Page: Frida Kahlo, *Self-Portrait with Monkey*, 1945 (oil on Masonite).

[1] *Retablo* is both an altar-piece and, in Mexico, a painting, usually small, done on tin by the faithful as thanks to a particular saint for a miracle he or she has performed. These paintings, also called "miracles," describe the problem overcome. Diego and Frida had a large collection of these pieces of folk art, part of which is today exhibited in the Frida Kahlo Museum. [Translator's Note.]

Frida on Diego

Extracts from "A Portrait of Diego," an article by Frida Kahlo reprinted from *Museo Dolores Olmedo Patiño* (The Dolores Olmedo Patiño Museum), published by Bancomext, Banamex, Nafinsa and Telmex in Mexico City in 1994. The article was first printed in "Diego Rivera. Fifty Years of Artistic Labor," a national homage and exhibit, published by the National Institute of Fine Arts in Mexico City in August 1951.

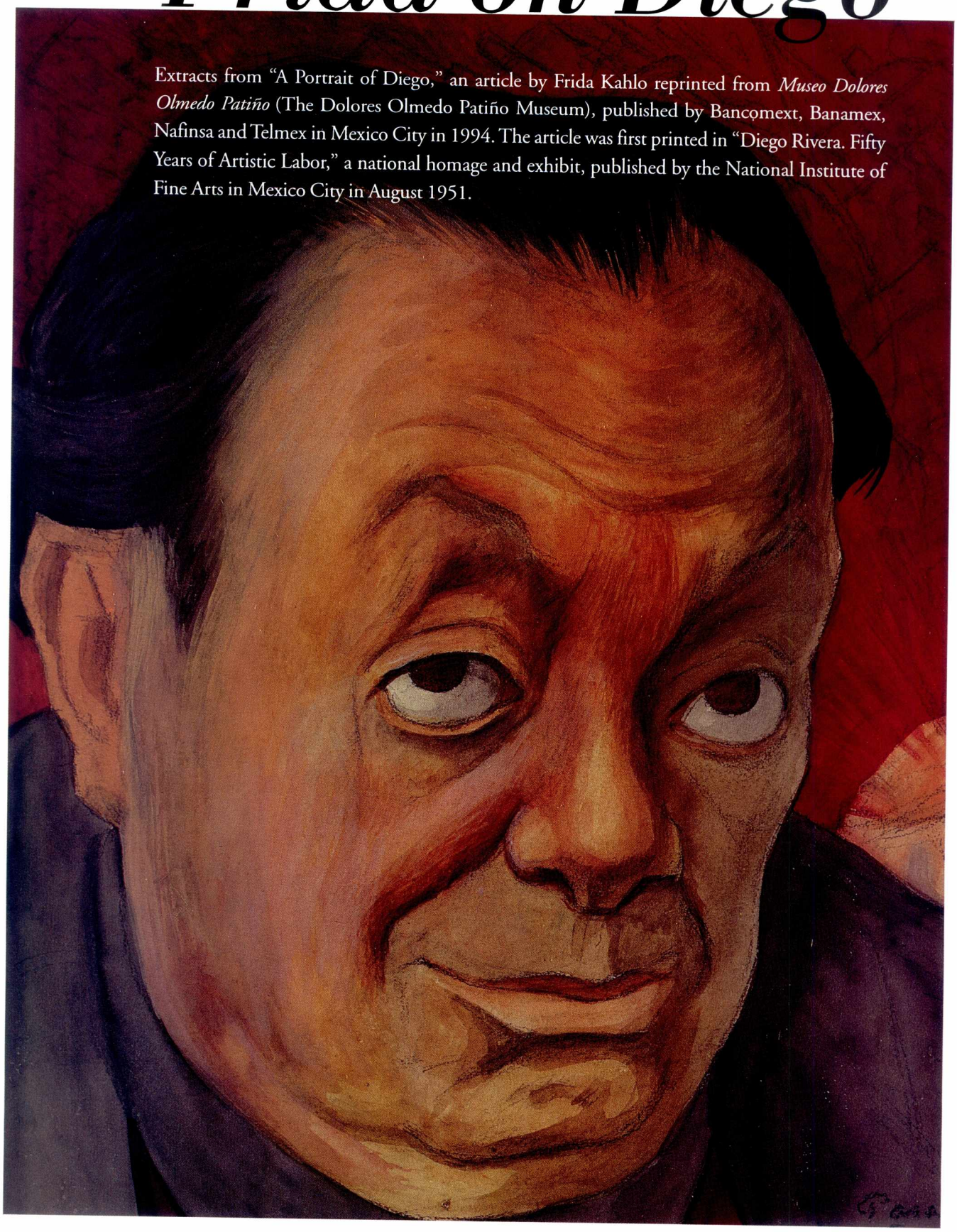


Photo: Arturo Piera

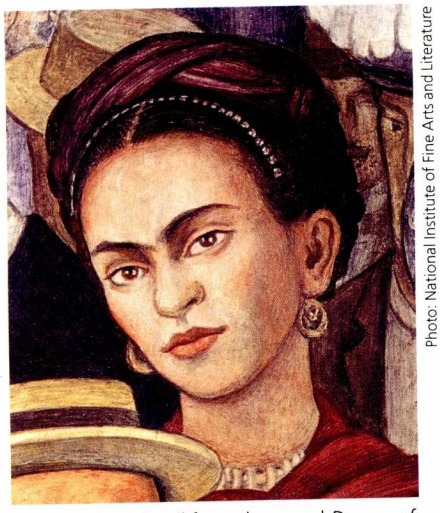


Photo: National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature

Diego Rivera, detail from the mural *Dream of a Sunday Afternoon at the Alameda*, 1947.

Opposite page: Diego Rivera, *Self-Portrait*, 1948 (watercolor).

I am going to paint this portrait of Diego in unfamiliar colors: words. So, it will be a poor painting. Also, I love Diego in a way that makes it impossible for me to be a "spectator" in his life; I must be part of it. For that reason, I may exaggerate the positive sides of his unique personality in an attempt to soften anything that might even remotely be painful to him. It will not be a biographical chronology... I will not speak of Diego as "my husband," because that would be ridiculous; Diego has never been —and he never will be— anyone's "husband." Neither will I speak of him as a lover because he goes so far beyond sexual limits. And if I spoke of him as I would of a son, what I would really be doing would be writing or painting my own emotions... With that word of warning, I shall attempt to tell the only truth, my own, and sketch his image to the best of my abilities.

His shape... Diego is a big kid, immense, with a friendly face and a slightly sad look about him. His bulging eyes, huge, dark and highly intelligent, are barely contained by his swollen, protuberant eyelids, like a frog's, very far apart...They give him a much broader field of vision, as though they had been specially made for a painter of spaces and multitudes. Between those eyes is a mind which divines all that is hidden of oriental wisdom, and only very seldom is his Buddha-like mouth without an ironic, tender smile, the flower of his image.

Seeing him nude immediately conjures up a frog-boy standing on his hind legs....

His childlike shoulders, narrow and rounded give way smoothly to feminine arms ending in wonderful hands, small and delicately cast, sensitive and subtle like antenna that communicate with the entire universe.

Of his chest it must be said that if he had landed on Sapho's island, he would not have been executed by her Amazons. The sensitivity of his wonderful breasts would have ensured his admission, even though his virility, specific and strange, makes him desirable even in the domains of empresses avid for male lovers.

His belly, enormous, taut and tender like a sphere, rests on his strong legs, beautiful like columns, which end in large feet, splayed as though to cover the whole earth and hold himself up over it peerlessly, like a being from before the Flood from whom emerges at the waist a prototype of the humanity of the future, 2,000 or 3,000 years ahead of us.

Diego's shape is that of a beloved monster, whom the grandmother, the Ancient Concealer, the necessary and eternal matter, the mother of men and all the gods that men in their delirium have invented out of fear and hunger, WOMAN, among all of them, I, MYSELF, would always want to hold in my arms like a newborn.

His substance: Diego is beyond all personal, limited and precise relationships. Contradictory, just like everything which moves in life, he is simultaneously an immense caress and a violent discharge of unique and powerful forces. He is experienced within you, like a seed treasured by the earth, and without, like landscapes.

I will not cheapen Diego's fantastic personality, which I respect profoundly, by mouthing idiocies about his life. I would prefer to express myself about him as he deserves, to say what he really is, with the poetry I do not possess.

I think there are three main directions or lines in his portrait. First, he is a revolutionary fighter, constant, dynamic, extraordinarily sensitive and vital. He works untiringly at his trade, which he knows as few painters in the world do. He is a fantastic enthusiast of life and, at the same time, he is always dissatisfied at not having learned more, built more and painted more. Secondly, he is eternally curious, an untiring investigator of everything. And third, he has absolutely no prejudices or, therefore, faith, because Diego accepts, like Montaigne, that "where doubt ends, stupidity begins," and anyone who has faith in something allows for unconditional submission, without the freedom to analyze or change the course of events.

This triangle, upon which Diego's other attributes are based, exudes a sort

Diego Rivera, detail from the mural *Dream of a Sunday Afternoon at the Alameda*, 1947.

of atmosphere that envelops the whole... the love, but love as a general structure, like a movement which builds beauty. I imagine that the world he would like to live in would be an enormous fiesta in which all beings would take part, all contributing with their own beauty and creative power....A spherical, intelligent, loving fiesta, which would cover the entire surface of the earth. He fights continually to hold that fiesta and offers everything he has: his genius, his imagination, his words and his actions.

Though not sentimental, he is intensely emotional and passionate.... He admires and appreciates everything of beauty, whether it resonates in a woman or a mountain. Perfectly balanced in all his emotions, he never surrenders himself....He lives with his strong sap in the midst of ferocity; he illuminates alone, like a sun seeking revenge on the greyness of the stone; his roots live despite unearthing him, going beyond the anxiety of loneliness or sadness and all the weakness that breaks other beings. He sprouts with surprising strength and, like no other plant, flowers and gives fruit. VM

Frida Kahlo, *Frida and Diego Rivera*, 1931 (oil on canvas).

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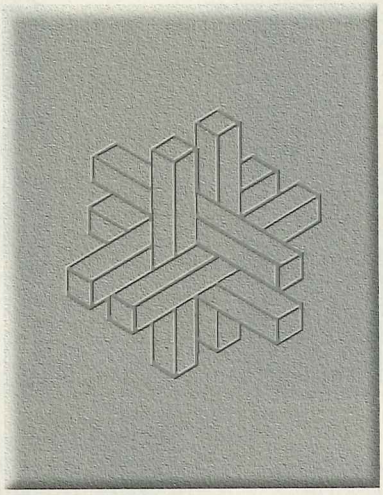

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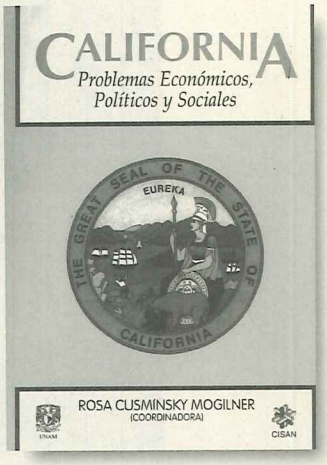

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Rosa Cusminski (coord). 291pp.
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Julián Castro Rea (coord). 152pp.
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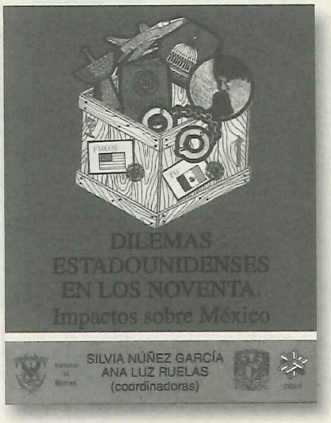

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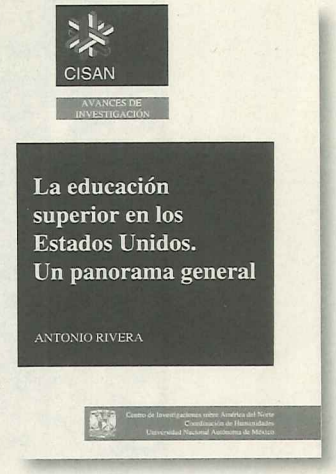

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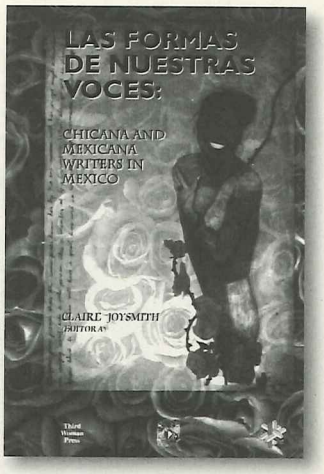

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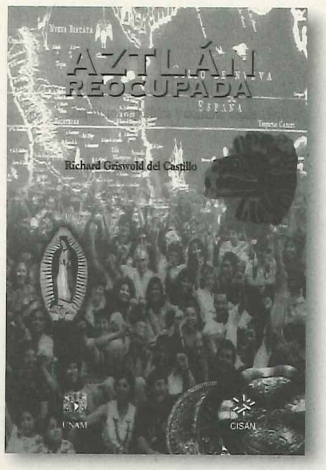

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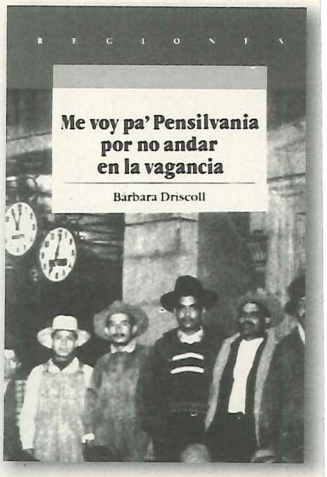

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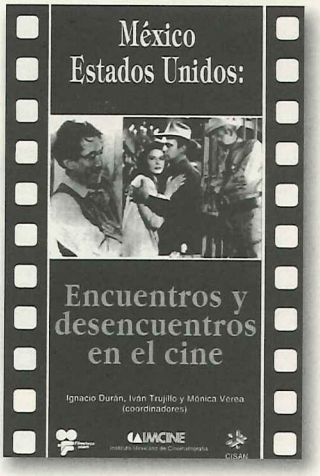

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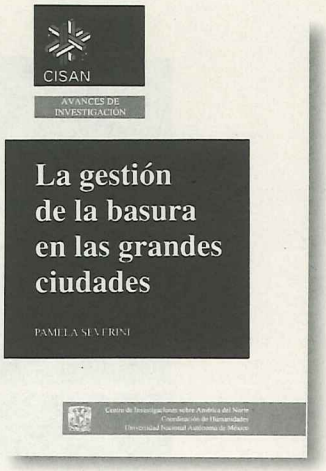

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Pamela Severini. Avances de Investigación Series. 61pp.
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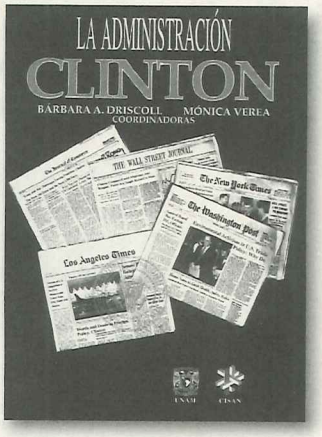

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Drug Trafficking

MEXICAN NEGOTIATION STRATEGIES [1]

*María Celia Toro**

In the last issue of **Voices of Mexico**, María Celia Toro explained how important it was for Mexico to develop its own strategies for fighting drug trafficking in order to diminish its vulnerability vis-à-vis those of the United States. In the first part of this article, then, she looked at two of the four main strategies: the first, the use of the argument that drug consumption in Mexico is not a grave public health problem; and the second, total cooperation with the United States and coming down hard on Mexican citizens involved in the drug trade. In this issue we present the second and last part of Toro's article, in which she addresses Mexico's two other main strategies.

Negotiating Limits to DEA Activities in Mexico

The presence of a foreign institution like the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) in Mexican territory is a major challenge for Mexican policy and diplomacy. Therefore, negotiating limits to its activities is, undoubtedly, Mexico's most important as well as its most difficult strategy. It is a strategy that goes to the heart of the matter from the point of view of Mexico's international relations: the problem of national jurisdictions in the administration of justice.

For a long time U.S. narcotics police worked with Mexico with the understanding that the Mexican government's difficulties in preventing the export of drugs to the United States were technical. In addition to their training Mexican police, DEA presence in Mexico was originally justified as a way of gathering information about drug traffickers' organization and routes with the ultimate aim of impeding illicit drug imports to the U.S. or of requesting that Mexican police detain drug traffickers within their borders. Several agreements were signed to this effect ("letters of understanding" in diplomatic parlance) to establish the basis for this kind of cooperation and other forms of technical and financial support (helicopters, equipment for crop detection from the air, radar, etc.). In the framework of these accords, the DEA was willing to basically respect Mexican sovereignty, work within the legal limits imposed on it and cooperate with Mexican police. The Mexican government accepted this arrangement because, besides obtaining the support it needed and sometimes sought, it was better to formalize the presence of this foreign police force than to ignore it.

The so-called "war against drugs" launched by the Reagan and Bush administrations in the 1980s abandoned this traditional arrangement. For the first time, the U.S. government decided to invest sizeable resources to stop drug trafficking within its own borders. In its eagerness to prevent U.S. consumers from acquiring the drugs, it was able to fix an import price for cocaine and marijuana that was so high that it prompted an unprecedented increase in the production and export of these drugs in Mexico and many other countries of Latin America.

* Center for International Studies, Mexico College.

[1] Second of Two Parts. Based on a chapter of a book by Ilan Bizberg (ed.), *La Política Exterior de México en el Nuevo Sistema Internacional*, Mexico College, Mexico City, forthcoming.

Imagenlatina-Alfonso Manzano

Press Conference. From left to right: Barry MacCaffrey, U.S. drug czar; Mexican Foreign Minister José Angel Gurría and Mexican Attorney General Jorge Madrazo.

At the same time, the U.S. government changed its basic legislation dealing with the fight against drug trafficking and addiction to facilitate what it has termed the extraterritorial enforcement of its laws. Armed with a hefty budget and appropriate legislation and political rhetoric, the DEA decided to leave behind its role as an intelligence-gathering agency subordinate to its Mexican counterpart and pursue drug trafficking with or without Mexican government authorization. The first and most conspicuous example of this change in power relations and in DEA behavior in Mexico was its furious reaction to the 1985 murder of one of its agents, Enrique Camarena, and its sequel, the famous Operation Legend, in which the DEA attempted to bring all the alleged perpetrators of the torture and death of one of its agents in Mexico before U.S. courts using any and all means.

But, if drugs are banned, over-penalization policies increase profits for those who, despite everything, decide to defy the law.

The DEA-organized kidnappings of René Martín Verdugo Urquídez and Humberto Alvarez Machain in 1986 and 1990 were part of this radical shift in U.S. policy. The new policy was also based on a different understanding of the nature of the problem: the inability of the Mexican government to put an end to drug trafficking was due to the generalized corruption of Mexican authorities.[2] Neither Mexican drug-linked corruption nor the U.S. analysis were new. The surprise was that the U.S. government persisted in publicly denouncing Mexican authorities' complicity and, what was worse, in combatting it.

To face this frontal challenge to sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Mexican government proposed and sped up the signing of new treaties: the mutual legal assistance treaty, negotiated in 1987 and in force as of May 1991 and another, which bans cross-border kidnapping, signed in 1994, with the explicit aim of reaffirming its exclusive prerogative to apply the law and mete out justice in its own territory. With the same aim, the 1978 extradition treaty and the seemingly informal agreement between the two countries for police cooperation were reviewed.

It was a dissuasive strategy that did not stop U.S. police from acting against Mexican interests, but it undoubtedly raised the costs of the U.S. government sending its police forces beyond its borders; it also legitimized Mexican protests against conduct which violated international law and bilateral agreements. Recourse to international law has always been a weapon of the weak; however, in this case, the true strength of the Mexican government, which gives this negotiation strategy meaning, derives from its status as a sovereign nation. What Mexico is negotiating in these agreements and what the U.S. government has to accept at least in principle are the terms of access to its territory.

[2] Peter Reuter and David Ronfeldt, "Quest for Integrity: The Mexican-U.S. Drug Issue in the 1980s," A Rand Note (N-3266-USDP), Rand, Santa Monica, California, 1992.

The success of this strategy depends not only on U.S. policy —that is, U.S. government willingness to fully respect national jurisdictions— but the Mexican government's real possibility of retaining its autonomy. The other side of the [Mexican government's] demand for sovereignty is its ability to contain drug trafficking on its own, particularly the corruption and violence that always pave the way for it.

INTERNAL ADJUSTMENT: THE STRATEGY OF THE WEAK

By internal adjustment I mean domestic containment, that is the increase in government funding to intensify campaigns against drug trafficking in Mexico. It is the obligatory answer of a government faced with the precipitous growth of an illegal market, a growth explained mainly by a change in relative prices, over which —as we already mentioned— the Mexican government has no influence. Insofar as a country is able through domestic policy to confront international market variations which affect its domestic market, its original vulnerability will be counteracted.

But, if drugs are banned, over-penalization policies increase profits for those who, despite everything, decide to defy the law. So, when confronted with the possibilities of illicit enrichment offered by drug trafficking in the 1980s, domestic containment was impossible. In the mid-1980s, the Mexican government began a desperate effort to limit drug trafficking, particularly cocaine shipments. It had a police force and an army particularly ill equipped to fight this crime. Evidence of greater and greater corruption —particularly within the security forces themselves— and violence, as well as the transfer of the main cocaine trade routes to Mexico, forced the government to increasingly resort to the technical and informational aid of the DEA. The most important bilateral program over the last few years, for capturing airplanes crossing the border, was based on information supplied by the DEA. Something similar is occurring now, and will continue to occur, with money laundering, although in this case, the cooperation is with the FBI.

More and more intense pursuit of drug traffickers in Mexico does not lead —nor can it— to advancing the Mexican interests of containment of the violence and corruption which are the bases for this illicit business. Quite the contrary: it contributes to the exacerbation of these problems because as it increases the risk to drug traffickers, prices and profits also rise. This leads to more violence and the purchase of protection from the authorities. Therefore, the more drug traffickers are hunted, the greater are the political costs, and this, in turn, deepens the already existing weakness of Mexico's justice system. The results of this internal deterioration lead to less autonomy in implementing anti-drug operations, which in practice means leaving the war against drug trafficking to others inside Mexican borders.

Thus, with drug traffickers on one side and DEA agents on the other, the Mexican government is practically under siege, "suffering what it must." VM

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Cocaine about to be burned. Mexico has made determined efforts to limit drug trafficking, particularly cocaine shipments.

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Mexicos's Position On Migration to the U.S.

José Gómez de León *
Rodolfo Tuirán **

The migration of Mexicans to the United States is a complex phenomenon, with a long history and structural roots on both sides of the border. Although varying in intensity and form, it has been a constant between the two countries since the last century. In the last few decades, the flow of migrants, particularly undocumented migrants, has been one of the most difficult, worrisome and conflictive points on the bilateral agenda. Contrasting definitions and perceptions in Mexico and the United States about the nature, magnitude, causes and consequences of undocumented migration have often contributed to sharpening bilateral tensions, hampering dialogue and making it difficult to perceive common interests.

Mexican and U.S. government positions on migration have frequently adapted to variations in their respective political and economic circumstances, as well as perceived changes in its magnitude, causes and consequences. In addition, it should be noted that neither country has a clear and stable consensus about how to deal with it. In both countries, very diverse sectorial, regional and national economic and political interests are often reflected in opinions, policy orientations and actions which create internal tensions and contradictions.[1]

In the United States, the debate about immigration has recently become strident and often alarmist, at the same time that Mexico is going through a profound economic crisis.[2] The overriding tendency has been to stereotype undocumented workers as transgressors of immigration law who insinuate themselves into the United States to take jobs that legally belong to U.S. citizens. Along these lines, several government sectors and citizen's groups have demanded a stop be put to the "intensification" of immigration by adopting unilateral measures like stricter policing and the construction of walls and fences along the Mexican border.[3] However, in the past, efforts to deter undocumented immigration with these and similar measures have invariably failed, often with prejudicial results.[4] From the U.S. point of view, the central problem is whether undocumented immigration can be controlled and reduced to "tolerable" levels. The expe-

* General Secretary of the National Population Council of Mexico (CONAPO).
** Director General of CONAPO Population Programs.

[1] G. Freeman and F. Bean, "Mexico and U.S. Worldwide Immigration Policy," paper presented at the conference "Mexican Migration and U.S. Policy", Washington, D.C., June 13-15, 1996.

[2] No one should be surprised that an electoral year in the United States unleashed an anti-immigrationist whirlwind which became a topic for electoral campaigning.

[3] T. Espenshade and M. Belanger, "U.S. Public Perceptions and Reactions to Mexican Migration," paper presented at the conference "Mexican Migration and U.S. Policy," Washington, D.C., June 13-15, 1996.

[4] According to S. Weintraub, "It is hard to know whether an active policy in this field is better than no policy, but efforts at management are inevitable." From "U.S. Foreign Policy and Mexican Immigration," a paper presented at the conference "Mexican Migration and U.S. Policy," Washington, D.C., June 13-15, 1996.

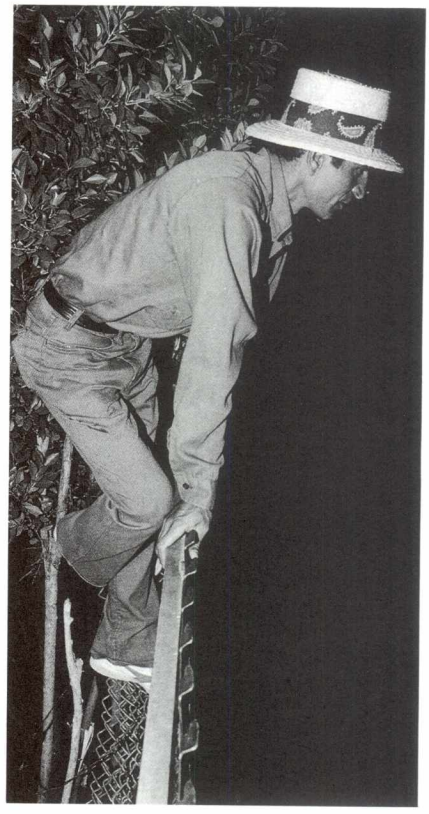
rience with the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) shows the difficulties involved in controlling, changing or deactivating the existing migratory system between the United States and Mexico.[5]

The bilateral relation presents Mexico with more and more complex challenges and a series of problems derived from migration, all of which require immediate attention. This makes it necessary to explore and ponder both the desirable and possible policy options for efficient answers and measures. It is important to note, however, that since the early 1970s, when the Mexican government abandoned its proposal to reestablish the bracero programs, its general strategy has been to not formulate an explicit policy about the emigration of Mexican citizens to the United States.[6]

THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT POSITION

Until recently, the only indicators of the official Mexican position on this question could be discerned in statements made by first executives and congressional leaders. The following, gleaned from different speeches and official documents, are among the theses, principles and general orientations that have traditionally shaped Mexico's position, and continue to do so:

- Upholding the right of every nation to fully exercise its sovereignty by protecting its borders and write those laws and statutes it considers appropriate to regulate the entrance of foreigners into its territory;
- Migration between Mexico and the United States should be understood as a structural and permanent part of bilateral relations between the two nations. Different factors, such as geographical proximity, economic asymmetry and growing integration, as well as intense trade between both countries, inevitably generate migratory flows;
- Mexican migration to the United States is essentially a work-related phenomenon, spurred by the interaction of factors which determine supply and demand of the migrant work force given the two countries' proximity;
- The factors behind U.S demand for Mexican labor are just as important as the factors linked to supply.[7] As a result, if U.S. employers did not hire undocumented workers, there simply would be no undocumented migration;



Imagenlatina-Herón Alemán

Jumping for a new, maybe "better" life.

- Migration should not be viewed in isolation; it must be pondered taking into account other economic questions, particularly trade. The Mexican government defends the idea that the country is not interested in exporting just strong backs, but goods and services, and suggests that increased Mexican exports would favor job creation in Mexico and diminish pressures to emigrate;
- Mexican workers' activities in the United States are just as legitimate as the profits made by their employers; they make valuable contributions to the economy and generally do not compete with the local work force since they usually take jobs U.S. citizens do not want;
- Mexican migration creates costs for both sides that can only be decreased

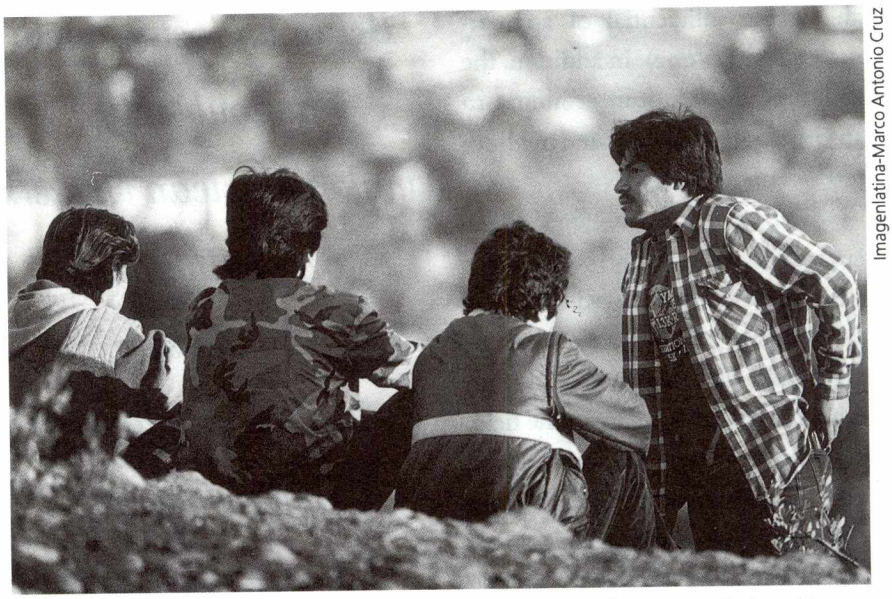
[5] F. Alba, "El Tratado de Libre Comercio y la emigración de mexicanos a Estados Unidos," in *Comercio Exterior*, vol. 43, no. 8, August 1993; K. Donato, J. Durand and D. Massey, "Stemming the Tide? Assessing the Deterrent Effects of the Immigration Reform and Control Act," in *Demography*, vol. 29, no. 2, 1992.

[6] As Manuel García y Griego points out, a non-explicit policy has no explicit objectives, forcing analysts to speculate about the goals of "a policy of no policy." Manuel García y Griego, "Necesidad y propósito de una política mexicana de emigración," in M. García y Griego and M. Verea, *México y Estados Unidos frente a la migración de los indocumentados*, Coordinación de Humanidades de la UNAM and Miguel Ángel Porrúa, Mexico City, 1988.

[7] This does not mean that the Mexican economy's inability to absorb its excess work force and close the wage gap between the two countries has not contributed to encouraging the migration of workers.

through cooperation, collaborative efforts and the recognition of common benefits;

- Building walls, policing and repression or reinforcing unilateral migratory controls are not the ways to appropriately manage the flow of migrant labor between both countries;
- Mexico cannot stop migration from inside its borders through coercion or by force because Article 11 of its Constitution guarantees freedom of movement.



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In the last few decades, the flow of undocumented migrants has been one of the most conflictive points on the bilateral agenda.

Being undocumented undoubtedly makes Mexican workers very vulnerable to abuses by their employers and violations of their human rights by U.S. authorities trying to capture them and send them back to Mexico. The Mexican government has therefore firmly stated its opposition to the violation of human and labor rights of workers and has concentrated its efforts on bolstering protection of Mexican citizens through its wide network of consulates in the United States. Mexican authorities also make efforts, both on their own and cooperating in international initiatives, to break up criminal organizations which profit from trafficking in undocumented migrants. Mexico is also actively promoting a multilateral framework to define the rights of cross-border migratory workers and their families.[8]

In recent years, different events have stimulated public debate in Mexico about migration and have led the government to consider the possibility of reviewing some of its orientations and expectations in the matter.[9] For example, supposedly implicit in NAFTA negotiations[10] was the idea that the elimination of barriers to free movement of goods and capital might contribute to substitute the mobility of the work force. Therefore, NAFTA is expected to contribute to putting the brake on Mexican emigration to the United States.[11] However, lessening the pressure to migrate is not a simple nor short term task given that it depends, among other things, on recovered sustained expansion of Mexico's economy and its ability to create jobs at the same rate as demographic growth, as well as on narrowing the wage gap between the two countries (which today has reached

[8] Andrés Rozental, *La migración laboral mexicana a Estados Unidos de América: Una perspectiva bilateral desde México*, Foreign Relations Ministry, Mexico City, 1994.

[9] Particularly important among them are: an apparent intensification in undocumented migration in the last few years; the North American Free Trade Agreement coming into effect in January 1994; new U.S. federal and state bills seeking to limit immigrants' rights and their access to certain services; Mexico's profound economic crisis; the reinforcement of U.S. border surveillance and the alarmist tone of the immigration debate in U.S. political circles during the 1996 electoral campaigns.

[10] Including NAFTA's potential implications for migration was a possibility from the beginning of the trade agreement negotiations, but, as is well known, it was never put on the table. On the other hand, NAFTA is one of the most important landmarks in Mexico-U.S. trade and economic relations in the recent past. The Mexican government considers it a strategic instrument in the consolidation of the economic restructuring begun after the 1982 crisis and the promotion of Mexico's reinsertion into the global economy.

[11] Among the recommendations made by the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, presided by Ambassador Diego C. Asencio, is the idea that the less protectionist the economies of countries whose populations emigrate, the shorter will be the duration of pressures to emigrate to the United States. That is why the commission emphatically recommended that the Mexican economy should become integrated into a larger trade area, pointing out that NAFTA opened up good prospects of this kind. See *Report of the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, Unauthorized Migration: An Economic Development Response*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1991.

an average differential of approximately eight to one). In addition, the ability of the Mexican economy to absorb labor in the short and medium terms is not yet definitive.

Faced with this panorama, different sectors of society and government have emphasized the need to review the problem of undocumented migrants and move toward devising an explicit and active policy in the field, arguing that the new economic, social, political and demographic conditions demand it.[12] It is also frequently argued that formulating an explicit emigration policy which would aim to develop answers to problematic aspects of the phenomenon would contribute to combatting perceptions widely held in the United States that Mexico has no interest whatsoever in lowering migration.

In contrast with other moments, in recent years the Mexican government has shown its willingness to openly discuss and examine the undocumented migration of its citizens with U.S. authorities, thus seeking to promote bilateral cooperative measures in the matter.[13] Since 1990, the Working Group on Migration and Consular Questions has held regular sessions as part of the Mexico-U.S. Binational Commission.[14] Since the beginning of U.S. operations to control the flow of migrants across the border, the working group has held periodic meetings to establish spaces for dialogue, understanding and bilateral consultation about the matter. Using this mechanism, the two governments have been able to come to the following agreements, among others:

Being undocumented undoubtedly makes Mexican workers very vulnerable to abuses by their employers and violations of their human rights by U.S. authorities trying to capture them and send them back to Mexico.

- To consult with each other prior to either government making official announcements of decisions on migratory policies and actions that would affect its neighbor. This aims to allow the affected country to express its point of view and, if it so desires, to adopt preventative measures;
- To safely and in an orderly fashion return Mexican nationals apprehended by the Border Patrol to their own country. U.S. authorities have pledged to make available a complete list of all such individuals, including the time and place in which they will be repatriated, as well as assuring that Mexican immigration authorities are present;
- To begin a Pilot Voluntary Repatriation Program which would return undocumented Mexican migrants to non-border areas inside Mexico. This measure would only be applied to migrants who have not been repatriated before and who agree to be sent to their place of origin.

In addition, in the framework of the activities of the Working Group on Migration and Consular Questions, in March 1994 the governments of Mexico and the United States announced their decision to draw up a "binational study" on migration, for-

[12] Formulating an emigration policy is not an easy task given that the following points must all be taken into account: (a) the principles on which it would be based; (b) the interests it would defend; and (c) objectives, strategies and goals, as well as specific instruments to put it into operation. In addition to continuing to give priority to actions to defend and protect the human and labor rights of Mexican migrants in the United States, it should also articulate conceptions of the future of supply and demand of the Mexican work force in both countries; specify plans to increase the ability to absorb the work force in the Mexican economy and evaluate their viability; and formulate strategies and specific activities aimed at getting at the root cause of emigration to the United States.

[13] The Mexican authorities have also promoted a broader dialogue with Mexican communities in the United States in order to continually keep abreast of their concerns and demands.

[14] The Mexico-U.S. Binational Commission, created in 1981, is a mechanism for consultation and reconciling differences which covers the most ground of any bilateral U.S.-Mexican body. In 1995 it had 12 working groups and two sub-groups, the majority headed by ministerial level officials.

malizing the commitment through the exchange of diplomatic notes in October of the same year. This measure seeks to propitiate a gradual drawing together of the contrasting official perceptions about migration; establish a common framework for analysis, both integral and long term, that would be a basis for understanding as objectively as possible the nature, dimension, causes and consequences of migration between the two countries; and design and implement more realistic and efficient migratory policies.[15]

Mexican and U.S. government migratory policy positions and options are anchored in their perceptions and evaluations of the importance of three different, though interrelated, sets of factors. The first involves those factors dealing with expulsion and labor supply. The second concerns attraction and demand. And the third encompasses the numerous social factors that link migrants with their families, friends, communities of origin and migrant communities and which are determining components in reducing the costs and risks associated with undocumented migration to the United States. The importance given to each of these sets of factors in the decision to migrate has varied with time. As a result, migration policies need to be continually adjusted to be effective. VM

Imagenlatina-Herón Alemán

NAFTA is expected to put the brake on Mexican emigration to the United States.

[15] This binational group of experts is slated to present its final report in June 1997 at the latest.

IDENTITY AND GLOBALIZATION

Mexico's Relationship with the United States

*José Juan de Olloqui**

Much has been said recently about globalization, although no one has come up with a good definition. However, there is consensus on what it might mean. A first approximation could define it as a process wherein different states negotiate their way forward toward establishing joint mechanisms of rules and norms for their peoples' activities, particularly in the economy, but without excluding a broader range of undertakings. Globalization actually includes everything: culture, politics, etc.

In fact, according to Mexico College researcher Gustavo Vega, each segment of the world's economies depends increasingly on the rest, and the nations that have understood and become part of this concept of development have been the most successful.

Personally, I am inclined toward a broader definition that would include the interrelationships among countries in one or several fields of endeavor.

Clearly, it would be appropriate for Mexico to understand globalization as a worldwide phenomenon which, if correctly comprehended, would allow it to diversify and pick its best economic and political options. But this is impossible if it depends on a single market, as it does now vis-à-vis the United States, with whom Mexico carries on 80 percent of its foreign trade. The United States has always determined when to declare war, sign the peace and, frankly, a goodly part of our bilateral agenda.

For us Mexicans, accustomed as we are to seeing our northern neighbor as our natural enemy, and who still remember the turn-of-the-century saying, "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States," the idea of a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) caused just as much concern as expectation. We realized it could mean a substantial change in our way of life. And it could not be otherwise, since even the Canadians, whose relationship with the United States has been less traumatic than ours, pondered many of the same concerns when faced with the prospect. The rivers of ink which flowed north and south of the border about NAFTA are indeed significant, although in the United States the coverage of NAFTA was relatively meager.

Obviously, the U.S. point of view is different. In a certain sense, and with a flexible idea of globalization, the United States was better prepared for it. It is sufficient to consider its geographical size, the heterogeneity of its population, the broad diversity of its culture and, above all, the magnitude of its economy. However, an important part of the U.S. public is also plainly reluctant to any kind of opening, particularly toward a country as different from its own as Mexico. Historically, for example, during the little more than two centuries since U.S. independence, in addition to the two large parties, others have sprung up which, while more or less short-

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Imagenlatina-Marco Antonio Cruz

Globalization. Mexico cannot concentrate all its foreign trade in a single market and also expect to expand its economy.

institutional framework for a de facto situation that already partially existed, especially in certain regions and sectors. It should be noted that the treaty recognizes the three countries' different levels of development and establishes appropriate mechanisms for discussion and settlement of disputes, in addition to those that already existed.

In another sense, the treaty has increased concern about national sovereignty and independence on the part of some Mexican political actors —more in discourse than in practice. They argue that the treaty may negatively affect our exercise of sovereignty as a nation.

lived, have postulated extremist views opposed to Catholicism, immigration, involvement with other countries, etc., without ever taking into account that the United States' current greatness and general welfare are due in large part to exactly what they oppose.

When Mexicans think about the United States, our feelings are ambiguous. On the one hand, we are irritated by a country that we consider took more than half our own territory and has been the agent of numerous interventions and pressures. On the other hand, while we recognize its successes and blame it for our failures, at the end of the day, we always end up feeling a vague moral superiority.

In today's world of global integration, NAFTA has been conceived of as a possible way out for many of Mexico's most deeply rooted problems, a mechanism that would allow us to inaugurate a period of better living conditions for the population, naturally without isolating ourselves from other countries and regions.

How did the signing of NAFTA affect Mexico's relationship with the world? Not as much as was originally thought. Undeniably, however, international interest in Mexico and its economic possibilities have increased significantly.

With respect to the United States, if we concentrate our analysis on the economy, we can say that NAFTA created an

NAFTA has also influenced life and social relations along the border, understood not just as a dividing line between both countries, but rather as a reciprocally interdependent social and cultural area. For many generations, our border states have had a fluid, constant relationship with the United States. That is why I do not think that the treaty has accentuated U.S. influence on the Mexican side of the border as much as Mexico has begun to have an impact on the U.S. side. In fact, what we are seeing today is the formation of a very special cultural area: more Spanish than English is spoken, for example, in Laredo, Brownsville or El Paso, Texas, something inconceivable 50 years ago. There are areas where Mexican music has a larger audience than any other kind or where the majority of the inhabitants are from Mexico. Naturally, this phenomenon decreases as the distance from the border increases.

At the same time that these hybrid cultural identities are being constructed, the reality of cultural globalization must be faced. I think the most intelligent attitude is to accept it as an international tendency and fight only those aspects of it that affect our historic and cultural traditions. In this sense, I consider nationalism the affirmation of what is ours and not the negation of "the other."

Mexico is a country rich in cultural traditions with a broad regional diversification of its people. This means that globalization could only with great difficulty eradicate such a complex and rich national identity. It is very clear for Mexicans that our increasing determination to progress must not be achieved at the cost of sacrificing our national culture and history.

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For Mexicans, the idea of a free trade agreement with the United States sparked both expectations and fears.

During all the years of my activity in the sphere of foreign relations, I have always emphasized that we should broaden our ability to act vis-à-vis the United States, seeking ways to avoid unnecessary antagonism with a country with which we are united by both geography and its very power. In other words, we should undertake serious action to achieve the greatest possible independence with regard to the United States and do away with old practices, like the rhetoric of some supposedly nationalistic politicians, which accomplishes nothing, particularly when nothing really effective has been done to lessen our dependency. For example, we cannot concentrate all our foreign trade in a single market and expect our economy not to be affected; our vulnerability in international trade is an invitation to our powerful neighbor to levy sanctions against us.

For geographical and historical reasons, the United States is, and should be, our best customer. Thinking anything else would be naive. However, we must try —indeed it is urgent— to balance our relationship and find other alternatives. If we do not, the talk about globalization is absurd.

Mexico must attempt to make the best of two worlds in its relations with the United States: it needs autonomy to make decisions based on its own national interests as well as the ability to increase the benefits from its geographical proximity to the world's most powerful country. It is important to avoid dependency in order to exercise the greatest possible number of options.

Obviously, our interests very often do not coincide with those of the United States. Foreign relations consist of pursuing well defined goals that presuppose particular national interests and not only friendly encounters or the creation of committees that get no results.

The dilemma of our relationship with the United States could be at least partially resolved if Mexico concentrated on *optimizing* bilateral trade instead of maximizing it. To that aim, we must strengthen our internal market and develop a greater degree of self-sufficiency without delay.

The NAFTA negotiations did not go as well as they could have, among other reasons because Mexico did not pay full attention to what I consider are the three cornerstones of any negotiation of this type: selectiveness, gradualism and reciprocity. However, I must say that the overall strategy was correct for the extremely complex historical moment in which the negotiations took place.

More than the loss of our cultural identity —which, I repeat, is practically in no danger at all— I am concerned with the severe crisis of our banking and financial system. Today, more than 15 percent of bank capital is in the hands of foreign companies. If we include banks based in Mexico but 100 percent owned by foreign capital, the figure goes up to 25 percent. The monies the Mexican government obtained through the

privatization of the banks has been returned to them in spades through support in the form of state purchase of the overdue loan portfolio to head off greater problems for our financial system and debtors. For all these reasons, greater foreign participation will probably be necessary very soon, particularly if we consider the weak showing of the banking system. I am also concerned that a large part of the foreign investment that has recently come into the country is not going into setting up new companies, but is being used to buy already existing ones from their Mexican owners. It is to be supposed that the profits from these investments will not be reinvested in Mexico and therefore will not help increase production or create jobs.

Patricia Galeana, the president of the Mexican Association of International Affairs, has dealt very seriously with recent changes in our relations with the United States. She asked me recently how our relations had changed with the United States since my stint as Mexico's ambassador in Washington 25 years ago. My answer was that there had actually not been a substantial change, except in attitudes. Before, we sought to differ with the United States about everything, on the basis of our principles and even in detriment to our interests. Opposing the United States was, to a certain degree, a matter of principle. This is no longer the case. We still honor our principles, but we take a less antagonistic tack.

Historically, our problems with the United States have not varied: delimitation of borders, water, debt, trade, fuel and different viewpoints about international affairs stemming from our different histories and the ways our societies have developed. Today, questions like drug trafficking, migration and, although to a lesser degree, the environment have come to the fore.

More than 70 years ago, in 1925, the United States and Mexico held a meeting to deal with migration and drug trafficking. Recently, however, drug trafficking has become more and more of a problem due to the great demand for drugs in the United States itself and is, therefore, more a U.S. problem than a Mexican one, even though our northern neighbor does unfairly blame us for it. In any case, in my view, the main conflict between our two nations continues to be that of migratory workers.

In the future, the problems will probably continue to be the same, although the emphasis may vary depending on the circumstances. Our relations with the nations of North America are not all covered by NAFTA, which we should not visualize as the backbone of our project as a nation. I think it indispensable to use the international recognition Mexico has as a cultural power to better our relations with other countries and increase our influence in the world concert, particularly in the United States. It should be remembered, for example, how important the Jewish lobby is in the United States, and that one of every three of the world's Spanish speakers is Mexican or of Mexican descent.

We should also take into account that a resurgence of anti-Yankee feeling in Mexico is not impossible, particularly if the people feel we have been complacent in our dealings and negotiations with the United States. This is a logical outcome of two factors central to the relationship between our countries:

a) *Geographical proximity.* It is a principle of international policy that the closer one country is to another, the greater its interest in studying its neighbor and the more actions and considerations of national security will be implemented.

b) *The importance of trade between the two countries.* Large trade flows increase the possibility of tensions, and any country which centers its trade in a single nation will have less leeway in formulating its own foreign policy.

National security is a question which should be analyzed on its own. By describing it more broadly than its natural definition (the safeguarding of both territorial integrity and a country's inhabitants) and including questions like migration, the conservation of the environment, drug trafficking, etc., the United States goes too far in delineating its national security policy. However, it is well known that Americans tend to resolve their problems outside their own borders and that they overreact on the question of security, even today,

For geographical and historical reasons, the United States is, and should be, our best customer. Thinking anything else would be naive.

when they are the only superpower on the planet, and their absolute security means the almost absolute insecurity for the rest of the world.

We should not be concerned about U.S. isolationist tendencies vis-à-vis Mexico. As the world's only great power, it will probably apply its policies selectively, but its "commitment to democracy" will never go beyond its commitment to its own interests. In that sense, we will be able to continue to oppose some of its policies as long as we do not affect its main objectives. For example, we will be able to continue our criticism of that aberration of international law, the Helms-Burton Act. But, if we begin to affect any of its vital interests, we should be prepared for a forceful reaction.

We should remember that in matters of foreign policy, it is always a good idea to keep in mind —and even carefully weigh— what is fair, what is desirable and what is probably really attainable. If we forget this, we will base our policy on imaginary suppositions. One example of this was Mexico's efforts in the Contadora Group, which announced peace in Central America prematurely, even though it was unthinkable for the United States to allow an ideology so antagonistic to its own as *Sandinismo* to proliferate, particularly in an area so close to home. Another case was Grenada, in which, despite world opposition, including that of his English allies, President Reagan did not hesitate to order the invasion and overthrow a legitimately established government. The Mexican people opted clearly in that case for what they considered fair and not for what was really possible to attain.

Coming back to globalization, we can say that Mexico has enormous potential, especially because of its privileged geographic position. If we accept the maxim that oceans do not divide but unite, our position is truly enviable because we are across the Pacific from Japan and across the Atlantic from Great Britain. We could consolidate our relations with Asia, chiefly our economic relations, and with Europe we could do the same in both the political and economic spheres, especially if we take into consideration the historic ties that link us to the Old World. In that sense, it

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In matters of foreign policy, it is always a good idea to keep in mind what is fair, what is desirable and what is probably really attainable.

is also important to keep in mind our integration with the countries of Central and South America, with which we are irrevocably tied not only for historical reasons, but also because of cultural and traditional similarities, like language and religion.

To successfully become part of the globalization process, Mexico has in its favor an extraordinary and enviable geopolitical situation. It is one of the largest countries in Latin America, the bridge between North and South America and the only Latin American country with access to the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans as well as the Caribbean, our third border. Geographically, we are part of North America and therefore belong both to the North Pacific and North Atlantic regions, the two great basins where the political and economic decisions are made that affect today's world, in contrast with the South, where usually nothing ever happens. We are also both Central Americans and Latin Americans and we have important political and economic influence in the area. Clearly, then, few countries in the world have Mexico's great geopolitical advantages. This is something that should become a central factor in determining our economic and foreign policies. We are, among other things, a North American, Atlantic, Pacific, Central, South and Latin American, Spanish-speaking, multi-racial country and an emerging power. We should make the best of our many possibilities and of all these dimensions, including the cultural one.

I will never tire of repeating that I am convinced that Mexico is and will continue to be the maker of its own destiny, that it is destined for greatness, and that internal divisions and sterile denunciations will not pave the way for Mexico to achieve that greatness. It will be achieved with vigorous, firm action. Only success is respected. Mexico will be successful. VM

Canada's Contradictory International Economic Activities

Elisa Dávalos López*

Canada is enormously stable, both politically and socially, and has a very high average standard of living. Part of the Group of Seven, the world's most industrialized countries, its consumption and educational levels are high; in fact, internationally, in 1989 Canada ranked second only to the United States in per capita consumption (higher than Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, Italy, Sweden and France). All this puts it way above the socioeconomic status of the countries of the South.

However, if we look at Canada's main exports, we find a long list of natural resources or their derivatives, like metal and non-metal minerals, wood and wood products, paper pulp and paper products, grain and oil. The only important exception to this pattern is automobiles.

Canada's truly remarkable wealth of natural resources, its proximity to the world's largest national market and the way it has developed economically have made for a peculiar economic structure that combines characteristics of a developed nation with those of the periphery.

Because of the importance of natural resources among Canada's exports, it vies for international markets with the countries of the periphery: its competitors are from the South, while with its neighbor, the United States, the economic dynamic is more in the nature of a complement. This, of course, does not mean they do not compete in some branches of the economy in which Canada is very efficient, like telecommunications, or in which the United States has abundant natural resources, like soft woods.

According to 1994 official figures, most Canadian provinces anchor their exports in raw materials: oil made up 59.8 percent of Alberta's main exports; more than 50 percent of British Columbia's were wood pulp and other wood products; over 95 percent of the Northwest Territories' exports were mineral products; 31 percent of Saskatchewan's exports were grains; and only in the country's most industrialized province, Ontario, did 45 percent of the exports come from the auto industry.

Taking exports as an indicator of Canada's international competitiveness (using, for example, the indicator of comparative advantages) might lead us to think that in Ontario we have at last found a province that is industrially highly competitive.

As we know, auto is one of the most important sectors in the North American economic bloc, to the degree that it is enough to follow the auto industry as an indicator of the situation of any of the three countries' economies. It is also one of the most multinational industries, and its international trade actually consists of exchanges among different divisions of the same company. This means that Ontario's high auto exports are more an indication of its being an important base for subsidiaries in the multinational corporate strategy than of a good international competitive edge in manufacturing.

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Table 1 allows us to evaluate this in more general terms. Canada's percentage of manufactured goods shipped abroad in relation to total exports is considerably lower than that of other selected countries: almost half that of Japan and around a third of that of Great Britain, the United States and Germany.

TABLE 1
FINISHED MANUFACTURED GOODS AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL EXPORTS

	1955 %	1980 %	1990 %
Japan	64	71	83
Germany	65	60	68
Great Britain	62	50	63
United States	48	52	62
Sweden	33	53	59
France	38	50	57
Canada	11	32	43

Source: G. Williams, *Not for Export*, Mc Clelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1992.

Canada's specific exports are even more significant if we consider the increasing weight that its foreign trade has in the economy. Foreign demand practically doubled between 1960 and 1988, while the domestic market dropped from 82 percent in 1960 to 65.6 percent in 1988. The Canadian economy is increasingly dependent on foreign imports.

Another trait specific to the Canadian economy is the high percentage of capital goods imports due mainly to the fact that Canada never formed the forward- and backward-linking productive chains characteristic of developed countries. In 1989, for example, Germany exported 23 percent of the world total in machinery; Japan, 14 percent; Italy, 8.6 percent; the United States, 5.9 percent; Switzerland, 4.8 percent; the United Kingdom, 2.3 percent; Sweden, 1.6 percent; and Canada, only 0.7 percent.[1] It is common knowledge that production and competitiveness in the capital goods sector stimulate innovation, technological development, control of technology, improved productivity and a better position for winning international markets and ensuring domestic ones. This sector is the key for an industrially successful country. However, just like the countries of the South, Canada's capital goods trade balance shows a deficit.

Another peculiarity in Canada's economy is the high level of foreign investment in its industry. The balance of Canada's current account has a chronic deficit. In and of itself, although this is no advantage, neither is it the whole problem. The greatest stumbling block is actually this deficit's stemming from the large capital transfer from Canadian subsidiaries to their home offices abroad.

As a result of all this, Canada does not fit in the traditional classification of countries. Its technological dependence, the high proportion of foreign ownership of its industry, the enormous importance of foreign sales of both raw materials and manufactured goods and the importance of capital goods imports to its economy make its international status very distinctive.

With such a paradoxical set of circumstances, we must ask why Canada did not take the same road that the rest of the industrialized nations did. Many answers have been given.

A little history is appropriate here. From the time it was a colony, Canada provided raw materials for the center of the [British] Empire. The history of that relationship has been superbly documented in the work of Harold Innis, who traces Canadian economic development through a succession of natural resources: first, cod fishing on the Atlantic coast, followed by the sale of animal pelts from the interior, more or less stable logging camps and, finally, mining. All these resources were extracted and exported according to the needs of a central economy.

Canada has a peculiar economic structure that combines characteristics of a developed nation with those of the periphery.

[1] Michael Porter, *Canada at the Crossroads. The Reality of a New Competitive Environment*, Business Council on Canadian Issues, Ottawa, 1991.

TABLE 2
STRUCTURE OF DEMAND IN REAL TERMS

	1960 %	1965 %	1970 %	1975 %	1980 %	1985 %	1988 %
Domestic demand	82.0	80.06	76.4	77.6	72.8	68.2	65.6
Foreign demand	17.3	18.8	25.0	22.2	27.0	31.8	34.0

Source: D. Drache, *The New Era of Global Competition*, McGill-Queen's University, Montreal, 1991.

Once its colonial period ended and after the inauguration of the "Confederation" in 1867, "British North America" took off on a nationalist road which would determine the main thrust of its development. That thrust was defined in Canada's National Policy. Among other aims and objectives, like the construction of the East-West railroad, the colonization and settlement of the West, the delimitation of a border with the United States, etc., this policy set up protective tariffs for industry.

Interestingly enough, the overall plan, import substitution, is notably similar to that implemented in the 1950s by many countries of the South, particularly in Latin America. Countries like Germany grew through strengthening the capital goods industry. Others, like Japan, grew with an eye toward the strategic development of cutting edge technology. But Canada began to import capital goods to support the development of its consumer goods industry. Its main problem was that what was conceived of as a way to protect its industries in their infancy became a long period of protectionism which isolated them from the realities of international competition. Multinational companies found in Canada (like in Mexico) a host protected by tariffs where they could set high prices without fear of competition. This molded Canada's industrial structure and facilitated the establishment of many U.S. subsidiaries in a country very much like their own, with a shared language, similar traditions and political stability. So, ironically, Canada has been called "the northernmost U.S. industrial region."

Now, why should these problems be of such concern when globalization is at its height, when multinational corporations increasingly hold sway over world production, when national borders tend to weaken, when countries seek at all costs to become part of the process of internationalization and are concerned fundamentally with international markets?

We are in a transitional phase; we have left the past behind but cannot as yet quite make out what the future holds. One thing is clear, however: the regions and countries producing high technology are taking home the biggest piece of the pie, if not the whole pie. Today, North America continues to be made up of countries with different standards of living, each with comparative advantages and disadvantages, where national development is still important.

With NAFTA, Canada became part of a regional North American division of labor in which, to a large degree, it plays the role of supplier of natural resources. Canada's and Mexico's economic structures, both dependent on the United States, produce an atypical effect which, far from making them rivals, means they complement each other as suppliers of raw materials to the region's largest country. Canada's economic challenge at century's end is to stop depending on its great natural wealth and participate in international trade with more technologically developed products. VM

Diego Rivera In Paris[1]

*Guadalupe Rivera**

The dramatic results of his love life plunged Rivera into inertia and hopelessness. Separated from his explosive lover and the rest of his Bolshevik friends who left Paris to join Karensky in Russia, he ended up sinking into another wave of depression. He did not leave the house; he was hunched beneath the shell he had put up around himself, communing with his own misery. It was in this forsaken condition that his friend Amedeo Modigliani found him on a visit to the home Diego was once again sharing with Angelina.

Diego's cohort said to him affectionately, "Listen, *mexicano*, I heard that Lenin has contacted the Petrograd rebel groups from Zurich. Thousands of workers have died under Cossack fire and Gregory Karensky has offered a change in the political situation. What do you say we go to Russia to join our friends?"

"If we made it Modi, I think I'd come back to life. I'm trapped in a swamp, like a skinned fox caught in my own traps."

Hoping to change his life, Diego had a talk with Angelina that night.

"Angelina, Modi and I are trying to get visas to Russia. Not participating in the Mexican Revolution has pained me deeply; I'm not going to miss Lenin's. I can't stay on the sidelines of another great revolution and put up with the loneliness of Montparnasse, an impotent invalid. This place has become just a big cemetery, not only populated by war dead but also somewhere the shadows of the departed prowl."

"What sad thoughts you have, Diego Diegovich!"

"Well, it's true, Quiela. Frustration has taken away my feeling for life."

"I know, darling."

"Look, Angelina, what's been keeping me going throughout the war years has been political struggle. My art has only brought me grief. I'm sick of my failures and poverty. It hurts me that you are the one who pays the rent on what passes for a home and that I can't earn a penny. I can't do anything, even to support our son. I've lived more dead than alive."

"To a certain extent," answered Angelina, "but I also think your unhappiness has to do with your dissatisfaction with your own painting. Right now, you're unhappy about all three things: art, politics and money. Besides that, your emotional problems have nearly driven you crazy. You've had neither time nor love left to give our son."

"Angelina, you're right. You're also generous. I've acted like a pig toward the child. You've given him everything. You are a great friend. Besides being smart, you know how to make my life easier. All of this drives me crazy, but especially not being able to be a good father."

"But Diego, I don't always act as I should. Sometimes I commit unfor-

* Director of the National Institute for Historical Studies of the Mexican Revolution. Daughter of Diego Rivera.

[1] Chapter from the book *Diego El Rojo* (Diego "The Red"), by Guadalupe Rivera, Patria, Mexico City, in press.

givable idiocies. I hope I wasn't wrong to take you back and let my friends the Zettlins take care of our son. It has separated us more."

"But Angelina, we don't have the money to take care of him, or even buy coal to heat the house. Besides, our friends are truly fond of the boy. When things get better, I'll do everything possible to accept him in this house, and we'll bring him here."

"You know, Diego, your rejection of our little boy isn't natural, even though I do understand it. You already told me about your mother's aversion to you. Don't you think you're just trying to take your revenge because of your anger at her neglecting you?"

"I hadn't really thought about it. Maybe."

"Besides, our very poverty is probably reminding you of how your family lived in Mexico City, making you relive your bitter childhood. That's why you're so touchy, and you can't even stand the child's crying."

"When you look at it like that, Angelina, you're right. The Zettlins are taking my parents' place. Just look at me, Quiela! I'm 31 years old and I can't even support my own family. What a failure I am!"

"Don't look at it like that. I'm sure that if we try, we can change things."

"You truly love me, and I have not been able to return your tenderness and love. I have to be brave and stay in this crazy country. Going to Russia would just be running away, carrying my old burdens on by back, my parents, my aunts, my sister. What I really have to do is the opposite: think about what has happened and change my life. I don't even paint now; I do anything to earn a few cents, but it's never enough. I can't even earn enough as a carpenter to eat."

"Darling, let's stop the lamentations. It's a bright morning outside. Some fresh air would help us think more clearly about our problems. Why don't we go out for a little walk?"

"All right, Quiela. Let's go to that exhibit of the Constructors Group paintings that opened yesterday. You know, they're all friends of Elie Faure, the art historian. I don't even know him, but he asked Kasimir Malevich to include my work."

The exhibition promised to be a great success. Malevich was sure that some of the canvases would be sold and he told Rivera so.

"Diego, very few cubists brought their work, and there are even fewer in the realist style you're painting in now. I hope to sell something. I'll let you know."

"That still life with the limes that I just painted, the one with a certain Cézanne-like air, looks very good on the wall. It just might sell. You have no idea, Kasimir, how grateful I am for your efforts. You have no idea how much money I need. My pockets are empty."

When they left the exhibition, husband and wife, in rather a different mood, headed for the maze of little streets around their favorite open air market, full of growers, peasants and farmers who brought their products to sell directly on the square. Every morning they came from different places around Paris. The colors of the produce always impressed the painter. The way the fruit and vegetables, the meat, the fish and fowl were arranged reminded him of his old neighborhoods in Mexico.

"Look at that, Angelina. It's marvelous, just like the markets in La Merced, where I began painting. I don't know why I was such an idiot. I've forgotten about real things, colors and shapes, the things that taught me to see and appreciate nature, especially what I saw in Guanajuato and then Xichú, where I grew up."

"Don't forget, Diego, we've already talked about the distortions in your painting and how it has hurt you to break with your Mexican roots."

"That's true. I've tried to act like a Spaniard, a Frenchman or a European and deny my real personality. That has done me great harm. Look, Angelina, it's enough to just compare the beauty of reality with the silly, superficial, intellectual posturing of the cubists."

"Of course, their coldness makes them the losers. If the observer doesn't understand and appreciate geometric forms, they seem cold and foreign compared to whatever they represent."

That's true, Quiela. You can't consider something that needs interpreting art. Art is reality transported into the realm of aesthetics."

Diego María walked over to a fruit stand piled high with freshly picked peaches, plums, pears and apples. Voluptuously, he began to caress them.

"I'll buy these peaches. Their velvety skin have aroused my sensibility. I'm going to paint them; their smell and colors will stimulate me."

Back at the studio, he put the peaches on a platter and carefully added the other fruit he had bought to make a harmonious composition. He felt the texture and forms again, looked carefully at the colors and decided to begin to paint. Over and over, to the point of exasperation, he drew the lines.

"Dammit, Angelina!," he cried furiously, "I don't know what's wrong with me. I can't paint what I see and like. Cubism has corrupted my way of looking at reality. Just like Posada said, I need to paint what I know, what I can touch and feel, not only imaginary things or abstractions. Those cold geometric forms, product of the intellect, are definitely unreal; they are just offshoots of a false situation. I have worked and lived for a deception."

"Calm down, Diego. You will recover your abilities little by little. You haven't lost them; you've just put them away for a while so they can emerge again, stronger and more solid."

Diego had finished his first treatment of his new realist painting, a large still life with the windows of the workshop in the background, the very place where Soutine and Modigliani would drop in unannounced. At that time, the three were good friends and both painters were Rivera's partners in art and revelry, despite Amedeo's difficult personality.

"*Mexicano*, I see you are trying to forget Braque and company. You seem to have turned toward Paul Cézanne, haven't you?" asked Modigliani rather mockingly.

"Have you abandoned Cubism?" attacked a decided Soutine.

"That's right, comrade. I have decided to leave behind the Parisian avant garde to do my own kind of painting. In fact, I'm trying now. And even though my handling of form and color still leaves a lot to be desired, it's the price I have to pay for having painted those flat cubist surfaces for years. Like Marcel Proust, I'll start by recovering things past."

"You have to do it before Rosemberg starts to sabotage your own painting. I heard that Juan Gris told him about your critique of your painting and your intention to abandon Cubism. The 'little shopkeeper' was furious and threatened to break your contract if you changed your style."

"I already know what that son of a whore said, but Modi, I'm willing to risk it. Frankly, I just can't continue in this deceit. Cubism is not the way to get my art across to ordinary people. Quite the opposite: I consider it art for the bourgeoisie."

"Do you think so?" asked Soutine.

"Of course, friend. Anyone can have an opinion about and get aesthetic sensations from that platter of fruit. But just look at that portrait of *The Navy Fusilier* on the wall. The only people who like that kind of thing are pompous art lovers and snobs who practically come when they see one of Picasso's, Gris' or Braque's cubist paintings."

"I agree with you Diego. I always thought your anxiety when you were painting in the cubist style was absurd," said Modigliani. "I swear I thought you did it so as not fight with 'the guy from Málaga' because you sincerely admire him. Isn't that why?"

"You're right. I do consider him my teacher. But why should I stay with him? I'm not going to follow him any more. I'll be myself again. In a word, I'm free. So much so that I've also broken definitively with Pierre Reverdy and his group of pedantic friends, Guillaume Apollinaire, André Breton and Luis Aragón. The only one I still see is Max Jacob, the Russian."

"Now that you've become independent," said Amedeo, "you've become the precursor of the new realist art. It will end up with a highly social content and serve the needs of revolutionary peoples. When that happens, even your enemies will follow you. Geometric Cubism will stop making sense among the avant garde."

"By the way, a few days ago I read an article by Reverdy called 'A Night on the Plain.' I found it odd," said Soutine. "He doesn't deal with anything right."

"Where did you read it? I haven't seen it," asked Modi.

"In the favorite magazine of intellectuals and cultured ladies," said Diego, "*Nord-Sud* (North-South), that has just been founded. All Paris knows that he compared me with wild Indians, jungle felines and large, agile African monkeys, besides calling me a shameful anthropoid with no appetite or virility."

"Was he that furious at you?"

André Salomón wrote an article, "L'affaire Rivera," attributing Rivera's return to figurative painting to his failure as a cubist.

"He sure was. He has detested me since the day I made a fool of him at one of the Zettlin's salons. We had a fight and I pulled off his wig. We were arguing about Renoir and Cézanne; all those precious intellectuals consider them antiquated."

"That epitome of vanity will never forgive you. The old poet doesn't like being contradicted, you can be sure of that," put in Modigliani.

"I agree. Reverdy will continue to wreak his vengeance on you. Be careful!" counseled Soutine.

His friends were right. Diego was ostracized. His only remaining defenders were Metzinger, Lothe and María Blanchard. His change in style affected his relationships with the galleries. Rosemberg himself, furious, asked the poet André Salomón to help him get his revenge. Salomón wrote an article, "L'affaire Rivera," attributing Rivera's return to figurative painting to his failure as a cubist and calling Diego's new work a bad copy of Cézanne.

By that time, the conservatives considered the Bolsheviks enemies of civilization as a whole and included among them the man who, because of his Mexican extraction, was considered a savage. The cubist circles identified Rivera with a figure symbolizing communism in a poster, clenching a bloody knife between his teeth. "How can you not vote against Bolshevism?" was blazoned across the poster. However, Diego paid no attention. His defenders and loyalists warned him that something was in the air. Alarmed, his intimate friend Leopold Gotlieb, with whom he had shared a small studio, paid him a visit.

"Look, Diego, look where your political ideas have gotten you! They say your enemies put out that poster to finish you and make you go home to your country of dirty revolutionaries."

"I thought so. But they won't get their way. I know that Juan Gris and Georges Braque, egged on by Picasso, were furious because I abandoned cubist orthodoxy in color and form. They must be in league with the Saint Denis Quarter anticommunist group that started this ridiculous business."

"Whoever it was, it's a real barrage against you. Signing with the name of an unknown group isn't something real men do. Oh, well. what are you going to do?"

"Just go on. Work. My decisions have made me reassess myself. In the end, the important thing is staying free and independent."

"You've managed that, but there are still difficult days and months ahead. It's hard to break with people who want to monopolize world art."

"I know, but what the hell! I've picked a road, my road to pure Realism, based on colors and topics from real life. First French ones and later on Mexican ones."

In the next period, the conservative "boycott" took a heavy toll. Rivera did not sell a single canvas. One afternoon in the midst of poverty and hopelessness, Malevich came to visit. Obviously in a hurry to reach him, Malevich took the steep stairway to the atelier two steps at a time.

"*Mexicano*, I'm so glad you're here!" he exclaimed breathlessly when Diego opened the door. "Something unexpected has come up. If I hadn't been there myself I would have a hard time believing it. I spent yesterday afternoon with Professor Faure talking about Greek and Roman art. Suddenly, he asked me if I knew you and when I said yes, he asked me to introduce you to him. He liked your paintings at the Constructors Group exhibition, and he also knows something about your childhood and wants to tell you about it. He wouldn't say any more."

"Elie Faure wants to meet me and knows something about my childhood? I can't believe it!"

"Yes, Diego. You know, besides being a doctor, he's one of France's best art critics and a renowned university professor. He's become nationally famous for aiding the wounded during the war. He has invited you to tea at his home right away. Tomorrow, if you can make it."

"It will undoubtedly be an extraordinary experience. Of course I'll go. In any case, I want to thank him for considering me part of the Constructors Group."

As agreed, the two friends went to Elie Faure's home. The writer was buried under a mountain of books and papers, busy preparing the second volume of his classic *History of Art*. The walls of his fabulous library were covered with original Matisses and Cézannes: they gave the place a touch of light and color, emphasizing his home's overall good taste and sobriety. Surrounded by originals by his favorite painters, Rivera felt he had been transported to a little piece of the promised land.

"Dr. Faure, your painting collection is magnificent!"

After chatting about the latest in the Paris art world and an exhibit Faure

had recently organized, Diego said openly, "Dr. Faure, I am surprised at your knowledge of modern painting. You have an in-depth knowledge of the work of each of the avant garde painters of Europe. That's clear from your opinions about the majority of the artists of today, especially my comrades."

"Rivera, leave that be. It's what I do every day. It's my professional obligation, as it were. What interests me, besides your very promising painting, is to ask you if you remember Ernest Ledoyen."

Paling visibly, Rivera answered doubtfully, "Do you mean my beloved teacher Don Ernest Ledoyen?"

"That's right. I mean Ernest Ledoyen, who I suppose taught you your excellent French in Mexico."

"But, sir, how do you know that?"

"Very simple, my friend. Very simple. Ledoyen was a comrade-in-arms of my uncle, the geographer Elisée Reclus during the Commune. The two met again when Ernest retired and returned to France. He told our family all about his life in Mexico, and he spoke of his pupil Rivera, saying he had a great future as a painter and in politics. So, when you came to Paris, my uncle saw your work and remembered the little boy Ledoyen had told him about. Then he told me some strange stories and got me interested in your work. I'm telling you this so you know in what loving memory your teacher held you."

"I can't believe this. Professor Ledoyen is the person who has most influenced me in my entire life! He taught me so much about politics, literature and art, and now you bring him back to me!"

"Please count on me as you once counted on him, Diego María Rivera. He was a very dear friend of my uncle and myself. I'm old enough to tell you that. Please accept my friendship. I assure you, we will be great friends. I also learned about socialist politics and anarchism from my uncle and Professor Ledoyen, and I'm not a bit sorry for it. Quite the contrary, their teaching definitively allowed me to make my way as a humanist."

Diego had never told Malevich how he had gotten his ideas, and Malevich could not get over his surprise; he could not help but speak up.

"I'm very surprised, Dr. Faure. I never imagined that a man as learned and admired in France as yourself would have old ties of friendship with Diego, who has been 'the Mexican barbarian' for all of us."

"Don't be surprised, Malevich," said Faure. "It is not people like Rivera who are the barbarians. Thinking, sensitive beings agree all over the world. Our relatives and friends from the last generation did, and now Rivera and I will repeat the accomplishment in art."

The conversation was interrupted by an elegantly uniformed maid carrying the tea service: a polished silver samovar, fine Sèvres ware porcelain cups, teapot, creamer and sugar bowl and a selection of pastries filled with chocolate and cream, the delight of demanding intellectuals.

"Dr. Faure, you are an aesthete even in your hospitality. I am not surprised at the penetrating art criticism of Kanismir: he has learned from the right man. Before I knew how close the two of you were academically, I was surprised by his profound knowledge of aesthetics and art. Now I understand it all."

"It is not only our being close. Malevich has trusted me, as I hope you will."

"Not only will I trust you; I'm sure that today is the beginning of a lifelong friendship."

Diego Rivera, *Portrait of Angelina Beloff*, 1918 (oil on canvas).


yollo xochitl.

Yolloxóchitl

THE FLOWER OF THE HEART

*Andrés Aranda**
*Virginia Clasing***

It is common knowledge that the ancient Nahuas had a profound knowledge of the flora and fauna native to their area. This allowed them to make daily use of many products derived from different animal and plant species and to develop medical practices based on these products' therapeutic value.

Different sixteenth century sources testify to the extensive variety of remedies used by ancient Mexican doctors that included different plant and animal species. In addition, anthropological studies have proven that many of these plants continue to be used by the public today.

One such plant is *yolloxóchitl*, which in Nahuatl means "flower of the heart," and is known today as *Talauma mexicana*, of the magnoliaceous genus.[1] The *yolloxóchitl* is mentioned in several sources which describe its uses: for example, in the *Libellus de Medicinalibus Indorum Herbis*, also known as the *De la Cruz-Badiano Codex*. It should be noted that this text is not actually a codex, but a manuscript describing remedies used to treat all kinds of ills, written by a Tlatelolca indigenous doctor named Martín de la Cruz and translated by a Xochimilca Indian named Juan Badiano.

In the *Libellus*, Martín de la Cruz describes *yolloxóchitl* prepared as a drink to unblock the urinary tract and to alleviate difficult urination. He also prescribed it for "Abderus' brain fever," a mental disease known in Europe from the time of the Greeks. He also recommended it as an amulet for travelers.[2]

The royal physician Francisco Hernández studied the botanical and zoological diversity of the recently conquered lands. In his book *Historia Natural de la Nueva España* (Natural History of New Spain), he describes 3,000 different species of plants and says the following about *yolloxóchitl*: "mixed with *cacaoatl* or with its husks, it strengthens the heart, the stomach and constipates the bowels. Its marrow, cooked with *mecaxóchitl, mexóchitl, xochinacaztli, tlilxóchitl, collapahtli* and *cola de tlacuatzin*, and introduced into the uterus cures sterility."[3]

Other texts recommend *yolloxóchitl* for chills and fever, and, since it is aromatic, it was considered useful as a perfume. Traditional wisdom dictates that it strengthens the heart and is an astringent and antispasmodic.

It is worth noting that the form of the plant's flower is probably the reason the Mexicas named it *yolloxóchitl*, since it bears a great resemblance to ancient Nahuatl artistic renderings of the heart. Today, in tribute to its importance, the *yolloxóchitl*, or flower of the heart, forms part of the coat of arms of Mexico's National Cardiology Institute, founded more than 40 years ago by Dr. Ignacio Chávez. VM

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** Director of the Museum of Mexican Medicine.

The illustrations for this article are taken from the *De la Cruz-Badiano Codex*.

[1] José Luis Díaz, *Indice y sinonimia de las plantas medicinales mexicanas*, IMEPLAN, Mexico City, 1976, p. 203.

[2] Martín de la Cruz, *Libellus de Medicinalibus Indorum Herbis*, facsimile edition, IMSS, Mexico City, 1979, fols. 34r, 34v, 53v and 56v.

[3] Francisco Hernández, *Historia Natural de la Nueva España*, UNAM, Mexico City, 1959, Book II, Chapter XVIII.

La Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa
La Universidad Autónoma de Baja California
La Universidad de Sonora

a través de la Facultad de Historia de la UAS con sede en Culiacán, Sinaloa, México

CONVOCAN

a los egresados de las licenciaturas en relaciones internacionales, historia, economía, ciencia política y carreras afines a solicitar su ingreso a la

Maestría en Estudios de Estados Unidos y Canadá

Promoción 1997-1999

REQUISITOS DE ADMISION

a) Título universitario en alguna disciplina de las ciencias sociales.
b) Contar con un promedio mínimo de 8 (ocho)
c) Ser menor de 35 años al momento de ingreso a la maestría.
d) Aprobar examen de admisión.
e) Poseer conocimiento avanzado del idioma inglés y/o francés.
f) Presentar curriculum vitae.
g) Presentar carta de exposición de motivos.
h) Presentar dos cartas de recomendación de dos académicos de su institución de origen.
i) Entregar documentación requerida en original y fotocopia (certificado de estudios de licenciatura, acta de nacimiento, 2 fotografías tamaño infantil, certificado médico).

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Anahuacalli

The Diego Rivera Museum

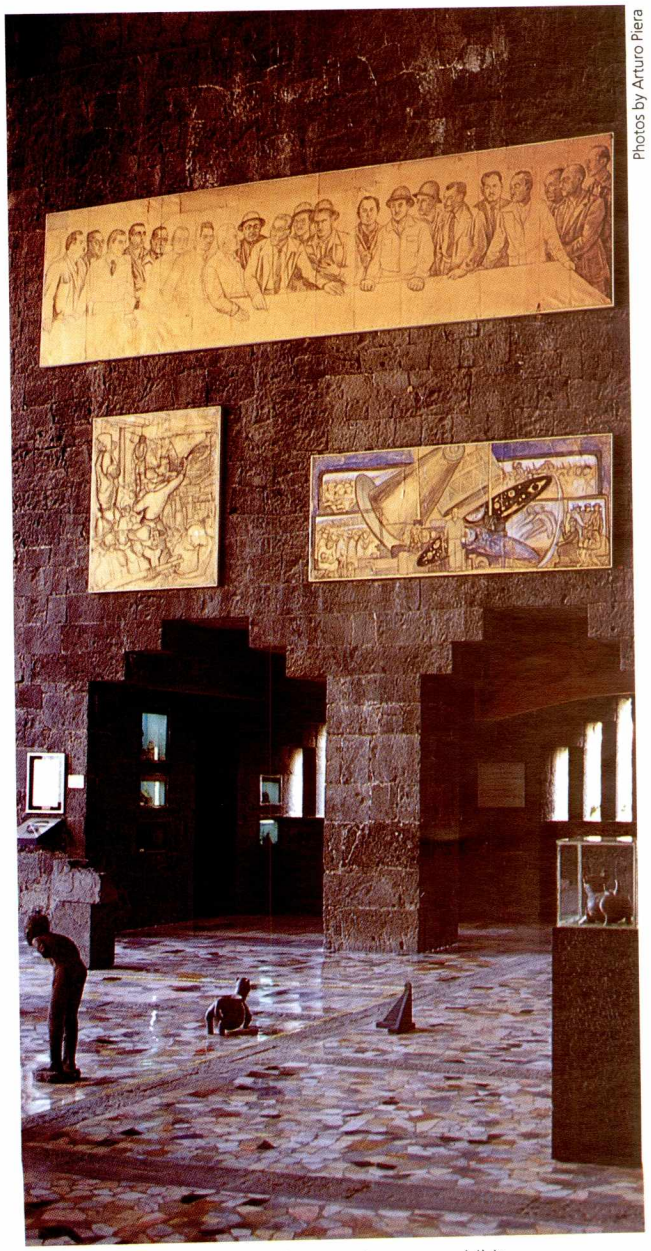
Located on a huge lot of igneous rock from the eruption of the volcano Xitle, the Anahuacalli Museum is the creation of painter Diego Rivera. Its form is reminiscent of a Mesoamerican pyramid, dominated by elements of pre-Hispanic architecture, mainly from the Mayan and Toltec cultures, with its sloping walls, serpentine columns and rhomboidal doors. Rivera decorated the ceilings with original hand-painted tiles depicting Nahuatl mythology.

Conceived and designed to house the enormous collection of pre-Hispanic art which he accumulated during his life, Diego himself began the construction. But since he died before its completion, architects Juan O'Gorman, Heriberto Pagelson and Ruth Rivera, one of Diego's daughters, were left to finish the building, respecting the original project.

Inaugurated in 1964, Anahuacalli has 23 halls covering three floors, where almost 2,000 of the more than 59,000 pieces of pre-Hispanic art in Rivera's entire collection are exhibited.

On the first floor there are pieces from the Aztec, Tlatilco and Teotihuacan cultures: clay objects for domestic use in high relief with hand painted decoration, dancing figurines of baked clay, receptacles hollowed out of stone and alabaster, small incense burners, jade masks and clay miniatures with different motifs. Outstanding among the figures are Xiloen, the goddess of corn; Ehécatl, the god of the wind; Tláloc, the god of water; and Huehuetéotl, the god of fire.

The second floor was planned as Diego's studio. That explains the huge quadrangle illuminated by a large win-



Photos by Arturo Piera

Diego's sketches for some of his murals are on exhibit.

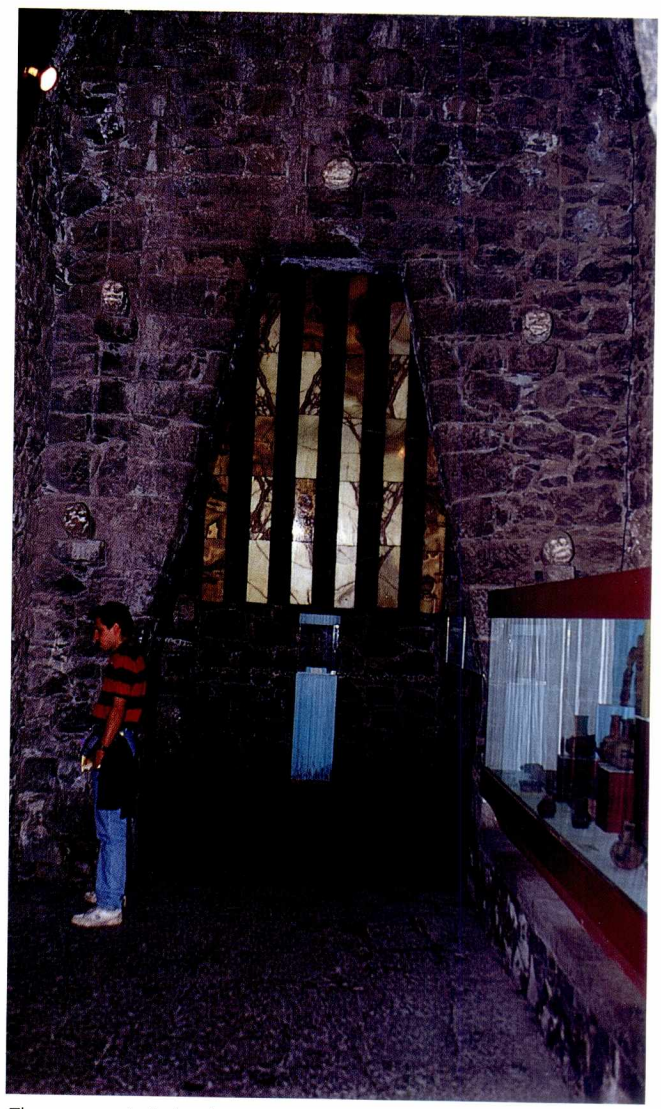
Zoomorphic figures abound in pre-Hispanic art.

dow where some of his tools and sketches, including his first drawing, made when he was three, are exhibited. On the huge walls are both the complete study for his first mural, *Creation*, painted in the amphitheatre of Mexico City's National Preparatory School in 1922 and compositions and studies for the Rockefeller mural in New York —since destroyed— and the great *Mural of Peace* in the Palace of Fine Arts, also in Mexico City.

In this same hall we can enjoy groups of figures representing musicians, scenes from everyday life and animals from the states of Guerrero, Jalisco, Nayarit and Colima. An individual showcase at the center of the hall catches the eye. It shows a pre-Columbian "ball game" in clay. This

Stone pieces come from different states and regions.

Huehuetéotl, god of fire, is represented in various shapes and sizes.



The museum's design is reminiscent of a Mesoamerican pyramid.

The first floor shows figures from the Aztec, Tlatilco and Teotihuacan cultures.

unique piece illustrates the movement of the players as well as the admiring poses of the spectators.

The collection also contains incomparable figures of athletes, porters and children from Colima, Nayarit and Jalisco, amazing for their artistic value as well as their size.

The third and top floor exhibits stone pieces from the Zapotec and Mixtec cultures in the form of palms, yokes, rings and axes, polished ceramic vessels, hollowed-out perfume vials, some in the form of birds, and funeral urns.

Visitors to this original museum may finish their tour out on the rooftop terrace decorated with pre-Hispanic motifs, enjoying a view of Mexico City. VM

María Fernanda Riveroll
Editorial Advisor

Diego's last —unfinished— portrait.

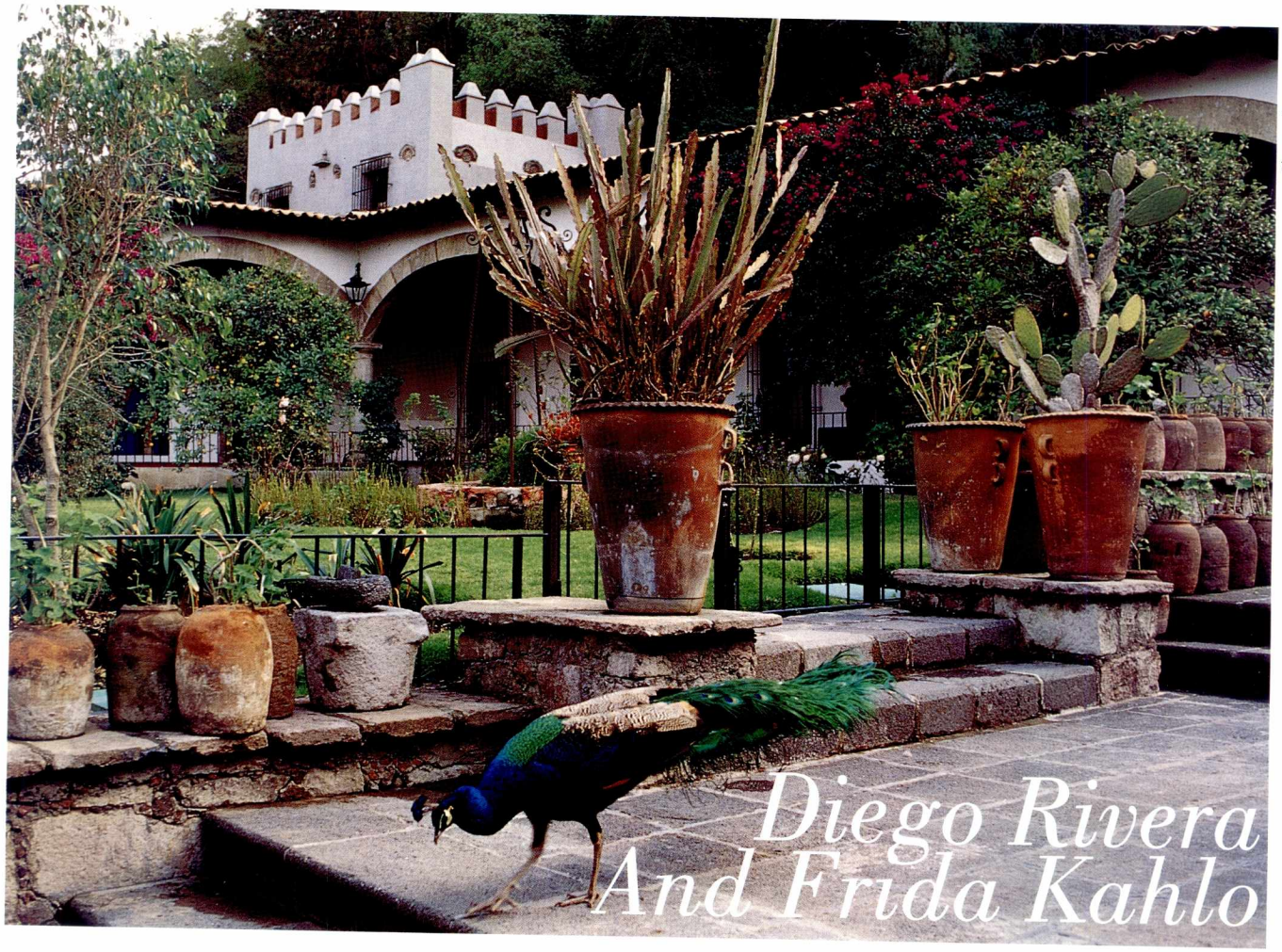


Photo: Arturo Piera

Diego Rivera And Frida Kahlo

IN THE DOLORES OLMEDO MUSEUM

The Dolores Olmedo Patiño Museum, located in Mexico City's historic Xochimilco, houses the world's most complete collection of paintings by muralist Diego Rivera: 137 canvases from different periods of his life's work. In addition, the museum boasts a select collection of paintings and drawings by Frida Kahlo, Diego's third wife. They are all exhibited in a magnificent 64,000 square-foot hacienda building surrounded by spacious gardens.

Besides their artistic merit, the history of the museum's collections is intimately linked to the relationship between collector Dolores Olmedo and painter Diego Rivera, a relationship full of affection and admiration. That is the only explanation for the enormous interest Olmedo displayed in acquiring different Rivera canvases, as well as paintings by Frida and Angelina Beloff (Rivera's third and first partners, respectively), the fortune she invested in her collection and her wish to leave them to the people of Mexico, as though she wanted to perpetuate her own admiration through everyone who viewed them.

THE COLLECTIONS' HISTORY[1]

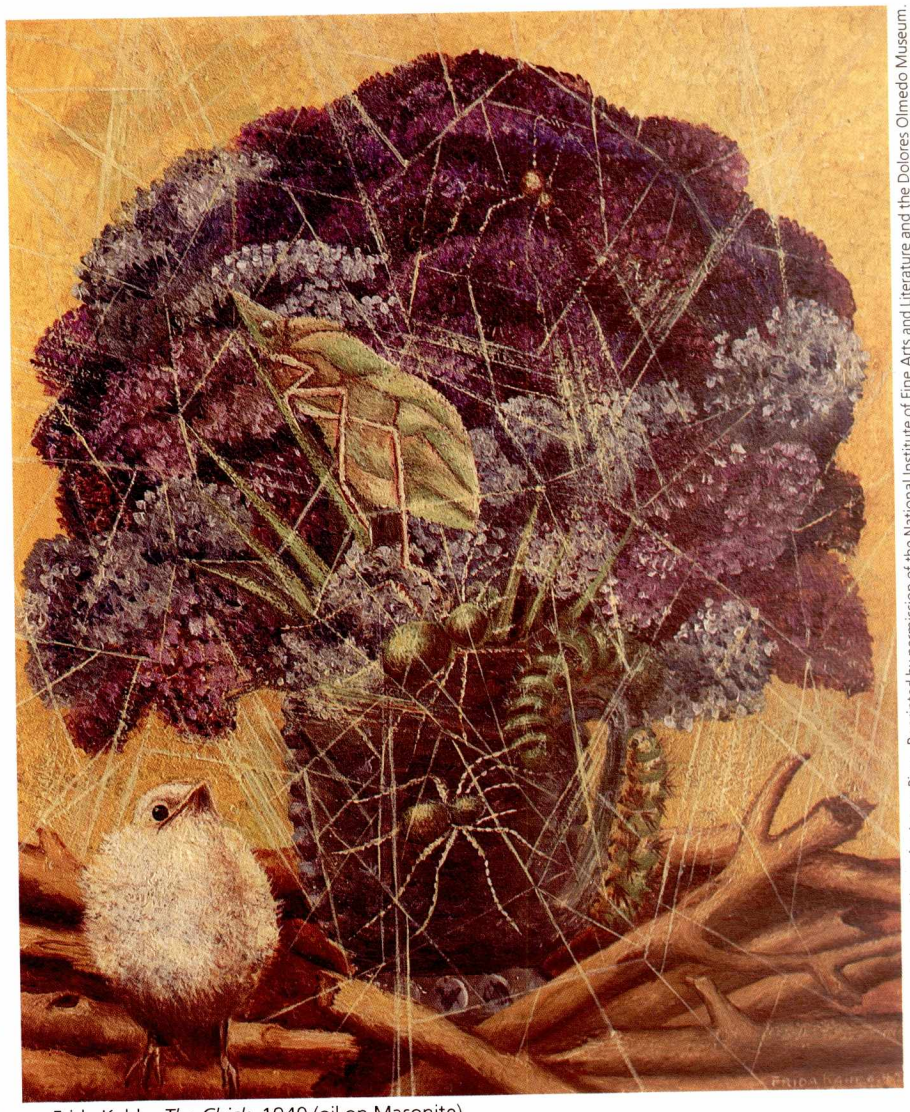
The first Riveras in the Olmedo collection were gifts from the painter dat-

[1] The stories and comments in this section all come from Dolores Olmedo, "Las colecciones de mi museo," *Museo Dolores Olmedo Patiño*, Bancomext-Banamex-Nafinsa-Telmex, Mexico City, 1994, pp. 25-38.

ing from the period when he was working on the murals at the Public Education Ministry. When Olmedo visited the building one day with her mother, they were introduced to the muralist. Rivera asked to be allowed to make some drawings of Dolores. "[My mother] gave her permission without knowing I would pose nude. I never told her about it. It was like magic watching how such beautiful shapes came forth from his tiny hands and how, without lifting the pencil from the paper, he could draw such long, smooth lines. The time went by without my noticing it while I posed," says Olmedo. That was how the friendship was born between them, a friendship that would become a lasting devotion.

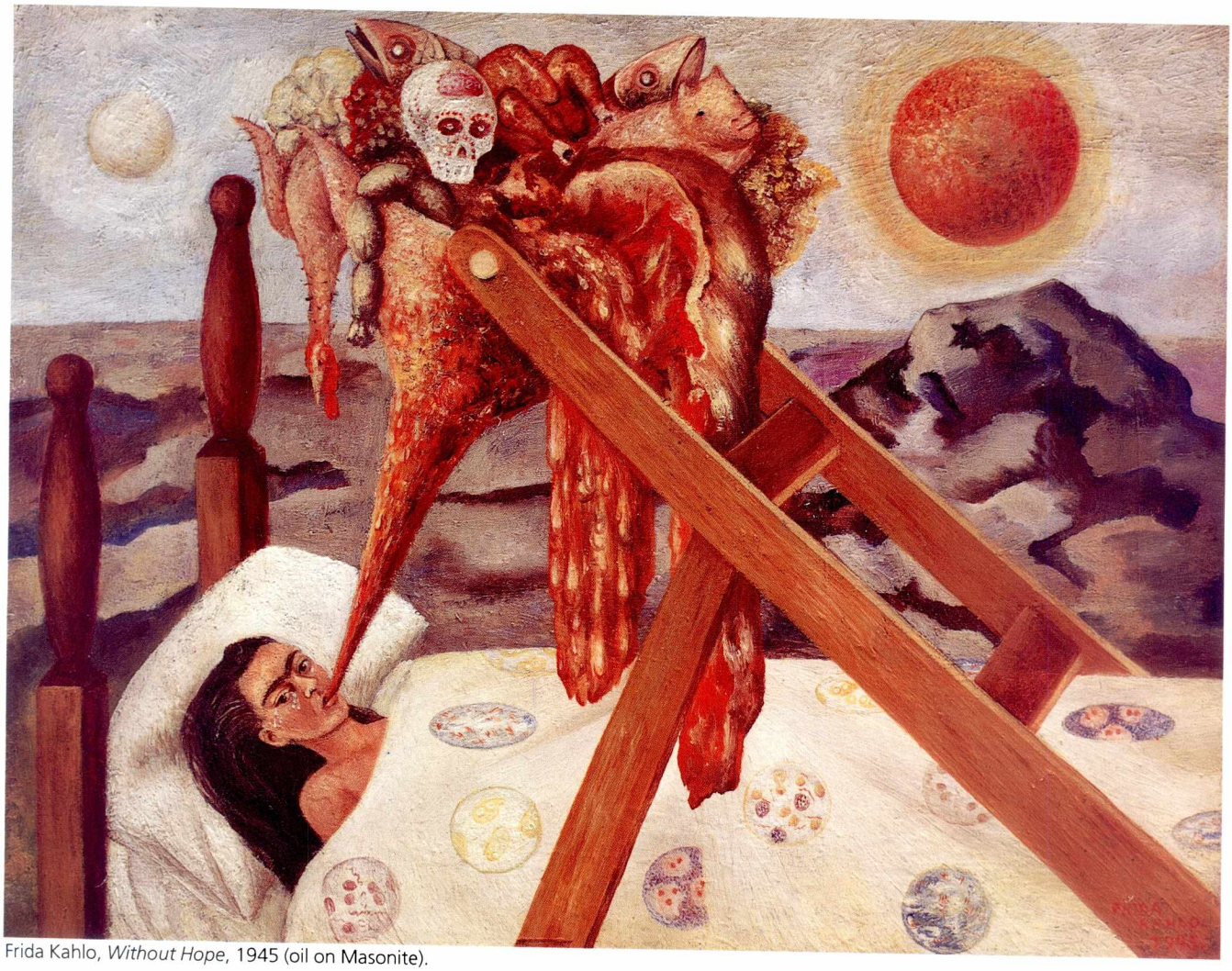
Olmedo says that Rivera did canvases to make up for what he considered a terrible business: painting murals. This made it possible for many of his admirers to have the pleasure of owning his work, particularly Olmedo. By 1955, most of the canvases had been bought directly from the painter, foremost among them a portrait of Olmedo, *Woman from Tehuantepec* (1955), a portrait of her daughter (1955), and *The Market* (1944), a series of 10 drawings, three of which were gifts from Rivera.

In 1956, Olmedo asked Diego Rivera to make a list of the paintings he considered his most important. List in hand, Olmedo began her campaign to recover canvases from Rivera's time in Spain, like *The Mathematician* (1919) and *Dancer at Rest* (1939), *Dance to the Earth* (1939), *Dance to the Sun* (1942), *Avila at Night* (1907), *Self-Portrait with* Chambergo *Hat* (1907), *The Telegraph Pole* (1916) and *Sun Breaking Through the Mist* (1913), but particularly the canvases owned by Rivera's friend and collector, Enrique Friedman. The way Olmedo tells it, that very year she went to Paris to purchase the collection, but met with an unpleasant surprise. Friedman's son-in-law would not put a price on the canvases because he knew that Rivera was terminally ill and he wanted to wait until after the painter's death to put them up for auction. So, it was not until 1959 that Dolores Olmedo went to New York to the auction of 19 of Friedman's Rivera canvases at the Park Bernet Gallery. She bought 11, among them: *The Outskirts of Toledo* (1912), *The Fountain of Toledo* (1913), *Young Man with Quill* (1914), *Woman with Goose* (1918) and four still lifes



Photos by Arturo Piera. Reprinted by permission of the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature and the Dolores Olmedo Museum.

Frida Kahlo, *The Chick*, 1940 (oil on Masonite).



Frida Kahlo, *Without Hope*, 1945 (oil on Masonite).

The museum houses the world's most complete collection of paintings by muralist Diego Rivera: 137 canvases from different periods of his life's work.

(1916-1917). A year later, Friedman visited Mexico City and sold Olmedo four more canvases.

Of Rivera's work between 1956 and his death in 1957, the collection contains five portraits of Soviet children (done from notes and sketches he made during a 1955 trip to Moscow), *The Hammock*, 20 different versions of *Sunset*, and three large charcoal drawings done while he stayed at Olmedo's house in Acapulco. The museum also holds the last canvas signed by Diego Rivera, *The Watermelons*. Years later, the collection was completed with the purchase of five watercolors (1935) Rivera had painted to illustrate a book.

The selection of Frida Kahlo's work (25 canvases and drawings) was first offered to the Bank of Mexico and then to Rivera himself, but he could not afford it. Olmedo, knowing the collection's great value, as well as what it meant to Diego, decided to make the buy. The collection includes Frida's first canvas, *Portrait of Alicia Galant* (1927), several self-portraits with marked symbolism like *The Broken Back* (1944), *My Nana and I* (1937) and one of her masterpieces, *Little Dead Dimas* (1937).

Diego Rivera, *The Fountain of Toledo*, 1913 (oil on canvas).

This select collection was lent for the 1958 opening of the Frida Kahlo Museum. Olmedo's original intention was to eventually donate it to the Diego Rivera Trust, which manages the museum. However, the donation was never made, thus allowing the collection to be exhibited around the world.[2]

Olmedo's interest in collecting the more than 600 pieces from different pre-Columbian cultures which are distributed among the museum's rooms is also a result of her relationship with Rivera, since he was the one who encouraged and guided her in her purchases.[3] In addition, the museum's collection of folk art illustrates the

"It was like magic watching how such beautiful shapes came forth from his tiny hands and how, without lifting the pencil from the paper, he could draw such long, smooth lines."

[2] Friends of Dolores Olmedo recommended she not give her collection to the trust because its founding document specified that the Frida Kahlo Museum's collection could never leave the premises for any reason whatsoever. This provision would have made it impossible for Frida's work to tour and be exhibited worldwide. José Juárez, "Introducción", *Museo Dolores Olmedo Patiño*, Bancomext-Banamex-Nafinsa-Telmex, Mexico City, 1994, p. 22.

[3] Rivera himself had more than 60,000 pre-Columbian pieces which were also donated to the people of Mexico through the Diego Rivera Trust. Today, almost 2,000 are on view at the Anahuacalli Museum in Mexico City.

Diego Rivera, *The Family (Mother and Children)*, 1934 (oil on canvas).

Olmedo says that Rivera did canvases to make up for what he considered a terrible business: painting murals.

great aesthetic tradition among artisans from different parts of Mexico. Many of these pieces have been used in the traditional offering set up every year for the Day of the Dead (All Saints Day) in memory of Diego.

Lastly, Angelina Beloff's 42 miniatures, obtained only a few days before the museum's inauguration, complete the vast collection, actually an homage to Diego.

The Museum and Its Surroundings

The Museum captivates even before the visitor sees a single painting.

The Dolores Olmedo Patiño Museum captivates even before the visitor sees a single painting: the setting is a beautiful estate, probably built in the seventeenth century, remodeled to emphasize the architecture's integration as part of the grounds. Most of the museum's almost 8 acres is gardens, which boast 20 species of trees and plants of Mexican origin (like dahlias, agaves and crab apple trees) and others which have adapted to Mexico's climate and geography (like bougainvillaea, lilies, pines and orange trees).

The animals wandering the gardens are a unique attraction; some of them are of pre-Hispanic origin, like the turkey (*hueyxolotl*) and the *Xoloitzcuintle* dog, which, now an endangered species, was originally kept as a pet or used for food or as an offering in religious ceremonies.

The museum also has a library with publications about its temporary and permanent collections, as well as a selection of other articles; a snack bar placed in a beautiful corner of the old hacienda; and installations for temporary exhibits and cultural and social events.

The majestic construction, the gardens, the animals and, above all, the paintings and art objects allow us a glimpse of many lives. The museum is undoubtedly a privileged spot which will delight all visitors no matter what their age, nationality or artistic taste. VM

Elsie Montiel
Assistant Editor

Diego Rivera, *Boy with Taco*, 1932 (lithograph on paper).

DOLORES OLMEDO PATIÑO

"Following the example set by my mother, María Patiño Suárez viuda de Olmedo, who always told me, 'Whatever you have, share it with your brethren,' I leave this house with all my art collections, the result of my life's work, for the enjoyment of the people of Mexico." These words are inscribed at the entrance to the museum named after Dolores Olmedo Patiño. Someday, they will be the only witness to the effort, dedication and fortune that she invested in gathering the most important collection of paintings of the famous muralist Diego Rivera, a collection which, including other important pieces, she later donated to the people of Mexico.

Diego Rivera, *Portrait of Dolores Olmedo (In Tehuana Dress)*, 1955 (oil on canvas).

Dolores Olmedo Patiño was born in Mexico City December 14, 1920. Her mother, a school teacher, was very fond of music and painting, and was a habitue of the important intellectual, artistic and political circles of her time. Dolores, then, grew up in a milieu that fostered her sensitivity and love for the different cultural aspects of Mexico. She studied philosophy, law, music and art history in Mexico, and anthropology, museology and art history in Paris. She went into the construction business very young and rapidly became very successful.

The intense labor of those years allowed her to spend time and money on an activity that had fascinated her since her youth: collecting. Her passion for collecting was born of her love of beauty, but found its raison d'être when she met Diego Rivera, one of this century's most famous Mexican painters, thus beginning a lifelong friendship between the two. Diego advised her in the acquisition of beautiful pre-Hispanic pieces, and his own paintings became the main item she collected. Her admiration and affection for Diego were also behind her acquisition of an important number of works by two very significant women in his life: Frida Kahlo and Angelina Beloff.

Dolores Olmedo also played an important role in Mexico's public and cultural life. Her interest in preserving and disseminating different aspects of Mexico's culture and art prompted her to organize Mexican art exhibits and to allow her own collections to tour abroad. She also contributed to reestablishing the tradition of placing offerings on the Day of the Dead, or All Soul's Day, a national custom which was beginning to be displaced by Halloween, and she fought against the pillage of Mexico's national patrimony. In 1958, President Adolfo López Mateos declared Diego Rivera's work part of the nation's cultural heritage thanks to prompting from Dolores and Diego's daughter, Guadalupe Rivera Marín.

In 1955, Olmedo was named lifetime director of the Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera (Anahuacalli) Museums and president for life of the Technical Committee of the Diego Rivera Trust. The trust was set up by the painter himself through Mexico's Central Bank in order to donate all of his and Frida's work in his possession as well as their enormous collection of pre-Hispanic objects and personal effects. The trust's founding document specifically forbids the removal of the pieces from their museums, and Dolores Olmedo has seen to it that this wish is strictly complied with.

In 1994, Olmedo herself decided to donate to the people of Mexico her collection of Diego Rivera (the world's most important), Frida Kahlo and Angelina Beloff, more than 600 pieces of pre-Columbian art, many pieces of folk art, as well as her own home to hold them. The Dolores Olmedo Museum is a beautiful testament to generosity as well as to our country's great visual and folk art. VM

Photo: Arturo Piera. Reprinted by permission of the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature.

Diego and Frida in San Angel

Blanca Garduño Pulido*

Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo were married August 21, 1929. The next year they went to San Francisco to paint *Working on the Mural* at the University of California. By 1931, the young architect Juan O'Gorman had designed two unique functionalist houses, completed July 31, 1932, in Mexico City's San Angel district, as can be seen in the series of photos taken by Frida's father Guillermo Kahlo, famous for his photographs of monuments. Rivera and Kahlo occupied the houses from January 1934 on, when they returned after their extended stay in the United States.

In 1934, Rivera began his work *The Mexico of Today and the Future* on the stairway of Mexico's National Palace. His portraits include friends and relatives, like photographer Tina Modotti,[1] children like those in *Portrait of the Little Girl Juanita Rosas* and his wife Frida. A year later he would draw indigenous women and children selling calla lilies, landscapes and people from daily life like in *The Murder of Manlio Fabio Altamirano.* People and their work, fiestas or sorrows: nothing escaped his artist's eye in this house under whose roof Guadalupe Marín (his previous wife) and movie actresses Dolores del Río, María Félix and Silvia Pinal all posed.[2] In this studio, Diego did most of his easel work (almost 3,000 canvases) and he lived there until the day he died, November 24, 1957.

In the San Angel house, Frida matured as a painter and produced works like *The Warning Eye, A Few Pinpricks, Little Dead Dimas, My Nana and I, The Fruit of the Land, Self-Portrait with Monkey* and the series of portraits that include the famous *The Two Fridas.* In 1941 Frida moved back to her parental home in Coyoacán (today the Frida Kahlo Museum) a few days after the April 14 death of Guillermo Kahlo and lived there until her own death, July 14, 1954.

Photos by Arturo Piera

The entrance.

* Director of the Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo Studio-House Museum.

[1] Tina Modotti was a famous Mexican photographer —both because of her spectacular person and her political activity— whose life has been told and retold in different biographies and even in novels, like the one by Mexican writer Elena Poniatowska, *Tinísima*, Era, Mexico City, 1992.

[2] In different periods, these three actresses were the reigning queens of Mexican film. [Editor's Note.]

Diego's and Frida's studio houses hosted visitors from all walks of life: politicians, artists, literati, magnates, intellectuals and women, always women. Through that house came Leon Trotsky, Lázaro Cárdenas, Nelson Rockefeller and Pablo Neruda, among others.

In 1938, the French philosopher and poet André Breton, the father of Surrealism, arrived at San Angel, the scene of artistic production and the flow of lives and people. He called Frida's work "the product of a wounded palette from which a red shadow emanates, that dark color of fire that is the color of the earth of Mexico."

Frida's studio-house.

THE DIEGO RIVERA STUDIO-INBA MUSEUM

Accompanied by the history and spirit of Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, the studio-houses of San Angel became the Diego Rivera Studio Museum December 16, 1986, as part of the celebration of the centennial of Diego's birth (1886-1957). From then on, the museum's mission of promoting culture has fostered the preservation, research, exhibition and dissemination of the lives and work of Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, as well as those of the architect, designer, builder, painter and muralist Juan O'Gorman (1905-1982) and their contemporaries.

In the 10 years after its founding, the Diego Rivera Studio Museum held 11 permanent exhibitions, 67 temporary exhibits, 69 touring Mexican shows and 33 international shows (some of which were presented in museums in the United States and Central and South America). It also put out 40 publications contributing to the knowledge about Rivera, Kahlo and O'Gorman, as well as to the history of art in Mexico. Other activities included workshops, guided tours, lectures, book presentations and informational programs about the museum.

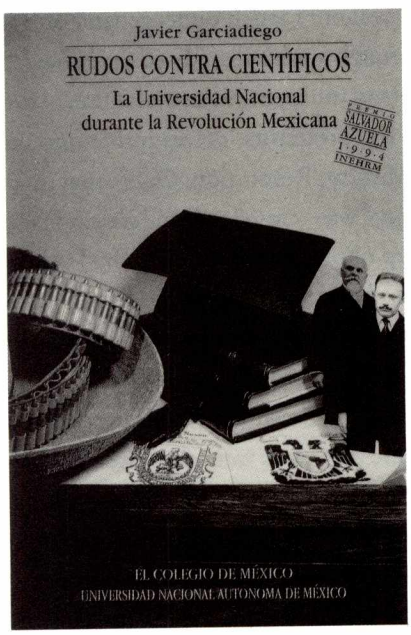
DIEGO'S AND FRIDA'S STUDIO-HOUSE MUSEUM

Seventy-three years after being built, and after eight years of research, the National Institute of Fine Arts (INBA) decided in 1995 to restore the houses' original appearance, making them the only example of modernist Mexican architecture extant today. Coordinated by the INBA Office for the Architecture and Conservation of Artistic Buildings, the work on Frida's studio-house lasted from August 14 to December 12, 1995, while the restoration of Diego's studio-house took from July 1 to December 18 of the following year. The federal government, the National Council for Culture and the Arts and the National Institute of Fine Arts presented Mexico and the world with the "twin houses," giving them their new name, the Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo Studio-House Museum.

Visitors can now see the architecture as originally designed and built by Juan O'Gorman as well as the temporary exhibits of their work and that of their contemporaries. Ready for the twenty-first century, the exhibits also display innovations in the field of museology. VM

Diego's studio-house.

Reviews



Rudos contra científicos
La Universidad Nacional
durante la Revolución Mexicana
(Ruffians vs. Scientists. The National University During the Mexican Revolution)
Javier Garciadiego Dantán
El Colegio de México, UNAM
Mexico City, 1996, 455 pp.

The Mask vs. Samson?[1]

Javier Garciadiego's book enthusiastically delves in careful detail into the National University's first ten years after its founding in 1910.

The labels we are so fond of are useless for this book because we would have to attach too many: it is an institutional history as well as a cultural or intellectual one. It is a history of educational policy, at the same time that it has a certain sociological, perhaps even regional, slant. But it simultaneously goes beyond any of these categories. In the end, it is much clearer and more precise to simply state that what we have here is a book of history, original and excellently put together. It is original because the topic had not been dealt with before. And I will explain why I say it is excellently put together.

Throughout its ten chapters, organized chronologically and thematically, Garciadiego takes a close, rigorous look at his themes, distinguishing them from each other and linking them up again: university projects and the activities they involved; links between the institution and political power; and the behavior and organization of professors and students alike. All these are perfectly situated and subtly elucidated by the sweeping political social and economic

[1] Mexican wrestling matches, an extremely popular spectator sport, are between the ruffians, "the bad guys," and the technical fighters, "the good guys". This symbolism has been very important in the formation of popular Mexican culture. On occasion, the matches involve elements of identity. For example, the loser of a match may also lose his playful face (the mask) or one of his symbols of virility (his long hair). [Editor's Note.]

Garciadiego combines and links the biographies of hundreds of individuals with the university's process as an institution to describe and explain the collective without ever forgetting the individuals.

events of the period. The specific themes it touches on and the flawless establishment of the context put the book in a different class from history textbooks or manuals. No one who wants to know when Porfirio Díaz was deposed, what happened during the *Decena Trágica* (The Tragic Ten Days)[2] or how President Carranza died will be able to satisfy his curiosity in *Rudos contra científicos*. It is not a history of the Mexican Revolution, although it is set in that period and evidences a profound knowledge of it.

This work should be obligatory reading for all university students and professors not only because of its topic, but also because of the historical and critical rigor with which it was written. It is based on an exhaustive analysis of the sources: the author reviewed everything which might have some piece of data about the university and what transpired there, as well as all the biographical material about its protagonists. But make no mistake about it: despite being full of information, it makes for pleasant reading. The information is perfectly selected and presented; the data serves to situate the actors, not to just pad exhaustive references. *Rudos contra científicos* bases itself on a very critical perspective to offer explanations backed up by the facts. To present the results of his study, the author uses a similar approach to that of his teacher, the prestigious University of Chicago professor Dr. Friedrich Katz, who is held in high esteem in Mexico: he poses a series of questions both to himself and the reader and then proceeds to answer them. He sometimes closes a point with new questions that arise out of the explanations themselves.

On occasion, though not very often, these questions do go unanswered, to be addressed at another time and elsewhere. It is also true that Garciadiego did not include all the detailed information he has (and that the reader might like to know) in his book, but he never withholds data needed to understand the process he is explaining. The game of questions and answers or explanations permits him to move forward through the material at the same time that it allows for the presentation of the subtleties of emphatic statements, a characteristic of inestimable value in Garciadiego's work.

The book presents many hypotheses, too many to examine here. Therefore, I will only touch on its general objectives. Garciadiego, through a critical study of the behavior and attitudes of university students and an evaluation of the political positions of the professors, delves into common assertions about the Mexican Revolution. One is that in its final stages, the *Porfiriato*[3] was a closed political system in the hands of a select group of old men, headed up by Porfirio Díaz himself. That is, besides an oligarchy, they were a gerontocracy. The other assertion is that young professionals opposed the regime, seeking a space that it denied them, and often became university teachers to better their income and achieve prestige. If these assertions were absolutes, Garciadiego thinks it would be valid to suppose that the young, both professors and students, would have had an interest in bringing down the regime that limited their prospects. However, the research results tell quite a different story.

While the author does not come to such drastic conclusions, it is not easy for the reader to avoid considering the students, as a social sector, quite complacent and not very committed, with the exception of some specific areas like their nationalist position on the unequal relations between Mexico and Latin America on the one hand and the United States on the other. As part of the urban middle class, students did not seem to have a defined ideology, or even notice what was going on around them. Neither were they willing to

[2] This refers to ten days of bloody clashes in Mexico City in February 1913 which began with a garrison uprising against then-Mexican President Francisco I. Madero and ended with his arrest and deposition by his own commanding general, Victoriano Huerta. Three days later, Madero and his vice president were murdered on orders from the usurper Huerta. [Translator's Note].

[3] The 30-year dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz which ended with the 1910 Revolution. [Translator's Note.]

lose the position their parents had achieved for them, a relatively privileged position for the time. I would like to close this point by adding that Garciadiego combines and links the biographies of hundreds of individuals with the university's process as an institution to describe and explain the collective without ever forgetting the individuals.

Another of the work's important hypotheses deals with the basis for the university. The author says,

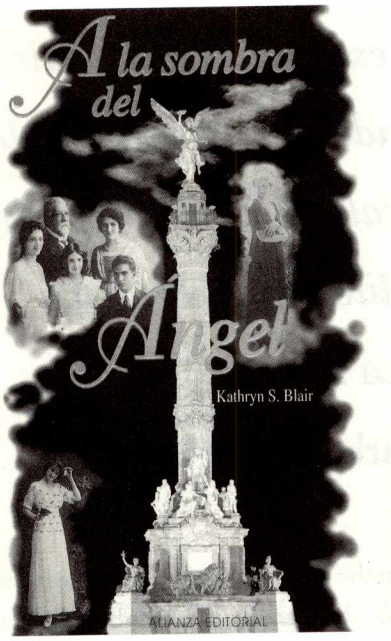
> The destruction of the old regime and the emergence of a new social order after the revolutionary struggle had a great impact on the National University, to the degree that we can say that by 1920, its nature had changed radically. We could even say that the institution was really born in 1920 and not in 1910, and that the heritage of the *porfirista* Justo Sierra is smaller than that of the revolutionary José Vasconcelos.

What was the nature of the university that underwent this change? According to Garciadiego, the answer may be that it became an institution interested in and which actively sought to solve social, political and contemporary problems. But what is absolutely clear is that at that time —and perhaps even more so today— the university had to struggle and change in order to endure.

Finally, a comment on the title of the book: *Rudos contra científicos.* I think it is an attractive title, even captivating, that makes a beeline for the dynamic of what we already know about the spectacle of wrestling matches, and undoubtedly, in pejorative terms. To continue with the author's playfulness in giving his book this title, we might ask ourselves who are the *ruffians* and who are the *scientists* or *technicians* in the story? Were some of the players truly "the good guys" and others "the bad guys"? Is that impression valid? What did they fight for: in favor or against the university? What did they have riding on the struggle? The Mask vs. Samson? Who won?

To find the answer, you have to read the book. I have no intention of telling you the outcome of the battle. You would miss the wonderful adventure of sitting down to a good read of an original and extraordinary book by an intelligent, rigorous and critical historian.

Josefina MacGregor
Department of Philosophy and Letters, UNAM



A la sombra del ángel
(In the Angel's Shadow)
Kathryn S. Blair
Editorial Alianza
Mexico City, 1996, 554 pp.

Stories abound in Mexico of men and women who have stood out in social, political or cultural life. We only know most of them from the outside, their public activities. We do not know the private, intimate side: who they shared their life with, who influenced them or whom they influenced. *A la sombra del ángel* (In the Angel's Shadow) is a historical novel, the result of more than 10 years of painstaking research. Its purpose was to study the life of Antonieta Rivas Mercado, a woman from the beginning of this century, who dedicated her life and fortune to promoting culture and change in the Mexico of her time.

This historical novel written by Kathryn S. Blair, the wife of Antonieta's only son, starts, paradoxically, with Antonieta's death; she killed herself in Paris, before the image of Christ, in Notre Dame Cathedral. The author then takes us back to the dawning of the twentieth century, to the moment of Antonieta's birth, explaining events which would eventually lead to her suicide.

With vivid descriptions, Ms. Blair leads the reader through the whole city: the Zócalo (the main square), the Metropolitan Cathedral, the Church of La Profesa, the Alameda Park, the Jockey Club...

Ms. Blair divides the book into three parts: The Family, The Revolution and The Campaign, describing in detail Antonieta's family life, social situation and relevant events in which the leading characters were involved.

In the first part, the reader meets the Rivas Mercado family, who adhered strictly to the rigid unwritten rules of the social conventions of their time. The father figure was to have an enormous influence on Antonieta's life. Her mother's apparent passiveness is also described, but she actually transgressed the rules of submission attributed to her sex, abandoning her husband and children. At that point Antonieta took responsibility for home and family, very probably stoking in her the rebellion that was to be a marked and growing trait all her life.

Antonieta's early years coincided with the last years of the Porfirio Díaz regime. Antonieta's father, the architect Antonio Rivas Mercado, was commissioned to design and build in Mexico City a column to commemorate the centennial of Mexican independence from Spain. The monument is now known as the Angel of Independence, and Antonieta was to grow up in its shadow.

The bourgeois society to which the Rivas Mercado family belonged enjoyed Mexico City. With vivid descriptions, Ms. Blair leads the reader through the whole city: the Zócalo (the main square), the Metropolitan Cathedral, the Church of *La Profesa*, the Alameda Park, the Jockey Club, Reforma Avenue with its horse-drawn carriages, Mexican Indians in the streets selling all sorts of things, and the flower market, to name but a few.

However, all this was shattered by the Revolution, which takes up the second part of the book. Those were turbulent years when groups with different political ideals and concerns sought the end of the Díaz regime, unleashing a bloody struggle for power. During this time, Antonieta married a puritan American adventurer, Albert Blair, who was to be the father of her only child. The marriage was a failure, and Antonieta travelled to Europe, where she developed intellectually, something she was never subsequently to give up.

The horrors of the revolutionary struggle were experienced in all their depravity in Mexico City. The Rivas Mercado family, forced to live with the servants, sharing discomforts and scarcities, were no strangers to the changes. Violence was an everyday occurrence, and the Rivas Mercado family took in and sheltered fugitives.

On the death of Antonio Rivas Mercado, Antonieta inherited a sizeable fortune. She became a patron of intellectuals and artists, sponsored ambitious projects in theater and music, as well as in publishing and art. This made her a central figure in the cultural world of the Mexico of the 1920s.

Ms. Blair describes the social gatherings held in the city, gatherings that Antonieta attended and out of which came her friendship with painter Manuel Rodríguez Lozano, a known homosexual. This relationship developed into a profound emotional dependency on the part of Antonieta, which made her emotionaly unstable.

The third and final part of the book relates Mexico's political situation during the aftermath of the revolution. Antonieta met intellectual and politician José Vasconcelos, the opposition candidate for the presidency. She fell in love with him and became deeply involved in his campaign, financing it and participating directly. The election results were a farce, and Antonieta found herself in financial ruin and utterly demoralized.

Alone, with no money, and on the point of losing custody of her son, Antonieta Rivas Mercado lost her emotional balance.

A la sombra del ángel is an intense journey through the life of Antonieta Rivas Mercado. It is also a very pleasant way to get a glimpse of Mexico City as it was at the beginning of the century. VM

María Fernanda Riveroll
Editorial Advisor