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## **Olympic-Scale Subversion: Poster Art, Architecture, Performance, and the Afterlives of Mexico 1968**

J. Nathan Goldberg

On October 2, 1968, only ten days before the opening ceremonies of the highly anticipated 1968 Summer Olympics, the Mexican Army surrounded students at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas. The plaza, holding remnants of Mexico's past—an Aztec pyramid and the Spanish church of Santiago Tlatelolco—would soon become the site of state massacre. After months of strife between the government's single-party regime and student protestors in the lead-up to the Games, tensions reached a crescendo. Snipers mounted the surrounding apartment buildings of Nonoalco Tlatelolco—the new modern housing complex designed by the architect Mario Pani—while armed plainclothes troops, distinguished by white gloves, seamlessly assimilated into the crowd. Shortly after 6:00 p.m., a helicopter dropped a flare into the plaza, signaling the beginning of “Operation Galeana.” A cacophony of violence ensued. The snipers, positioned atop the modernist buildings, fired into the unaware crowd. Simultaneously, troops in the plaza, stationed in the burial ground of Mexico's past, fired machine guns at citizens, attempting to cut off escape routes. After the violence was over, while maintenance crews spent the subsequent hours sanitizing the plaza and picking up abandoned shoes and purses, the army searched the nearby apartments, looking for protestors being harbored by Nonoalco Tlatelolco residents.<sup>1</sup> On that night, in the space of Mexico's Aztec and Spanish ruins yet surrounded by its modern present, temporal and spatial order was contested and disrupted. It was a moment when the habitual violence of Mexico's “miracle” was made shockingly clear.<sup>2</sup>

In the years leading up to the 1968 Summer Olympics, Mexico, as a “developing” country, anxiously prepared to present a coherent image to the world, one of a modern nation, suited to hosting such events. However, despite the Mexican government’s attempts, the architectural structures and Olympic iconography produced before the Games exemplified the same tension that revealed itself in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas on October 2. The Mexican government presented an anxious modernism, juxtaposing its miracle with its history, blurring past and present.<sup>3</sup> The state attempted to assert a coherent image through its control of almost all cultural production, co-opting architecture, television, and Olympic symbols. However, despite the oppressive dominance of the Mexican government’s cultural regime, protestors, like those that night in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, circumvented state power through counterpractices such as poster art and political street theater. While the government sought to present a coherent past, present, and *future* Mexico, protestors harnessed these oppositional tactics to bypass and critique the state. Posters and performances in the street functioned as communication apparatuses outside the state-dominated media and culture, and directly addressed both the government’s affirmation of economic miracle and its oppressive tactics by directly confronting modern symbols of the Olympics and the regime’s violence. As I hope to suggest, despite the demise of the 1968 student movement on October 2, these subversive countercultural practices themselves ruptured temporal and spatial order, promising an afterlife to Mexico 1968. In short, the future—the legacy of the student movement—resides in the 1968 foundation of oppositional strategies like posters and performances, which promoted collective action, speech, and, most important, an engagement with public space.

This essay examines both the official culture crafted by the government in anticipation of the 1968 Olympics and the countercultural practices that produced a lasting fracture in the temporal and spatial order of modern Mexico. However, I am not proposing that this rupture marks a break, a demarcation of before and after, a paradigm shift in democratization efforts in Mexico. Instead, I insist on a *strategy* of spatial fracture that effectively permeated the afterlife of Mexico 1968. I begin by establishing the conditions of both official culture and counterculture in the lead-up to the Olympics. As I stress, throughout the 1960s, and especially in the summer and fall of 1968, the state’s utilization of architecture, communication apparatuses, and Olympic symbols was both in direct tension with, and the topic of, poster art and political street theater. Students employed such subversive countercultural approaches as a way to counteract the manner in which the dominant image regime documented and constructed claims to the truth, namely, how the interweaving web of television, Olympic iconography, and architecture played a prominent role in suppressing political dissent and constructing a coherent state

teleology. Through this government propaganda machine, Mexico's Aztec and Spanish past seamlessly bloomed into the modern Mexican nation, whose very modernity, for the state, was at stake on the world stage of the Olympics. Indeed, as the Games and the massacre approached, a multiplicity of competing and colliding visual and communicative platforms emerged. While the state's powerful network of mediums called Mexican citizens and the world to *witness* the nation's miraculous development into modernism, students staked competing claims to the truth through alternative communicative apparatuses and media forms that were utilized in public spaces. These tactics, however, were not suppressed and eradicated on the night of the massacre but instead left a permanent trace on Mexico's future. As the student movement ended that night, the legacy of its subversion was almost immediately resurrected through the undermining and reclamation of space by the residents of the Nonoalco Tlatelolco housing complex. As I argue, this active engagement with space represents a shift in how strategies of capturing and remembering the 1968 student movement are commonly understood. While most analysis of remembrance and memory following the massacre focuses on the creation of archives, I highlight spatial ruptures that overcame the limitations of archive.<sup>4</sup> In doing so, I trace confrontations with space from 1968 to Rafael Lozano-Hemmer's 2008 installation, *Voz Alta*, which continued this practice by producing a new site-specific alternative media apparatus, channeling October 2, 1968, amid the ruins of Mexico's Aztec, Spanish, and modernist past—in the space of the plaza itself.

### Olympic Subversion

Before the Olympics, the Mexican government was actively involved in promoting the image of the nation at World's Fairs, both in an effort to present as a modernized nation in the postwar era and to secure its position as host of the Games. At those events, such as the 1964 New York World's Fair, the tension between Mexico's developmentalist image and its "folkloric present," as the art historian Luis Castañeda calls it, was already ever present.<sup>5</sup> Postwar fairs were important sites of contact between former colonies and imperial nations. As Castañeda points out, this division was replaced by comparable categories that distinguished between more-developed and less-developed nations. While decolonization and diplomacy played out at the fairs, the classification of colonial and imperial power was replaced by a new kind of post-colonial language. Under this new classification system—that is, more or less "developed"—Mexico was categorized as the latter and, as a result, was pressured to assert its "exotic characteristics" just like many post-colonial states seeking to separate their identities from Euro-American nations.<sup>6</sup>

While attempting to convey its economic development internationally, Mexico was simultaneously pressured to present its “folklore” because of this binary division set up in the postcolonial era.

At the New York World’s Fair, four years before the Olympics, the pressure from US organizers was evident. After a successful 1958 Brussels World’s Fair, Mexico was given one of the best spots at the New York fair, with expectations higher than six years prior. Bruce Nicholson, an organizer of the fair, made clear what he wanted to see from the Mexican pavilion: “We feel [they] should design their exhibits to stress the ancient cultures and the modern cultures as seen through their artists, and how one was affected by the other.”<sup>7</sup> Nicholson desired to see narrative unfold at the Mexican pavilion, to see the relationship between ancient and modern Mexico linked together. To adjust to the demands of New York officials, Mexican organizers added “folkloric” content to their pavilion early on. Writing in response to Nicholson, a commissioner for the Mexican pavilion, Jorge Canavati, announced that Mexico would put on a performance that was “a spectacle derived from ancient Aztec tradition in which, hanging by their heels from ropes attached to a platform atop a 50-foot pole, the performers, acting as the four cardinal points, fling themselves into space and spiral headlong to earth in ever widening arcs, while a lone musician seated aloft calls out ritual melodies on a reed flute.”<sup>8</sup> In his letter, he attached a news clipping of the performance at the Pyramid of Niches, on the ancient site of El Tajín. The flyers who performed in New York were staged to mimic the same position they held in front of the pyramid, this time in front of the modern facade of Mexico’s 1964 Pavilion (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> The mimicking constructed a harmonious relationship between the “exoticized” performance at El Tajín and the displaced performance in a modern context, thereby instituting a narrative connection between a “folkloric” past and a modern present.

The buildup in tension between Mexico’s past and present was evident in the dissemination of propaganda and Olympic symbols in 1968. The government’s overall dominance of visual arts and architecture reflected its imposition of a totalizing official teleology in the lead-up to the Games. Promoting this teleology through culture, the government aligned cultural productions, such as stadiums and Olympic design, with the single-party state, which was positioned at the helm of Mexico’s indigenous, colonial, and revolutionary history, all under the flag of modernity.<sup>10</sup> As the historian Eric Zolov has described, the yearlong arts and performance festival beginning in January 1968, Cultural Olympiad, was central to garnering popular support for the Games and establishing this local teleology along with Mexico’s image abroad. The planners of Cultural Olympiad were well aware



*Figure 1 Flyers of Papantla perform in front of Mexico Pavilion, New York World's Fair, 1964–65. Image courtesy of Corporation Records, Manuscripts Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.*

that Mexico was judged internationally as an “underdeveloped” nation, and therefore sought to frame cultural productions leading up to the Games carefully for foreign absorption, often exoticizing the nation through aesthetic display and folkloric performances like the spectacle in New York.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, however, the cultural display was also of local importance. For one of the main organizers,

Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, Cultural Olympiad was a way to “reenergize” domestic support for the Games, redirecting the narrative away from a rising student movement that attacked Olympic iconography and the reckless spending by the government for the Games. Olympic symbols, cultural productions, and stadiums were a central point of tension between the state and the students. For the government regime, control over culture permitted a narrativization of its modernization miracle via a smooth unfolding from past into present.<sup>12</sup> For the students, on the other hand, Olympic symbols and cultural events represented state oppression and violence on a local level.

The two major symbols disseminated and displayed around Mexico City in 1968 were the white dove and the official logo of the Mexico Olympics. The dove, as symbol of peace, became a central icon in the Cold War era, with Mexico positioning itself as a “peacemaker” on the international stage. Doves lined the streets of Mexico City, along major thoroughfares. The Olympic logo, designed by the American artist Lance Wyman and his partner Peter Murdoch, was likewise widely disseminated, but also reflected the Cultural Olympiad’s anxiety in finding a design that would fit an international perspective while breaking from Mexican stereotypes (fig. 2). The psychedelic, op art design invoked international modern practices but also channeled Mexican folk forms, simultaneously invoking Mexico’s cultural heritage alongside its modern economic miracle.<sup>13</sup> As Wyman later recalled, the organizers of the event gave him free rein, with one exception: “The only thing I remember as a guideline was the sleeping man with the sombrero did not properly represent Mexico.” As Wyman described, “The 5 rings to the 68 to the MEXICO’68 was a very natural progression that was preceded and influenced by many visits to the Museum of Anthropology [*sic*] to study Mexican pre-Columbian design and Mexican folk art, by taking in the vitality and aesthetic of the Mexican markets, and by the influence of ‘Op’ art and the powerful work of Bridget Riley and [Victor] Vasarely.”<sup>14</sup> At stake in the symbols disseminated around Mexico City, such as Wyman’s logo, were encounters that transcended Mexico’s past and present—a drive to accommodate both modernity and heritage under the watchful eyes of the world.

The Mexican government’s image management did not go uncontested, however. At the Academia San Carlos at the Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas

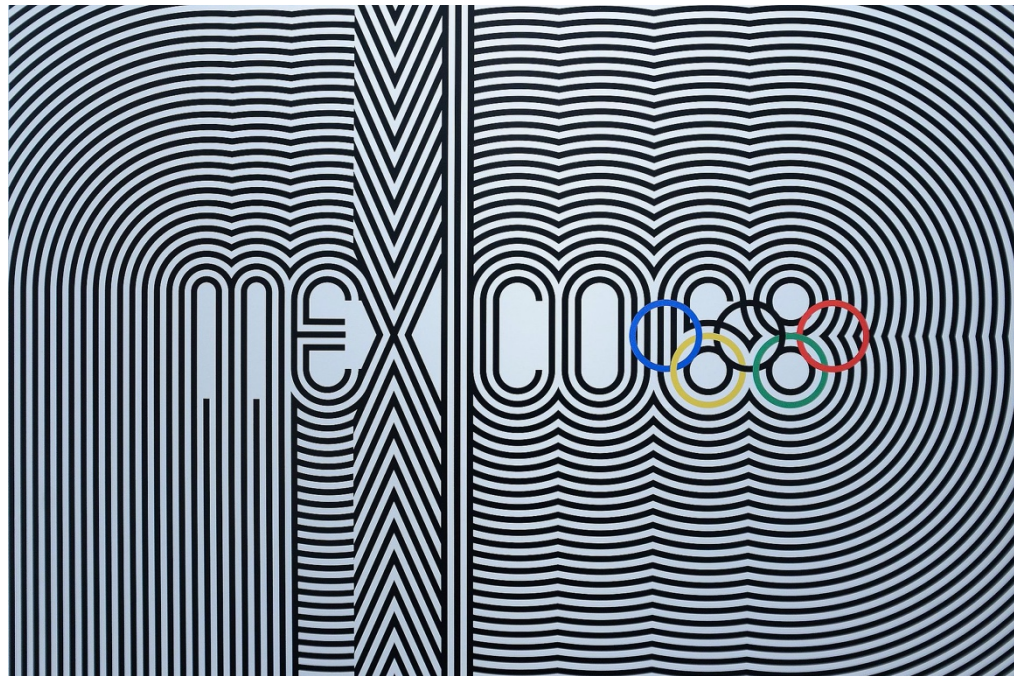


Figure 2 Lance Wyman and Peter Murdoch, Official Logo for the 1968 Olympics. Image courtesy of Tomaz Silva, Agência Brasil, and Wikimedia Commons: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Exposi%C3%A7%C3%A3o\\_Design\\_%26\\_Utopia\\_dos\\_Jogos\\_\(28262056573\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Exposi%C3%A7%C3%A3o_Design_%26_Utopia_dos_Jogos_(28262056573).jpg).

of UNAM, students established a poster production house, designing posters that parodied and mocked symbols of the Olympics. White doves were blotted with red spray paint, destabilizing the state's symbol of a peaceful nation through a reminder of its violent oppression.<sup>15</sup> Protestors also addressed the regime's use of weapons of war on civilians, frequently juxtaposing these modern tools of destructions with modern icons of the Olympic Games. One such poster squares off a tank operated by two soldiers (Fig. 3). The wheels of the tank resemble the five Olympic rings and are accompanied by a parody of Wyman's psychedelic design. The op art aesthetic, crudely distorted by the thick lines of the letter *M* and the blotched *I*, is countered and paired with a technology of war, oppression, and state violence. Other posters directed scrutiny toward the administration of President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, often depicted as a monkey in posters.<sup>16</sup> His monkey caricature, featuring ferocious, jagged teeth, is rounded off by a military helmet and accompanied by the Olympic logo. In another poster, Díaz Ordaz-as-monkey is placed at the command of the Olympic tank, with the same five circles, and the official logo above.<sup>17</sup> Paired with both military and Olympic symbols, the president is placed at the helm of not only the state's violence but also its Olympic image machine.





*Figure 3 Esther Montero, Mexico 68, undated. Image courtesy of Historical Archive of the UNAM, Mexico City, Mexico.*

President Díaz Ordaz, paranoid about outside interference in the events and cultural productions of the Olympics in the wake of May '68 in Paris, had his worst nightmare come true when the French student Claude Leveque, who had participated in the poster production of the Atelier Populaire during the May movement, arrived in Mexico. Upon his arrival, Leveque trained Mexican students in the silk-screen method, which permitted the quick and cheap production of posters.<sup>18</sup> As I detail later, while the Atelier Populaire had openly criticized the American neo avant-garde and its use of silk screen, to keep pace with printing volume for posters, they adopted the pop art technique. Posters, produced at a rapid rate, became a countermedia form that responded to, captured, and shaped the events of May 1968.<sup>19</sup> The use of the opaque projector and silk screen became



Figure 4 Lance Wyman, postage stamp for Mexico '68, 1967. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mexico\\_Stamp\\_Olympiade\\_1968\\_Field\\_Hockey.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mexico_Stamp_Olympiade_1968_Field_Hockey.jpg).

important tools for the Atelier Populaire, but, as the art historian Liam Considine points out, their posters were also in tension with pop art practice: through the use of these apparatuses for public discussion and distribution, the group's poster production was simultaneously a *détournement* of pop art's appropriation of images from mass media.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, the posters produced at the Academia San Carlos engaged in a similar material and technological hijacking. Through the use of silk screen for public means, the Academia designed posters that themselves *détourned* prominent Olympic iconography.

Symbols of the Olympics, such as Wyman's op art designs, were often paired with images of stadiums. The Aztec and Olympic Stadiums became grounds for the spectacular display of the op art aesthetic. Bright colors of pink, orange, and blue, similar to those featured on the logo design, were splattered on the grounds outside the stadiums.<sup>21</sup> The relationship between the Olympic logo and architecture can also be seen in a set of stamps that feature Wyman's op art logo (fig. 4). The design is paired with Mexico's brand-new Sports Palace. Psychedelic lines of the logo emanate out of the jagged, turtle-shell-shaped dome of the Palace (fig. 5). The Sports Palace, like Wyman's logo, was an important mediator between folkloric content and modern developmentalism, and was geared to the construction of a coherent national identification through propaganda.<sup>22</sup> Félix Candela, a

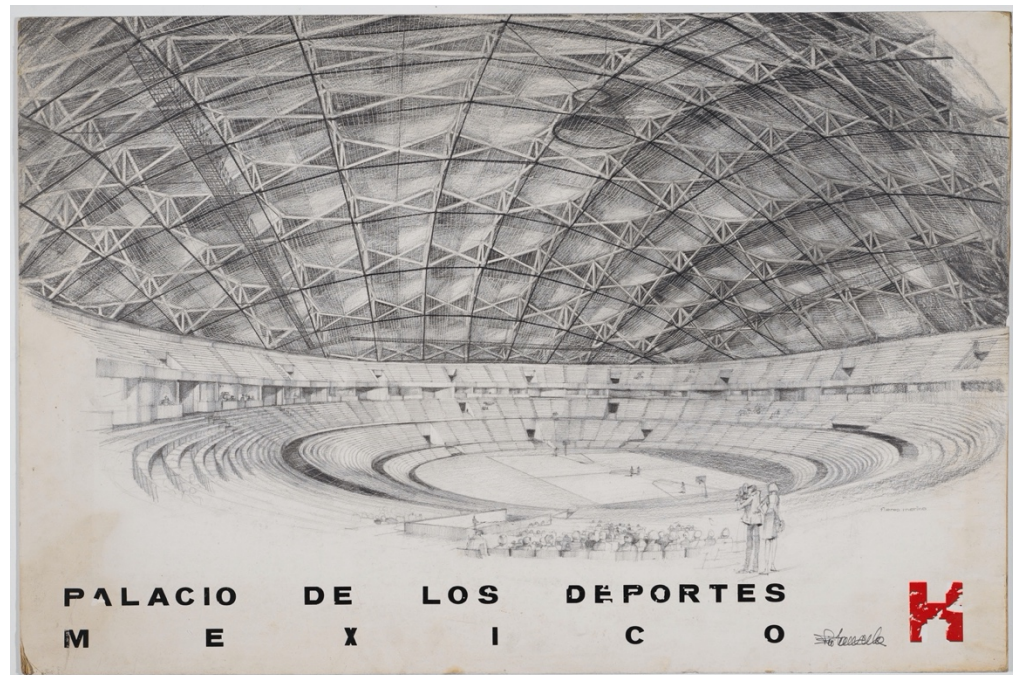


Figure 5 Drawing of *Palacio de los deportes*, Mexico, Dr 116, designed by Félix Candela, Enrique Castañeda Tamborel, and Antonio Peyri, 1968. Image courtesy of Félix Candela architectural records and papers, Drawings and Archives, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

Spanish exile living in Mexico, designed the model for the Sports Palace, inaugurating its hyperbolic paraboloid as both a uniquely Mexican design and an international modern style. As Castañeda has described, Candela attempted to “Mexicanize” his work, asserting his own authorship of Mexico’s hyperbolic paraboloid design while insisting on its original status as a modern French form developed in the 1930s. In doing so, he framed the design as being “of Mexico” while situating it in a context of international modernism.<sup>23</sup>

While exemplifying the “Mexicanization” of the hyperbolic paraboloid, the Sports Palace was also a reflection of state control and surveillance. Indeed, the stadium functioned as a spectacular “image machine,” like the Aztec and UNAM stadiums, curated to provide televised views from any vantage point, either in the interior or exterior of the stadium.<sup>24</sup> In part, this television-friendly design was meant to make up for the disjunction between new and old stadiums in Mexico City, through camera angles that avoided any building flaws. While Mexico City was set up for in-person spectatorship as well, it must be stressed that television in 1968, for planners like Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, was recognized as the technology that would drastically increase the number of spectators watching the Olympics. TV was seen as a potential remedy to counteract any potential building flaws

and could, perhaps, replace the role of architecture itself. As Ramírez Vázquez revealed at the time, “The placement [of cameras] has not been disclosed in order not to interfere with the sports events; but they will be in every angle and place so as to reveal to the remote observer aspects of the development of the competitions that those sitting in the grandstands will naturally be unable to perceive.”<sup>25</sup> But this televisual setup also offered another route for state propaganda. As a result of its rising popularity in Mexico in the years leading up to the Olympics, TV became the state’s key cultural and communicative apparatus. Paired with Olympic symbols and architectures, television was effectively utilized to promote a spectacle of social cohesion and Mexico’s miraculous development. Furthermore, it functioned as a technology of surveillance and social discipline. TV fundamentally controlled how political dissent was presented and ultimately played a major part in downplaying the government’s role in the massacre on October 2.<sup>26</sup>

While the pairing of modern architectural structures with Olympic symbols projected the government’s image of Mexico to the world and offered a way to surveil and control a population, attempts to slow down student criticism through such propaganda proved ineffective. Instead, students founded counterdiscourses based on what the journalism historian Celeste González de Bustamante has termed a “hybridity of framing”—a practice of reinterpreting and critically engaging events and issues broadcast through dominant media forms.<sup>27</sup> As a student, Jorge Perezvega, remarked, protestors saw the press and media companies like Telesistema as corrupt and complicit, condemning them for spreading false information: “You had to read between the lines. You would read a newspaper and you had to look for the truth within the report, and that happened with television.”<sup>28</sup> Student protestors realized that the state controlled all major cultural and communication forms. To assert a different kind of national subjectivity outside the state’s teleology, students circumvented dominant forms of culture and communication, instead harnessing the potential of political street theater and poster art, and even University Radio, as subversive art forms and communication devices.

Poster art directly challenged government control of media, seeking a space outside the dominant regime. One such poster from the Consejo Nacional de Huelga (CNH) (fig. 6) depicts an enlarged reporter gobbling cash stuffed in his mouth by the palm of the government; his cheeks puff out with the accumulation of paper bills. The stiff wrist of the government asks “¿VERDAD QUE VAS A DECIR LA PURA VERDAD?” (Are you going to tell the truth?). The crooked press man, wearing an equally sinuous hat, pinned with a “*prensa*” (press) tag at its band, compulsively responds, “YES, JEFE” (Yes, boss), passively absorbing the deviously ironic message as he is inflated with pesos. The press and mainstream

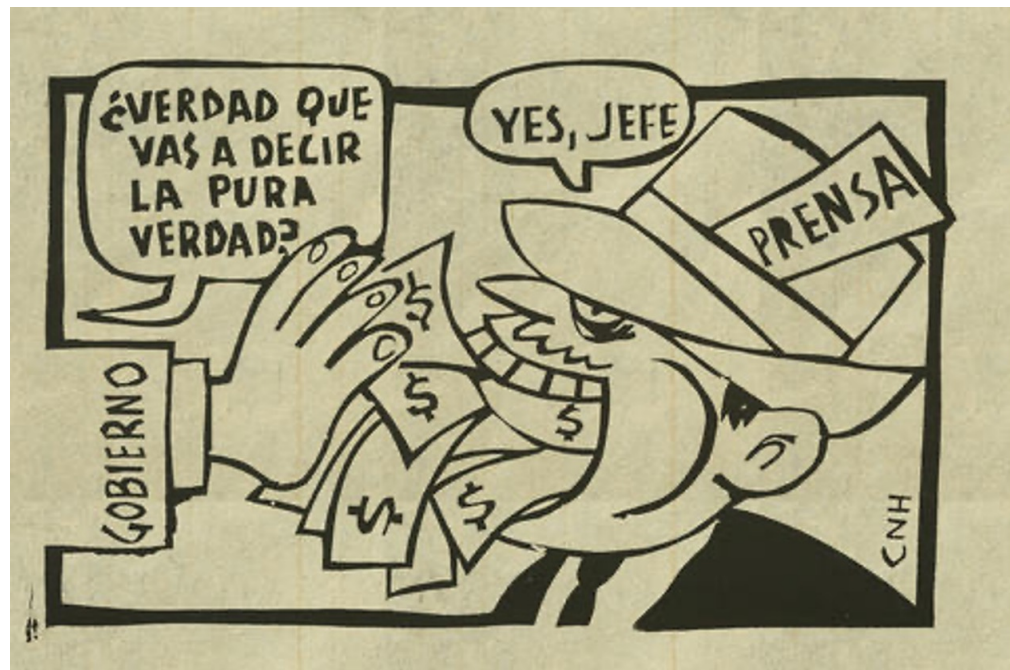
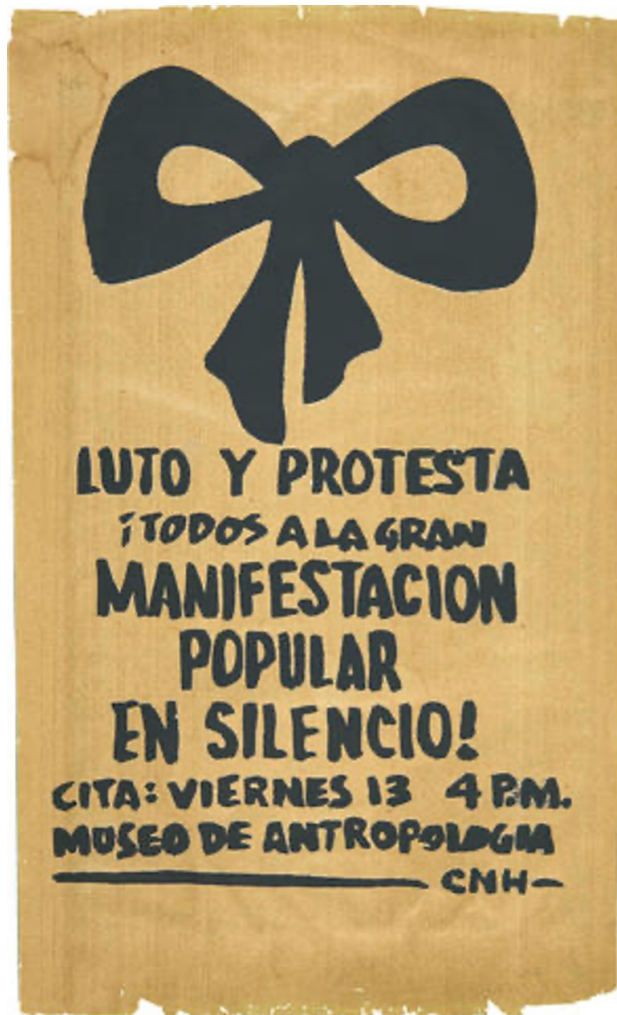


Figure 6 Esther Montero, “¿Verdad que vas a decir la pura verdad?”, undated. Image courtesy of Historical Archive of the UNAM, Mexico City, Mexico.

media, complying with the government’s coercive propaganda tactics and deception, cannot be reconciled. The poster self-reflexively acknowledges the purpose of its production and display; its status as a countermedium posted on the street, one enlisted to circumvent the dominant cultural forms.

Focus on state dominance of media at the Academia San Carlos parallels similar efforts by the Atelier Populaire in May 1968. Early in May, like Mexican students who parodied iconography of the Olympics and the icon of President Díaz Ordaz, the Atelier Populaire mocked words and images of French leaders like Charles de Gaulle. However, after three weeks of strikes in France, the international press began to lose sympathy for the May ’68 movement. Posters of the Atelier Populaire, designed, debated, and produced nightly, then became a way to disseminate information about the movement and denounce the press as toxic and controlled by the government.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, as Jean Baudrillard described in his essay “Requiem for the Media,” the significance of such posters during May centered on their subsequent placement on the street, turning city walls into sites of speech. This countermedia form, activating speech on the wall and in the space of the street, stood in stark contrast to the mechanisms of mass media, which, for Baudrillard, functioned to create a one-way transmission network, projecting speech across the airwaves while muting the possibility of response.<sup>30</sup> Posters from



*Figure 7 Esther Montero, “Luto y Protesta,” undated. Image courtesy of Historical Archive of the UNAM, Mexico City, Mexico.*

the Academia San Carlos, like those from May, were pasted on any surface available, as a seizing of space and a projection of speech. Additionally, like the Atelier Populaire, Mexican students not only labeled the government-controlled media as toxic but also used posters for practical communication. Many posters produced by the Academia San Carlos announced plans, locations, and times for protests, including for the famous Silence March of September 13 (fig. 7). A poster for the demonstration, headed by a ribbon—a symbol of unification and solidarity—announces: “¡Luto y protesta. Todos a la gran manifestacion popular en silencio! Cita: Viernes 13 4 p.m. Museo de Antropologia” (Mourning and protest. Everyone to the great popular demonstration in silence! Date: Friday the 13th 4 p.m. Museum of Anthropology). The poster here, as a communication device, acts to seize street space for speech when posted on walls, announcing time, date, location, and most

important, message: the poster declares that the demonstration will be conducted in silence. Even when the Mexican government's military presence increased, students resorted to small pocket images that could be concealed and distributed, to keep communication networks alive.<sup>31</sup> This effort underlies the importance of posters as communication apparatuses outside the dominant media. Pocket-sized leaflets were a way to sustain the immediacy of the countermedia form, along with its ability to animate the movement's messages and speech in public spaces.

Similarly, students harnessed the potential of political street theater to circumvent the government-controlled media and share important ideas of the movement. The CNH, which had joined into a multi-university coalition in August, had a strict division of labor—external relations, finances, propaganda—which permitted the organization of street theater. The finance commission formed about 150 brigades that traveled the streets, informing citizens about the movement and asking for donations.<sup>32</sup> These groups would travel to local markets and other public spaces to perform conversations (and sometimes arguments) between members. The group would act out and dramatize a scene in which current events were discussed. Citizens listening in to these loud discussions would be informed of news and events that were shunned by newspapers and television.<sup>33</sup> In this sense, student performance in public turned local settings, like the market, into modern agoras. The agora, as a public space built for collective power, functions, like the wall and the street, as a stimulating and anticipatory medium for speech. Less reliant on a demarcated enclosure of space, the agora instead flourishes in open settings like the market; its emptiness signals a potential to gather and communicate, to see and be seen, to speak and respond. Speech is made common and available to all; communication, information, and dialogue unfold in the space of the agora. As one student, Ana Ignacia “La Nacha” Rodríguez, remarked, the brigade's use of speech was “the simplest medium but the most effective. We were like mobile newspapers.”<sup>34</sup> The student movement's founding of modern agoras not only created spaces of news but also injected dialogue into the public realm.

### **Modernist Ruins at Tlatelolco**

Poster art and brigade performances reflect the student movement's overall engagement with public space and the built environment, which became fully evident on the night of October 2. Poster art's encounter with the spatial order is crystallized in another CNH poster (fig. 8), which again attacks the corrupt press in bold letters, “PRENSA CORRUPTA” (Corrupt Press). Above the text, a lanky neck juts into the squared-off design, curving into an extraterrestrial alien skull. The corrupt press, deaf from thick wine-bottle-cork ear plugs, and blinded by rippled



*Figure 8 Esther Montero, “Prensa Corrupta,” undated. Image courtesy of Historical Archive of the UNAM, Mexico City, Mexico.*

money, nevertheless speaks: its medusa-like dotted snake tongue creepily slithers out and projects; the snake, taking on a life of its own, extends its own venomous vitriol through its jagged tongue. While the corrupt press as a venomous snake is consistent with other examples of protestor engagement with state-dominated media, this image is unique for its display of buildings. Modernist towers, which seem to reflect Pani’s now infamous Nonoalco Tlatelolco—the archetype of urban planning for Mexico’s miracle—frame medusa’s skinny and sly neck in the CNH



poster. The likely inclusion of Pani's housing complex in the work, supporting the fragile neck of the press, points again to the tension between the state's architectural and cultural productions and the student movement's countercultural practices. Moreover, the inclusion of Nonoalco Tlatelolco reflects the significance of the site as *the* epitome of modernist architecture in 1960s Mexico. It signals why Nonoalco Tlatelolco was a pivotal site for both the state and the student movement: a critical *space* and meeting ground for both.

What was the significance of this site? In the 1960s, Pani was commissioned to design and plan the housing complex, the largest of its kind in Mexico City. Pani, influenced by Le Corbusier while studying in Paris, sought to create a "radiant city" in Mexico. He believed in razing neighborhoods, destroying all structures of the past not worth preserving.<sup>35</sup> For the Nonoalco Tlatelolco project, Pani planned to divide the complex into three "superblocks," all with towers from four to twenty-two stories tall. However, upon starting the project, he encountered roadblocks. Archaeologists opposed the project because it was on pre-Columbian city grounds. When workers were preparing the foundations, they hit the base of a pre-Columbian pyramid that had been flattened by the Spanish to build the Santiago Tlatelolco church in the sixteenth century. Fixtures of Mexico's past thus derailed Pani's project.<sup>36</sup> The relationship between the modern block, ancient pyramid, and Spanish church again reflects a tension between Mexico's modern present and its "folkloric" past in this moment of rapid development during the 1960s.

Pani ended up overcoming the past by building around the pyramid and the church. He conveniently combined three cultures—Aztec, Spanish, and modern Mexican—by designing the Plaza de las Tres Culturas to contain the church and pyramid, surrounding it with new towers. The plaza became a symbol of modern Mexico, of a national culture emerging out of the remains of Mexico's Aztec and Spanish history. Moreover, the constructed site was not only cultural but also, as Rubén Gallo points out, racial.<sup>37</sup> Pani placed a plaque in the plaza stating: "On August 13, 1521, after being heroically defended by Cuauhtémoc, Tlatelolco fell to Hernán Cortés. It was neither victory nor defeat, but the painful birth of the mixed-blood country that is Mexico today."<sup>38</sup> Built over and on top of a fragmented past, the plaza served to artificially construct and bolster the teleology of the state. Mexico's Aztec and Spanish ancestry unfolds into modernism, now weaponized to assist the single-party state's developmentalist regime. As Pani himself reflected in his celebration of the housing complex in the magazine *Arquitectura/México*: "Today this exemplar of modern Mexican culture rises, before all and above, as an act of faith in national destiny."<sup>39</sup>

Nonoalco Tlatelolco consisted of 102 buildings on the three superblocks (fig. 9). It was designed with extensive leisure and welfare spaces: schools, clinics,



*Figure 9 Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Housing Complex, designed by Mario Pani, 1957. Image courtesy of ProtoplasmaKid and Wikimedia Commons, CC-BY-SA 4.0, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Conjunto Urbano Nonoalco Tlatelolco Mexico City.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Conjunto_Urbano_Nonoalco_Tlatelolco_Mexico_City.JPG).*

and a movie theater. Pani insisted that the complex accommodate any needs of its residents.<sup>40</sup> But, like Ramírez Vázquez's stadium designs—namely, their relationship to disciplinary mechanisms of television—Pani also designed Nonoalco Tlatelolco as a machine of surveillance and control. The complex was arranged according to the strict orthogonal grid of the superblock. Its rigid arrangement strictly regulated the interactions and social dynamics of residents. But despite the oppressive regulation and surveillance, from the date of its inauguration, Nonoalco Tlatelolco was subverted by residents who transformed the complex. Many established familial and communal living and utilized extra space by subletting bedrooms and patios for income. Additionally, and more significantly for my purposes here, in the lead-up to the massacre, residents assisted students as they resisted state violence. Before the massacre, to stop the movement of troops to the University Campus, the CNH put up barricades near Nonoalco Tlatelolco, bringing down electricity poles, disabling traffic signals, and blocking roads with buses. As students and government soldiers fought in the area for eight hours, Nonoalco Tlatelolco residents transgressed their own modernist housing complex—its social control and surveillance—by dumping trash and even scorching hot water, boiled

by modern appliances, on the troops.<sup>41</sup> As I argue below, the tension between the surveillance mechanisms of the complex and the circumventing of modernist space by its residents would manifest most explicitly on the night of the massacre. On that night, the residents of Nonoalco Tlatelolco came to the aid of fleeing students, not only demonstrating the wide support of the movement,<sup>42</sup> but also the overall embrace of the movement's radical *détournement* of space, as seen in posters, brigade performances, and the seizure of the Plaza de las Tres Culturas on October 2.

While Pani's buildings controlled the environment, leisure, and movement of its residents, it also limited access points, and permitted only one space for large congregations—in the plaza. Designed for control and surveillance, on the night of the massacre the housing complex became a panopticon: an imprisoned space where the students at the center are seen from all points of Nonoalco Tlatelolco.<sup>43</sup> The students were sitting ducks, observed and plucked out by army snipers who had an unimpeded view.<sup>44</sup> As one student quoted in Elena Poniatowka's *La Noche de Tlatelolco* described, modernist architecture became a weapon:

I told everyone that the Plaza of the 3 cultures was a trap, I told them so. ¡There's no way out! It's so obvious. I told them there would be no way to escape, that we would all be boxed in, penned in like animals I told them so many times. . . .

The Plaza of the 3 cultures became an inferno. Every few seconds you could hear shots and the outbursts of machine guns. I could hear High power rifles shooting them from all directions.<sup>45</sup>

Escaping from the gaze of the panopticon—where one is seen but cannot see—protestors sought shelter in Nonoalco Tlatelolco. Once inside, residents came to the aid of the students, hiding them in their apartments. As soldiers rushed the building, residents threw garbage out their windows to distract them. Despite its transparent plan, once inside, the complex was difficult to navigate for government troops—it was a blur.<sup>46</sup> As the actress Margarita Isabel, a resident of Nonoalco, also recounted in Poniatowska's text, this was a result of modernist design turning on itself. The overwhelming accumulation of apartments, coupled with resident support for the student movement, made Nonoalco Tlatelolco impossible to navigate:

When I got to the corner, I ran down the street to my building as fast as my two legs would carry me, dashed up the stairs to my

apartment, and locked myself in! About five seconds later, I heard the downstairs door open, but those two dumb bastards never dreamed they'd be confronted with so many apartments inside my building—from outside it looks as though there are only two or three of them, but once you're inside it's a labyrinth, like an [Michelangelo] Antonioni film—you know?—a real maze, with forty apartments or so, and you go out of your mind if you don't know your way around.<sup>47</sup>

At the same time as these accounts describe the brutal violence of the massacre, they also reveal this fundamental contradiction in the modernist design.<sup>48</sup> Despite the rigidity and order of the outside space functioning as a panopticon—an all-seeing weapon of state violence—once inside, the space was radically flipped, both by the incoherence of the complex's own design and by the seizing of space by residents. While the hygienic buildings were eventually turned into bloody “holding cells,”<sup>49</sup> with troops rounding up students in building lobbies, this tension between the surveillance state and the reclamation of space by residents illustrates the prominence of this effort to subvert the spatial order.

Counterpractices against the government were fundamentally played out in space, whether the modern agora of the street, the local market, the burial ground of Mexico's past in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, or Nonoalco Tlatelolco. As I hope to convey in the following sections, this engagement with space also took on a temporal dimension, reverberating to future attempts to remember and capture the 1968 student movement.

### **Afterlives of 1968 and the Problem of the Archive**

In the years after the massacre, artists and intellectuals sought to reflect on, respond to, and capture the student movement of 1968, often through photographs and testimonies. While Octavio Paz's *Labyrinth of Solitude* contains his own personal meditation on 1968, Poniatowka's *La Noche de Tlatelolco*, as indicated above, is quite different. *La Noche de Tlatelolco* is not a narrative of the movement and the massacre but is instead an archive, one that contains remnants of the past in both photographic and textual form. Poniatowska offers testimonies from those inside and outside the movement and massacre, both affected by the events of October 2. For the art historian George Flaherty, Poniatowska's archival collection calls readers to the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, “asking them to witness the massacre as well as the Mexican miracle's routine violence.” These testimonies, Flaherty argues,

“ask readers to go away also, in the hope that they may yet tell others and seek resource.”<sup>50</sup>

Flaherty’s analysis of Poniatowska’s text, I believe, reflects the difficulty of remembering and capturing 1968, but also points to the very problem of the archive—the feverish gathering of testimonial texts and photographs. The “evidentiary” photograph, rather than revealing the truth, conceals it, violently severing the image from its moment. Such severing is evident on the front cover of the magazine *Proceso* from December 9, 2001.<sup>51</sup> Having received a few concealed government images of the massacre from an anonymous source, the magazine published a special edition, featuring a former student leader, Florencio López Osuna. On the front cover, López Osuna stands mangled and transfigured, his chest scraped and his mouth bloodied. His clothes are ripped down like his arms handcuffed behind his back, hidden as if amputated. Directly behind López Osuna stands a government soldier distinguished by his helmet, shimmering in the camera light. He watches over other protestors, positioned with their hands up. One protestor is yet to have his shirt removed like the others. The white of his shirt matches the bright shining white of López Osuna’s underwear and ripped shirt. At the same time, it also meshes with the clothing of a government soldier, who is not in riot gear but in white plainclothes. He dangles a white glove, juxtaposed to his casual hand in pocket. The photograph, with this stark contrast between black and white, brightness and darkness, brandishes one final claim to evidentiary truth: the soldier’s white attire and gloves stand as proof that he is a member of the paramilitary group, Batallón Olimpia, who meshed into the student crowd, only to open fire, with their white gloves worn to distinguish them from the protestors.<sup>52</sup> White, bright and rendered hypervisible, became a weapon of violence, bluntly illuminated in the darkness.

The magazine, like Poniatowska’s archive, calls readers to report their stories, to call about victims or perpetrators featured in the photograph, reflecting what Jacques Derrida called “archive fever,” a nonstop desire to complete the always incomplete archive.<sup>53</sup> The archive of massacre is briefly opened to reveal a *fragment* of the past. For Derrida, the partial appearance of this kind of state archive functions only as an illusion of controlling the archive; the fragment is always irreconcilably partial and forever incomplete.<sup>54</sup> “For somewhere in the state’s archive,” Derrida writes, “is every possible photograph, from every possible angle, of every face.”<sup>55</sup> The partial and fragmentary photograph functions as a microcosm of the state’s panoptical, all-knowing archive. The images in Poniatowska’s project, like the photograph of López Osuna, are incomplete chips and illusory captures of the government-controlled, complete archive. Such images demand us “to bear

witness” to fragments, calling us to behold incomplete claims to archival truth after the event of the massacre.<sup>56</sup>

To properly analyze 1968, we must read its political register through what Samuel Steinberg calls a “double repression,” which fundamentally conditions the way the event is received in the present. This double repression is directed to not only the massacre but also the policing before the mass killing. Focusing solely on the massacre and efforts to open up the archive encases and protects the state in a “symbolic shelter” of its violence, merely affirming its outward appearance without piercing the deeper issues behind its violent facade. As Steinberg argues, we should instead look to precisely what was revealed on the night of October 2.<sup>57</sup> The plaza, as I have argued, consigns three remains of Mexico’s past; signs of the nation’s Aztec and Spanish history are gathered under the banner of Mexico’s modern present. On the night of the massacre, however, the plaza’s space, confining these incongruous and disparate temporalities to an unstable modern harmony, was bluntly revealed to be foundationally artificial, constructed by a fundamentally incoherent state teleology.

On October 2, upon the activation of all three temporalities and spaces, a state teleology of modern Mexico was forced to reveal itself, to come out of its shell. Pani’s project, the attempted razing of ruins, revealed a “topography of trauma,” making visible the very histories that threatened the single-party state’s teleology.<sup>58</sup> Following Steinberg, instead of engaging in a task of accumulating and searching the archival fragments—photographs and testimonies—we should instead search for traces to find what was revealed that night. Understanding Tlatelolco 1968 as an engagement with space is, again, paramount. Action, like that of the student movement, always runs the risk of falling into oblivion, of being forgotten. We desire for acts to be recorded and for glory to last. And, as Hannah Arendt would tell us, public space is where we seize the past and guarantee the possibility of intergenerational justice.<sup>59</sup> But memory is not solely carved in stone, embedded in monuments that insert memory into the public realm. Instead, memory of action can be remembered by spatial impressions and marks of light and trauma that permanently stained the site of massacre, revealing the radical *disruption* of the teleology that the state hoped to conceal.<sup>60</sup> Memory of action and massacre, is, indeed, carved into space, but is also remembered, resurrected, and *reconstituted* in that very space.

While the photograph will always remain irreconcilably fragmented, illusory, and ruptured from the past, focusing solely on the archival elements of Poniatowka’s *La Noche de Tlatelolco* unfairly reduces the power of the work to *reconstitute* the spatiality of action. *La Noche de Tlatelolco* is not merely archival: it is full of testimonies from residents of Nonoalco Tlatelolco that reveal a subversion of

space after the massacre, indicating potential longevity—the afterlife of 1968. As the writer María Luisa Mendoza, quoted in *La Noche de Tlatelolco*, defiantly described, residents laid claim to the housing complex:

I'm never going to leave Nonoalco-Tlatelolco, even if [the secretary of defense] General Marcelino García Barragán shows up in person, with all his gold stripes, and troops armed with bazookas to try to get me out of here. This is my own little bit of breathing space, my trench. . . . Oh, no, listen: Don't put that down, that I said it was my trench, because they'll think I've got a stock of bombs and hand grenades in here, when even my kitchen knives are so dull they won't cut!<sup>61</sup>

Nonoalco Tlatelolco became a “trench” and fortress, a metaphorical munitions arsenal, *détourned* and boldly defended by its residents. Testimonies like Mendoza's indicate that while the complex was a physical place, a modern structure, it was also, importantly, a specific site of remembrance and collective memory, where both the violence and student movement could be remembered in space. The site is a meeting ground, where the tension between the Mexican miracle and the acts of citizens who sought to subvert Nonoalco Tlatelolco was played out. The complex marked the efforts of those who forcefully *flipped* the spatial order. While Pani envisioned Nonoalco Tlatelolco as the “centripetal” force of the city,<sup>62</sup> the complex and the plaza below instead became the lasting centripetal strength of the movement, the beating heart of resistance. In short, the actions of residents on October 2 embedded these strategies of modernist sabotage in the spatial order. Their continued occupation of space maintained and strengthened the fortress.

### *Voz Alta*

In channeling Tlatelolco as a centripetal force of resistance, Rafael Lozano-Hemmer's 2008 installation, *Voz Alta* (figs. 10–12), marks the longevity of the movement's intense engagement with space, stemming from poster art, brigades, and the subversion of Nonoalco Tlatelolco by residents. In 1985, Nonoalco Tlatelolco was completely destroyed by an earthquake. Pani's *ville radiense* model was turned on its head by natural disaster—the housing complex, and modernism, was left in ruins.<sup>63</sup> For *Voz Alta*, Lozano-Hemmer used the adjacent Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tlatelolco Square as part of the installation. The building, designed by Ramírez Vázquez, had not been decimated like Nonoalco Tlatelolco but had been



Figure 10 Rafael Lozano-Hemmer, *Voz Alta Relational Architecture 15"*, 2008, Mexico City, Mexico. © Rafael Lozano-Hemmer, courtesy the artist.

empty since the earthquake. The ministry, like Pani's housing complex, had symbolic significance: it reflected the Mexican government's unwillingness to grapple with the memory of 1968. It is fitting then, that in 2004, the building was transferred over to the National University on the condition that the university build a memorial to 1968; the government wanted no part in memorializing Tlatelolco.<sup>64</sup>

*Voz Alta*, installed atop the ministry building and in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, used digital technology, light, sound, and speech to create public dialogue in space, reflecting a continued engagement with communication outside dominant media. In the northeast corner of the plaza, Lozano-Hemmer constructed a small stand with a megaphone. But ironically, the speaker could be heard only from



close by—there was no sound system to project the speech emanating from the plaza. For ten nights, the stand served as an open mic. Anyone could speak on the stand, but always to a close crowd, due to the muted megaphone. Atop the ministry building, however, every time a word was uttered from the plaza setup, light beams on the rooftop would activate, turning words into light. Once the words from the plaza were converted into luminous beams, the speaker's statements were recorded and broadcast on University Radio (one of the largest stations in the city). Once the radio signal was broadcast, three additional beams would be activated at three points in Mexico City, reflecting the movement of the speaker's voice across the airwaves, and conveying that the speech from the plaza was broadcast across the country.<sup>65</sup>

*Voz Alta*, by harnessing the spatial capacities of communication—the ability to broadcast across geographic bounds through both light and speech—functions to rupture time, enacting a temporal shift by recalling the past and bringing it to the future. As the art historian Cuauhtémoc Medina has remarked, *Voz Alta* inserted public dialogue into the ghostly space. Speakers used their speech for numerous purposes: while some spoke about the 1968 student movement and the massacre, others proposed on the airwaves, and others complained about contemporary neighborhood problems. The work renewed the student movement's use of street art for social function, resurrecting the potential of activating the public.<sup>66</sup>

But this revival of the public was also fundamentally reliant on Lozano-Hemmer's channeling of 1968 through space. His installation of a new counter-media apparatus resurrected student utilization of subversive media forms to now generate and *reactivate* an arena for speech and response communication within the plaza itself. While acknowledging the evacuated, sanitized, and ghostly space of the plaza through the muted microphone and absent crowd, Lozano-Hemmer also reestablished a public and expanded it via light and the airwaves. He channeled the movement's posters, remembering student activation of the street as a site of speech, along with their focus on the modernist towers as the symbol of the miracle. He recalled the brigades and their performances in public markets in order to not only reassert the student movement's agora but also expand it, extending speech through luminous rays and sound waves. Lastly, Lozano-Hemmer reactivated the actions of Nonoalco Tlatelolco residents, reinstating fortress status to ruins. Without succumbing to archival madness, or protecting the state in a "symbolic shelter" of violence, the open mic setup, critically, allowed for an *opening up* and *extension* of the public in space. No longer restrained to recollections of massacre, the agora was unlocked to include all public speech. *Voz Alta*, in its insistence on an expanded open forum, fully captures a student movement not hidden



*Figure 11 Rafael Lozano-Hemmer, Voz Alta Relational Architecture 15", 2008, Mexico City, Mexico. © Rafael Lozano-Hemmer, courtesy the artist.*



*Figure 12 Rafael Lozano-Hemmer, Voz Alta Relational Architecture 15", 2008, Mexico City, Mexico. © Rafael Lozano-Hemmer, courtesy the artist.*

behind a spectacular miracle—monumental architecture, Olympic iconography, television, and the like—or shadowed by massacre. Instead, the student movement

is recalled and brought out of the past, its profound promise intact. *Voz Alta* resurrects the movement's radical potential to subvert the spatial order, seizing and circumventing space to create a truly public form of communication.

## Conclusion

In the lead-up to the 1968 Olympics, Mexico was riven by contradiction. The state attempted to assert a coherent teleology for the image of modern Mexico through its co-opting of cultural forms, such as the dove and the official logo of the 1968 Olympics. Students resisted by subverting such iconography, spraying red paint on peace doves and parodying Olympic circles, appropriating them as tank wheels in posters. In doing so, the students not only revealed government violence but also illuminated a direct link between the state's brutality and its oppressive image regime.

While the state's pairing of stadium architectures and television served as a way to manage political dissent before the Games, the students revealed their own narrative through counterpractices engaged with communication in the space of the street—poster art placed on walls and brigade performances in public markets. The student movement's subversion of the spatial order would become most evident on the night of October 2. The Plaza de las Tres Culturas and Mario Pani's surrounding Nonoalco Tlatelolco housing complex became a pivotal site for both the state and the students. The state, seeking to conceal its contradictory teleological underbelly embedded in the plaza, confronted the students, who saw the potential of the space to open up Mexico's past, present, and future. On the night of the massacre, this spatial antagonism was immediately taken up by residents of Nonoalco Tlatelolco, who hid fleeing students in their apartments. Residents of Nonoalco Tlatelolco *détourned* their modernist housing complex, flipping it into a fortress.

Understanding the student movement's engagement as fundamentally spatial allows us to reconsider the afterlives of 1968. While Elena Poniatowka's *La Noche de Tlatelolco* includes testimonies in both textual and photographic form, reducing it to the status of archive unfairly limits its potential to reconstruct the spatiality of action. Indeed, as I have argued, in the aftermath of the massacre, effective attempts to remember 1968 have focused on maintaining and resurrecting the student movement, seeking to reestablish a truly public form of communication in space. While the tension of 1968 reared its ugly head on the night of October 2, student engagement with the spatial order reverberated across time, maintaining an afterlife to the movement. Forty years later, the student movement

of 1968 was recalled in *Voz Alta*, which reestablished and extended the movement's modern agora—its development of speech and communication through its encounter with public space.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> George F. Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico: Dwelling on the '68 Movement* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 19,

<https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520291065.003.0007>.

<sup>2</sup> The *Mexican miracle* is a term used to describe the consistent but unequal economic growth and urban industrialization in Mexico between the mid-1940s and 1970s. The “miracle,” however, was not merely economic but also a social, political, and cultural project orchestrated by the single-party state. The Mexican government effectively utilized stadium architecture, television, and cultural events in the lead-up to the Olympic Games to showcase Mexico's miraculous economic growth, as well as to suppress political dissent that focused on uneven development and reckless government spending. See Luis Casteñeda, *Spectacular Mexico: Design, Propaganda, and the 1968 Olympics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> By archive I am referring to a frequently utilized strategy of gathering photographic and testimonial evidence after the Tlatelolco massacre. Elena Poniatowska's *La Noche de Tlatelolco* has been considered paradigmatic of this archival impulse after 1968. See Samuel Steinberg, *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco: Afterimages of Mexico, 1968* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016),

<https://doi.org/10.7560/305485>.

<sup>5</sup> Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Bruce Nicholson, quoted in Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*, 25.

<sup>8</sup> Jorge Canavati, quoted in Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*, 29.

<sup>9</sup> Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*, 28–29.

<sup>10</sup> Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico*, 202.

<sup>11</sup> Eric Zolov, “Showcasing the ‘Land of Tomorrow’: Mexico and the 1968 Olympics,” *Americas* 61, no. 2 (2004): 163, <https://doi.org/10.1353/tam.2004.0195>.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 168–70.

<sup>13</sup> The Olympic logo is notable for its op art aesthetic, characterized by swirling, psychedelic lines. As Zolov has argued, the logo also fused Mexico’s “indigenous cultural heritage” with its “cosmopolitan aspirations” through the pairing of the avant-garde style with indigenous Huichol design. The Olympic logo was frequently featured on Huichol yarn painting, for instance (“Showcasing,” 171–74).

<sup>14</sup> Lance Wyman, quoted in Zolov, “Showcasing the ‘Land of Tomorrow,’” 174.

<sup>15</sup> Zolov, “Showcasing the ‘Land of Tomorrow,’” 184. Image of spray-painted red dove can be found at <https://walkerart.org/magazine/lance-wyman-mexico-68-olympics-tlatelolco-massacre>.

<sup>16</sup> Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year That Rocked the World* (New York: Random House, 2004), 323. The image can be seen on 322.

<sup>17</sup> See Celeste González de Bustamante, “1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmare: Imagining and Imaging Modernity on Television,” *Mexican Studies* 26, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 26, Figure 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 336.

<sup>19</sup> Liam Considine, “Screen Politics: Pop Art and the Atelier Populaire,” *Tate Papers*, no. 24 (Autumn 2015), <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/24/screen-politics-pop-art-and-the-atelier-populaire>.

<sup>20</sup> *Détournement*, for Considine, is a strategy of hijacking and diverting the technical and visual conventions of pop art that was harnessed by the Atelier Populaire for poster production in May. For my purposes here, *détournement* stands as a tactic of not only diverting pop’s imagery and technologies for the mass production of posters but also of hijacking Olympic iconography and countering the Mexican government’s image machine (“Screen Politics”).

<sup>21</sup> Zolov, “Showcasing the ‘Land of Tomorrow,’” 180.

<sup>22</sup> For image of postage stamp with Candela’s Sports Palace see Lance Wyman, Postage stamp for Mexico ’68 including Candela’s Sports Palace undated. Figure 3.17. Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*, 148.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 139–42.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

- <sup>25</sup> Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, quoted in Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*, 104–13.
- <sup>26</sup> Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*, 104–13.
- <sup>27</sup> Celeste González de Bustamante, “1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmare: Imagining and Imaging Modernity on Television,” *Mexican Studies* 26, no. 1 (2010): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1525/msem.2010.26.1.1>.
- <sup>28</sup> Jorge Perezvega, quoted in González de Bustamante, “1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmare,” 24.
- <sup>29</sup> Considine, “Screen Politics.”
- <sup>30</sup> Jean Baudrillard, “Requiem for the Media,” in *Utopia Deferred: Writings for Utopia (1967–1978)*, translated by Stuart Kendall (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2006), 84.
- <sup>31</sup> González de Bustamante, “1968 Olympic Dreams,” 24.
- <sup>32</sup> Brigades were organized into groups of six to fifteen and were each named after a cause or personality of the sixties (e.g., Brigade Alexander Dubček). See Dolores Trevizo, *Rural Protest and the Making of Democracy in Mexico, 1968–2000* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 61, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780271056753>.
- <sup>33</sup> Kurlansky, *1968*, 336.
- <sup>34</sup> Ana Ignacia “La Nacha” Rodríguez, quoted in González de Bustamante, “1968 Olympic Dreams,” 23.
- <sup>35</sup> Rubén Gallo, “Modernist Ruins: The Case Study of Tlatelolco,” in *Telling Ruins in Latin America*, edited by Michael Lazzara and Vicky Unruh (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 108–9, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230623279>.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>39</sup> Mario Pani, quoted in Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico*, 206.
- <sup>40</sup> Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico*, 199.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 207–11.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.
- <sup>43</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1995), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822390169-058>.
- <sup>44</sup> Gallo, “Modernist Ruins,” 113.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.
- <sup>46</sup> Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico*, 210.
- <sup>47</sup> Margarita Isabel, quoted in Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico*, 210.
- <sup>48</sup> Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico*, 210.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 209–13.

- <sup>51</sup> For image of *Proceso* cover, see Samuel Steinberg, *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco: Afterimages of Mexico*, 1968 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), 73, Figure 2.3.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 73–74.
- <sup>53</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, translated by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1–19, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/465144>.
- <sup>54</sup> Steinberg, *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco*, 79.
- <sup>55</sup> Jacques Derrida, quoted in Steinberg, *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco*, 79.
- <sup>56</sup> Steinberg, *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco*, 85.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.
- <sup>59</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 204.
- <sup>60</sup> Steinberg, *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco*, 34.
- <sup>61</sup> María Luisa Mendoza, quoted in Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico*, 212.
- <sup>62</sup> Flaherty, *Hotel Mexico*, 212–13.
- <sup>63</sup> Gallo, “Modernist Ruins,” 115.
- <sup>64</sup> Cuauhtémoc Medina, “A Ghost Wanders about Mexico: Tlatelolco 1968–2008,” *Archivo Artea* (2008), <http://archivoartea.uclm.es/textos/a-ghost-wanders-about-mexico-tlatelolco-1968-2008/>.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 16–17.