

THE CHILDREN OF THE COSMIC RACE: THE PLANNING AND CELEBRATION OF  
THE 1968 CULTURAL OLYMPICS IN MEXICO CITY

by

Allison D. Huntley

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

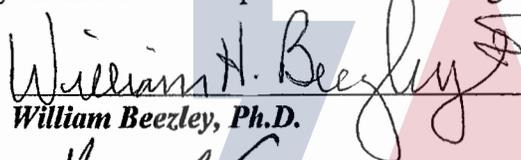
In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2018

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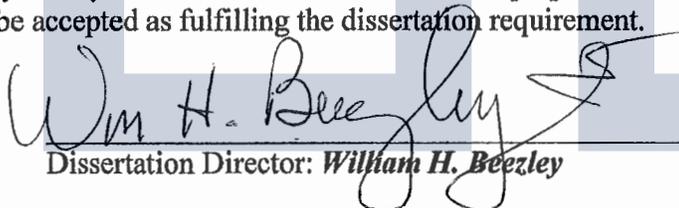
  
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I appreciate the guidance and support offered by my advisor, Professor William H. Beezley. Additionally, I offer my sincerest thanks for the contributions of the other members of my dissertation committee, Professors Kevin Gosner and Fabio Lanza. Finally, to all my professors and colleagues who inspired this topic, read countless drafts, talked over ideas, and gave me kind and motivational words, I give my gratitude.

Travel funds for this project came from summer scholarships and grants offered through the University of Arizona and the Tinker Foundation. Moreover, I would like to thank the archival staffs in Mexico and the United States especially the archivists in Gallery 7 of the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) who graciously offered their help during my trips in 2012 and 2016.

The encouragement offered in so many forms by my family and friends is very much appreciated. Without the support mentioned above, none of this would have been possible.

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Mr. Frederick D. Huntley and Mrs. Daphne W. Wilkerson, and my sister, Ms. Meredith D. Huntley, for their unyielding love and support.

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## **ABSTRACT**

In his seminal 1925 essay, Mexican educator José Vasconcelos argued that his nation was a product of the biological and cultural union of the indigenous and the European after whom he named his work: the cosmic race (*la raza cósmica*). This idea became the backbone of national identity in the years to come, and it influenced art, education, and architecture in the country. A generation later, those who were born, received their educations, and began their professional lives in that cultural milieu planned the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City where they sought to put this vision of their identity and nation on display. As a part of this effort, the Organizing Committee of the XIX Olympiad held a yearlong festival called the Cultural Olympics that brought dancers, musicians, architects, artwork, and scientific exhibits to Mexico from around the world. The goal of the cultural program was to allow participants the opportunity to present their national histories, art, and research to a global audience in an atmosphere of cooperation and friendship.

With these events, the planners sought to establish their contributions to the Olympic Movement as well as to the international community. Thus, understanding them offers a way to consider the lasting impact of Vasconcelos's work and contextualize the legacies of the 1968 Games that occurred in a year fraught with political and social upheaval. My research focuses on archival and published sources such as the brochures, pamphlets, and reports produced by the Department of Artistic and Cultural Activities. I also utilized periodicals, published research, and an interview that capture the reactions of coordinators, participants and spectators.

## Introduction: The Cosmic Race and the Global '68 at the Plaza of the Three Cultures

<p>El 13 de agosto de 1521</p> <p>Heroicamente defendido por Cuauhtémoc cayó Tlatelolco en poder de Hernán Cortés.</p> <p>No fue triunfo ni derrota Fue el doloroso nacimiento del pueblo mestizo</p> <p>Que es el México de hoy.</p>	<p>August 13, 1521</p> <p>Heroically defended by Cuauhtémoc Tlatelolco fell to Hernan Cortes.</p> <p>It was neither triumph nor defeat It was the painful birth of the mestizo people</p> <p>Who are today Mexico.</p>
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The words above come from the inscription on a plaque in the Plaza of the Three Cultures (*Plaza de las tres culturas*), the main square in the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco neighborhood of Mexico City. The buildings that surround the plaza represent each of the three great epochs of Mexican history referenced on the plaque. The ruins of an Aztec temple signify Cuauhtémoc, the last Aztec emperor, and the nation's pre-Columbian history and indigenous population. Santiago de Tlatelolco, a church and former convent, occupy another side of the space and evoke Hernán Cortés, the conquistador credited with defeating the Aztecs, as well as the three-century colonial Spanish rule over Mexico. Finally, a Modernist apartment complex completed in 1966 represents the independent and modern Mexico born from violent confrontations such as the one described above.

The famed architect, Mario Pani, who designed the plaza and housing development had originally planned to raze all the existing structures in the area to build the Modernist

neighborhood; nevertheless, the discovery of the pyramid ruins revealed that the Spanish had done the same over three hundred years earlier when they built the church and convent.<sup>1</sup> The public outcry to save the ruins meant that Pani would not have the blank slate that he had hoped for to plan the housing complexes for members of the growing middle class who had benefited from the Mexican Miracle—the term used to describe the economic growth of the country during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.<sup>2</sup> Instead, Pani would use a tool of nationalism to reconcile ideals of modernity from abroad and the realities of Mexico that were always just below the surface.<sup>3</sup> This discursive tool was that of the cosmic race, a term coined in the 1920s by Mexican educator and intellectual José Vasconcelos. The term came to represent a concept of modernity on the country's own terms rather than the effort to fit into rubrics of progress and development from abroad.<sup>4</sup>

As Vasconcelos outlined in his 1925 work *The Cosmic Race (La Raza Cósmica)*, modernity in his country would not come from trying to be like nations such as the United States and Great Britain but instead from embracing the European *and* indigenous history and traditions.<sup>5</sup> The cosmic race as represented by mestizos (those of European and indigenous ancestry) embodied the mixing of not only Spanish and Aztec blood, but also their cultures.<sup>6</sup> The plaque in the Plaza employs this sentiment by judging Cortés' capture of Cuauhtémoc as neither a defeat nor a victory. European colonizers had not defeated the indigenous peoples that day; instead, it was the beginning of the union between the two civilizations.

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<sup>1</sup> Rubén Gallo, "Modernist Ruins: The Case Study of Tlatelolco," in *Telling Ruins in Latin America*, ed. Michael J. Lazzara and Vicky Unruh (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 107-108.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-110.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 110-111.

<sup>4</sup> See: José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: A Bilingual Edition*, trans. Didier T. Jaen (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

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

Forty years after Vasconcelos published *The Cosmic Race*, the organizers who planned the 1968 Summer Games in Mexico City had foremost in their minds the effort to put on display a modern nation that retained many of its unique characteristics that was very much in the tradition of the cosmic race.<sup>7</sup> This occurred in part because those planning the 1968 Olympics, like the architect Mario Pani, had predominantly been the generation who had begun their professional lives, had been educated, and were even born in the years after the Mexican Revolution--a civil war lasting from roughly 1910 to 1920 that resulted in a national project to change the fundamentals of social and political relations in the country. Because of this, they shared a conception of national symbols such as the Revolution that they had spent their adult lives expressing through projects both at home through educational and architectural projects and abroad through World's Fair pavilions and international conferences.<sup>8</sup> This group not only shared the memories of living, working, and receiving an education in the country as it rebuilt after the Revolution, but also had the experiences of articulating a vision of their identity that in large part drew on the conception of the nation that Jose Vasconcelos laid out. In essence, they were the children of the cosmic race.

With the 1968 Olympics, this generation of architects, artists, educators, and politicians sought to showcase their national culture in a similar fashion by hosting the Games on their own terms and show off the city and its unique offerings.<sup>9</sup> They did this by relying on the rhetorical tool of the cosmic race both to demonstrate the country's modernity, while at the same time accepting the realities of a smaller budget and less developed athletic capabilities. To do this,

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<sup>7</sup> Eric Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow: Mexico and the 1968 Olympics," *The Americas* 61, no. 2 (2004): 176.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of Organizing Committee members at the World's Fair after World War II and their conception of the country, see Luis M. Castañeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco: Design, Media, and Politics at Mexico '68," *Grey Room* 40, no. 40 (2010): 100-126.

<sup>9</sup> Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow":164-165.

they embraced the idea that Mexico was a young nation in terms of economic growth and international relations while at the same time had centuries-old traditions as the backbone of its citizens' identities.<sup>10</sup> The planning of the 1968 Summer Games was all a part of this theme down to the organization of an elaborate non-athletic program referred to as the Cultural Olympics.

The Cultural Olympics -- a program of events held from January 19 to December 30, 1968 -- served well to demonstrate the vision of Mexico as a youthful nation with deep historical roots that organizers put forward.<sup>11</sup> With the yearlong festival, planners aimed to divert the attentions of observers away from what the country lacked to focus instead on what they had to offer: a rich appreciation for fine arts and folklore as well as an understanding of peace and inclusion. Broadly speaking, these events fell into the three overlapping categories of those focused on the arts, science, and confraternity. With this program, planners noted that Mexico was not an athletic powerhouse, so they understood the position of other participating nations that would not take home many medals.<sup>12</sup> The Cultural Olympics, they argued, would give all tourists and athletes the opportunity to take pride in their countries' achievements when they saw representations of their home communities on display along with examples from all parts of the world.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, the planners used these events as a place to challenge questions about the meanings of peace, the types of art worthy of celebration, and the purpose of science.

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<sup>10</sup> Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow":176-177.

<sup>11</sup> Castañeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco": 103.

<sup>12</sup> "El señor presidente de la república Licenciado Don Gustavo Díaz Ordaz concediera a los honorables miembros del Comité olímpico internacional, el viernes 2 (sic) de octubre de 1966," October 22, 1966, Box 85, "IOC Meetings--Executive Board, Mexico--October 22, 1966," Avery Brundage Collection (ABC), University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

<sup>13</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 4: The Cultural Olympiad*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 9; "El señor presidente de la república Licenciado Don Gustavo Díaz Ordaz concediera a los honorables miembros del Comité olímpico internacional, el viernes 2 (sic) de octubre de 1966," October 22, 1966, Box 85, "IOC Meetings--Executive Board, Mexico--October 22, 1966," Avery Brundage Collection (ABC), University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

Working with existing institutions, the Organizing Committee made the city itself into a World's Fair pavilion that demonstrated the growing economic prosperity of the Mexican Miracle. Through the Cultural Olympics, they called on National Olympic Committees, museums, dance and musical groups, scientists, artists, and other individuals to display their own examples of art, history, and science that were unique to the traditions of their own countries.<sup>14</sup> The 1968 Organizing Committee sought to give this program as much parity as possible with sports by creating a parallel program with the same number of events and even a second Olympic cauldron.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, this non-athletic program would be a space free from competition that sought to bring together arts and sciences in an atmosphere of friendship to elevate exchange over competition and cooperation over ideological battles.

The Cultural Olympics therefore served as an integral part of the image that planners wanted to project about their country. Of particular importance was that despite any shortcomings with regards to modernity, it was a land and people rich in traditions and history. The members of the 1968 Organizing Committee used these events as a way to challenge ideals of progress in the Cold War context by asserting that their lack of alignment with either the East or West made them better able to engage diplomatically and create a true atmosphere of peace in the tradition of the Olympics.

### **The Global '68 and the Plaza of the Three Cultures**

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<sup>14</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 2: The Organization*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 272.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 269-272.

The 1968 Summer Games and the Plaza of the Three Cultures would not have the relationship with themes of peace and unity that their organizers intended. Instead, on October 2, 1968, they became another site of the violence and discord that characterized that tumultuous year when protests, strikes, and confrontations with law enforcement broke out in cities around the world generally led by young people.<sup>16</sup> This social unrest included a student and worker strike in Paris and university protests against the Soviet Union in Prague and Warsaw.<sup>17</sup> Students in Rio de Janeiro and Madrid held demonstrations against dictatorial rule in their countries.<sup>18</sup> The United States saw protests, rallies, and even riots in multiple cities over issues ranging from the use of the draft to debates over racial and gender equality.<sup>19</sup> In many of these cities around the world, this unrest led to violence, injuries, arrests, exiles, and deaths.

Born during the mid-twentieth century baby boom, the young and predominantly urban population who took part in and even led these movements had for many years provided political and social elites with the challenge of how to govern countries with rapidly decreasing mean ages. Even as these young people spurred on an economic boom through their consumption of goods such as rock and roll and blue jeans, great amounts of money went into molding this group especially with regards to developing and improving educational systems for the youngest children through to those in university systems. The increasingly connected nature of international commerce and politics meant that this demographic group shared cultural

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<sup>16</sup> For an overview of the Global '68, see Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004) and David Caute, *The Year of the Barricades: a Journey Through 1968* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

<sup>17</sup> Kurlansky, *1968*, 118-128 and 209-237; Caute, *The Year of the Barricades*, 211-255.

<sup>18</sup> Caute, *The Year of the Barricades*, 81-85; For a discussion of Brazil in 1968, see Victoria Languard, *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

<sup>19</sup> See: Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the late 1960s* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Kurlansky, *1968*, 81-117; Caute, *The Year of the Barricades*, 21-30 and 115-181.

touchstones that in many ways connected them much more to each other than with the older individuals within their own communities. This generation concerned parents, politicians, and educators not only because of their seeming lack of investment in many fundamental national projects, but also because their sheer size made it possible that they could overthrow these systems if given the opportunity.<sup>20</sup>

Many of these themes came together in 1968-- a year when events happened so quickly that it seemed that all fundamental truths about the world were in flux; moreover, improvements in transportation and communication technologies meant that more news from more places reached ever-larger audiences. These stories focused on national governments' attempts to regain control at home and abroad in uncertain times. Among them were ones about both the US as it faced increased scrutiny because of its involvement in Vietnam and the assassinations of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy that shocked the world.<sup>21</sup> Warsaw Pact nations for their part faced backlash over their military intervention to halt liberalization in Czechoslovakia.<sup>22</sup>

World news consumers read about the Cultural Revolution, in which Chairman Mao Zedong sought to reassert Maoist dominance to rid Chinese leadership, society, and culture of capitalist, Soviet, and traditional elements.<sup>23</sup> A global audience additionally read and watched

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<sup>20</sup> See Valerie Manzano, "The Blue Jean Generation: Youth, Gender, and Sexuality in Buenos Aires, 1958-1975," *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 3 (2009): 657-676; Jeremi Suri, "The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960-1975," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009): 45-68; Joel Kotek, "Youth Organizations as a Battlefield in the Cold War," in *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*, eds. Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam (London: F. Cass, 2003), 168-191; Jeremi Suri, "The Language of Dissent," in *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 88-130; Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Kurlansky, *1968*, 8-14; Caute, *The Year of the Barricades*, 11-18; 21-30.

<sup>22</sup> Kurlansky, *1968*, 118-127; 238-250; Caute, *The Year of the Barricades*, 184-207.

<sup>23</sup> See: David Milton and Nancy Milton, *The Wind Will Not Subside: Years in Revolutionary China, 1964-1969* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976); Kurlansky, *1968*, 171-172; Caute, *The Year of the Barricade*, 180-181.

coverage of the coup in Iraq and Israeli efforts to maintain the borders established by the 1967 Six-Day War.<sup>24</sup> Civil war in Nigeria and repressive white minority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa also drew attentions.<sup>25</sup> Finally, even by 1968, the 1967 death of Ernesto “Che” Guevara had done little to assuage concerns-- or diminish the hope-- that Cuban-style revolutions would spread throughout the world.<sup>26</sup>

The political climate in 1968 did not spare the Olympic Movement with threatened boycotts aimed at the Summer Games. In November of 1967, an organization based out of college campuses in the US named "The Olympic Project for Human Rights" called for a boycott by black athletes.<sup>27</sup> The movement in the US with a center at San Jose College and led by twenty-five-year-old sociology professor Harry Edwards demanded the retirement of longtime International Olympic Committee (IOC) Chairman Avery Brundage, the restoration of boxer Muhammad Ali's boxing titles, the hiring of more African-American coaches, and the exclusion of South Africa and Rhodesia from the 1968 competitions.<sup>28</sup> National Olympic Committees especially from African committees but including Mexico also threatened to boycott over the inclusion of South Africa and Rhodesia because of their policies of racial segregation and white minority rule.<sup>29</sup> Because of this international outcry, South Africa and Rhodesia were unable to compete in the Games.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Kurlansky, *1968*, 16-18 and 255-257.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 257-260 and 20-21.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, *1968*, 257-260 and 21-22.

<sup>27</sup> See Amy Bass, *Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Kevin Witherspoon, “Image Tarnished: The Revolt of the Black Athlete” in *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympic Games* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 2008).

<sup>28</sup> Bass, *Not the Triumph*, 135.

<sup>29</sup> See: Andrew Novak, "Rhodesia's 'Rebel and Racist' Olympic Team: Athletic Glory, National Legitimacy and the Clash of Politics and Sport," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 8 (2006): 1369-1388.

<sup>30</sup> Kevin Witherspoon, “Image Tarnished: The Revolt of the Black Athlete” in *Before the Eyes of the World*, 37-47; Novak, "Rhodesia's 'Rebel and Racist' Olympic Team":1375-1376.

Mario Pani's Plaza of the Three Cultures in the Tlatelolco neighborhood too would become part of the Global '68 as the bloody climax of the student protests of that year. The movement began in July, 1968 over the violation of university autonomy-- a policy that held universities would handle their own security as a measure to keep police and military officials off public college campuses. The violation had occurred when riot police pursued fighting students onto school grounds leading to the destruction of property and allegations of student casualties. Throughout the summer and fall, protests took place throughout the city, and university students went on strike and occupied college campuses. Their demands among others included calling for open and transparent dialogue between students and the national government about issues such as law enforcement. Mexican president Gustavo Díaz Ordaz repeatedly evaded these demands. In the months leading up to the Olympic Opening, fights between students and riot police led to more allegations of police brutality as well as arrests and the military occupation of the campuses of the National University and the National Polytechnic Institute where events from the athletic and cultural programs were scheduled to take place.<sup>31</sup>

On October 2, 1968, thousands of students gathered in the Plaza of the Three Cultures to protest these actions by the Mexican government. The rally attracted more than students, including residents from the apartments that surrounded the space as well as supporters of the movement, foreign press reporters in town for the Olympics, and spectators. An increasing police and military presence prompted rally organizer to urge the crowd to return home after the speeches to avoid another confrontation. Nevertheless, before the rally's end, gunshots began to go off, and panic filled the plaza as attendees sought cover from the nearly two-hour long attack

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<sup>31</sup> For a discussion of the Tlatelolco Massacre and its aftermath, see Elena Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico* (New York: Viking Press, 1975) and Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, "Los Primeros Días: Una Explicación de los Orígenes Inmediatos del Movimiento Estudiantil de 1968" *Historia Mexicana* 53, no. 1 (2003): 179-228.

that included beatings, assaults with fixed bayonets, and close-range shootings as well as sniper fire at the hands of the military and law enforcement including plain-clothed members of the Olympia Battalion paramilitary group. Civilians fled to the housing complexes, banged on the locked doors of the church, and tried to flee the barricaded plaza seeking any protection they could find. At the end of the episode a disputed number lay dead or injured-- likely well into the hundreds. An unknown number found themselves arrested with many of them going to the infamous Lecumberri prison.<sup>32</sup>

The incident itself was in a moment when Mexican politicians and Olympic planners worked to present Mexico as peaceful, full of youthful potential, and modern thanks to the policies of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) who had controlled the presidency and dominated national politics since the late 1920s. The Tlatelolco Massacre thus demonstrated many of the contradictions of the Games that the Organizing Committee had to overcome.<sup>33</sup> The 1968 Olympic theme of "Everything is Possible in Peace" rang hollow throughout the summer as standoffs between law enforcement and protesters demonstrated a lack of willingness to engage in the dialogue necessary to reconcile citizens' demands and the priorities of the federal government. Moreover, there existed the contradiction of using the symbols of students and other young people as representative of the future of the country while at the same time suppressing their voices in contributing to the policies within the nation. Finally, the promises of equality before the law and democracy outlined in the Mexican constitution-- written and ratified

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<sup>32</sup> See Celeste González de Bustamante, "1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmares: Imagining and Imaging Modernity on Television." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 26, no. 1 (2010): 1-30; Deborah Cohen and Lessie Jo Frazier, "México 68: hacia una definición del espacio del movimiento la masculinidad heroica en la cárcel y las "mujeres" en las calles" *Estudios Sociológicos* 22, no. 66 (2004): 591-623; Claire Brewster, "The Student Movement of 1968 and the Mexican Press: The Cases of "Excélsior" and "Siempre"!" *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 21, no. 2 (2002): 171-90.

<sup>33</sup> See Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow": 159-188.

during the Revolution-- that promised a lasting modernity and peace were in opposition to the totalitarian control that the PRI exerted over its citizens to maintain order and present the picture of progress to Olympic tourists.<sup>34</sup>

In the end, the student massacre in the Plaza of the Three Cultures pointed to the fact that violence not only forged the cosmic race and the Mexican nation itself as the plaque in the Plaza said, but also maintained it.<sup>35</sup> These contradictions echoed the ones faced by individuals, social movements, and governments around the world in 1968. In Mexico, it would be the task of the children of the cosmic race to navigate these tensions that challenged the image of Mexico as modern and peaceful.

### **The Children of the Cosmic Race and the Organizing Committee of the XIX Olympiad**

This mission of creating an atmosphere of peace and festivity in the midst of the political and social tensions of 1968 would in part fall to the members of the Department of Artistic and Cultural Activities-- the section of the Organizing Committee in charge of the Cultural Olympics. President Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964) formed the Organizing Committee of the XIX Olympiad by executive decree in May of 1963--five months before Mexico City won the bid for the 1968 Summer Games.<sup>36</sup> From 1963 to 1965, an executive committee led the organization rather than a chairperson with General José de Jesús Clark Flores, a longtime member of the Olympic Movement and supporter of using Mexico City as a sporting venue, as

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<sup>34</sup> González de Bustamante, "1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmares," 1-30; Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow": 183-185; Kurlansky, *1968*, 321-344.

<sup>35</sup> Gallo, "Modernist Ruins: The Case Study of Tlatelolco," 111-113.

<sup>36</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 19.

the director of the Executive Commission.<sup>37</sup> In 1965, newly-elected President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964-1970) named his predecessor, López Mateos, as the president of the Committee.<sup>38</sup> López Mateos was a sports enthusiast like General Clark Flores and had served as a driving force behind bringing the Games to the country.

Failing health required López Mateos to resign his position after one year with President Díaz Ordaz ultimately appointing architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez who had previously served in the organization as the vice chair in charge of buildings.<sup>39</sup> In July, 1967, the committee took its final shape when Díaz Ordaz established it as a public institution, gave Ramírez Vázquez a range of powers, and decreed that it would dissolve with the conclusion of the Games.<sup>40</sup> As this formation of the Organizing Committee represents, the planning and bidding process ran through this public organization that was under the ultimate control of the presidents of Mexico and their political party, the PRI.

The IOC does not officially regulate how organizing committees operate; therefore, the bid process becomes the place for potential host cities to outline how their plan is best suited for the success of a proposed program meaning they can take very different forms. For example, in Montreal in 1976, organizers relied on funding and planning at the local level.<sup>41</sup> In that year, revenue primarily came from municipal sources and from the province of Quebec rather than the federal government who offered fundraising opportunities that Canadians could choose to support.<sup>42</sup> Los Angeles on the other hand has the Southern California Committee for the

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<sup>37</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 19-20; "Gen. Jose Clark Flores of Mexico, Olympic Official," *New York Times*, April 19, 1971: 40; Wysocki Quiros, "Una Antorcha De Esperanza": 1-18.

<sup>38</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 19-20.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>41</sup> Fresco, "Marketing Avery Brundage's Apoplexy": 369-384.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*: 370.

Olympic Games-- a private civic group whose members have included individuals from the business world and local politicians-- as its driving force.<sup>43</sup> Founded in 1939, the organization has put in bids every year since 1940 even in years when the US Olympic Committee put its support behind other cities such as Detroit and Boston.<sup>44</sup> The 1968 Organizing Committee instead would come under the control of the federal government with many decisions made by the executive decree of the Mexican president and with the participation of all state and municipal governments subordinated to the Committee as were the coordinating institutions including universities, museums, and theaters.

The Department of Artistic and Cultural Activities would come to rely on these institutions to plan the Cultural Olympics with many of them having previous experiences working with these individuals, organizations, and local governments.<sup>45</sup> Sporting and cultural venues became more important when Ramírez Vázquez became the Organizing Committee president because he sought to develop an economic plan and budget appropriate to the host city and the nation rather than using a large amount of money on building projects. In the end, most of the sporting venues used were ones built prior to 1963 and, after the Games, even building projects for the Olympics came under the ownership of Mexico City and put to new uses such as the Olympic Villages that became housing complexes with the apartments sold as condominiums.<sup>46</sup>

The coordinators of the Department of Artistic and Cultural Activities (See Appendix A) and those who worked with them came from a diverse set of backgrounds. Nevertheless, most

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<sup>43</sup> Mark Dyreson, "The Endless Olympic Bid: Los Angeles and the Marketing of the American West," *Journal of the West* 46, no. 4 (2008): 26-39.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*: 26-39.

<sup>45</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 23.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

had in common that they were born between the late 1890s and the early 1930s. Additionally, most had worked in the fields of architecture and education with most having previous experiences with articulating Mexican culture and identity abroad. Architects on the Committee, like President of the Organizing Committee, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, were responsible for the Modernist building projects that came to define the economic prosperity of the Mexican Miracle.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, with the events they coordinated they focused on the use of these projects as the subjects of their conferences and exhibitions. Additionally, architects had created the pavilions at the World's Fair after the Second World War that worked to show the modern face of the nation to audiences in cities such as Brussels, Montreal, and New York.<sup>48</sup>

The events planned by architects included the “Exhibition of Sites for Sports and Cultural Activities”. Architects Ruth Rivera and Vladimir Kaspé served as co-coordinators for this exhibition that also featured sites used for athletics and culture in other participating nations.<sup>49</sup> Rather than focusing on architectural styles that adhered to cosmopolitan movements in the discipline, it also featured more nationally-specific designs. The event additionally allowed for displaying cultural sites and not just ones used for athletics, providing a space for countries with fewer sporting facilities to contribute examples of architecture in their cities and towns.<sup>50</sup> Thus, this exhibition planned by architects reflected the themes of the program to highlight the potential of all countries while at the same time celebrating national differences.

Many of the Department of Artistic and Cultural Activities coordinators who had backgrounds working with the Secretariat of Public Education (SEP) had spent time in one of its

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<sup>47</sup> See Castañeda, “Beyond Tlatelolco”: 100-126; Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, “Hacia México '68: Pedro Ramírez Vázquez y el proyecto olímpico,” *Secuencia* 56 (2003): 37-73; Gallo, “Modernist Ruins: The Case Study of Tlatelolco,” 107-118.

<sup>48</sup> Castañeda, “Beyond Tlatelolco”: 101.

<sup>49</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 707.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 707.

two branches related specifically with cultural preservation: the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) and the National Fine Arts Institute (INBA). Their backgrounds in education largely came from the fields of social sciences and the fine arts. Some had participated in archeological digs, conducted and published anthropological research, and created museum exhibitions on the nation's pre-Columbian past and indigenous populations. Others had composed symphonies and modern dance pieces on the themes of the Revolution and folkloric traditions. These projects in the social sciences and the fine arts educated citizens and visitors to the city about the country's history and folklore.

In the period after the Second World War, new museums such as the National Anthropological Museum, managed by the National Institute of Anthropology and History offered audiences the chance to learn about the deep cultural and historical roots of the country and its citizenry.<sup>51</sup> The museum and institute had many connections to the 1968 cultural program. Coordinator of the event the "Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art," Dr. Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla, had directed the National Institute of Anthropology and History and had spent his career as an anthropologist and archaeologist studying pre-Columbian civilizations in Mexico.<sup>52</sup> The Director of the Cultural Olympics, anthropologist Luis Aveleyra Arroyo de Anda, had previously served as a general director of the National Anthropological Museum. Additionally, anthropologist and museum specialist Alfonso Soto Soria who served as Subdirector for Exhibitions had planned exhibits in the National Anthropological Museum and worked with the Institute of Anthropology and History specializing in procuring and displaying

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<sup>51</sup> Luis Aveleyra Arroyo de Anda "PLANNING OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY" *Artes De México* no. 66/67 (1965): 59; Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, "THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE NEW NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY," *Artes De México*, no. 66/67 (1965): 59-60; Castañeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco": 100-126; Rodríguez Kuri, "Hacia México '68," 110.

<sup>52</sup> John Paddock and Ignacio Bernal, *Ancient Oaxaca: Discoveries in Mexican Archeology and History* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1970), 213 and 345-346.

pre-Columbian art and culture in exhibitions across the country.<sup>53</sup> For the Cultural Olympics, individuals such as Rubín de la Borbolla, Aveleyra, and Soto Soria worked with museums to house exhibitions and coordinated with public and private institutions both within Mexico and from abroad.<sup>54</sup>

Many who had worked in fine arts education had served in the National Fine Arts Institute branch of the SEP. Like the National Institute of Anthropology and History, the purpose of the National Fine Arts Institute was to preserve Mexican culture and educate domestic and foreign audiences about the population's history and diverse communities.<sup>55</sup> The National Fine Arts Institute supported the Cultural Olympics by providing participants from groups affiliated with the Institute such as the their choir and National Symphony Orchestra who both performed for the "International Festival of the Arts."<sup>56</sup> Additionally, multiple planners had worked in different capacities for the National Fine Arts Institute. Coordinator of the "International Festival of the Arts," José Luis Martínez, was the Director General of the National Fine Arts Institute in 1968.<sup>57</sup> Guillermo Arriaga, Director of the Artistic Program in the Provinces, and Ana Mérida, coordinator of the "World Folklore Festival" had not only worked as dance instructors at the Institute, but also had choreographed pieces based on Mexican history and culture that their dancers performed in cities in their country and around the world.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> "En recuerdo de Alfonso Soto Soria," *Proceso* (May 23, 2010): <https://www.proceso.com.mx/106540/en-recuerdo-de-alfonso-soto-soria>; Peter T. Furst, *Visions of a Huichol Shaman* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Publications, 2003), 28; Hope McLean, *The Shaman's Mirror: Visionary Art of the Huichol* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 85.

<sup>54</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 52-53.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 210-211, 331, 495.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*; *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 281 and 379.

<sup>58</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 379; Secretaría de Cultura, "Falleció el bailarín director y coreógrafo Guillermo Arriaga Fernández," <https://www.gob.mx/cultura/prensa/fallecio-el-bailarin-director-y-coreografo-guillermo-arriaga-fernandez>; "Ana Mérida, bailarina, y coreografa," *El País* (August 15, 1991). [http://elpais.com/diario/1991/08/15/agenda/682207201\\_850215.html](http://elpais.com/diario/1991/08/15/agenda/682207201_850215.html); Margarita Tortajada Quiroz, "José Limón and

Among the coordinators, others had spent time within the Olympic Movement such as film director and coordinator Alberto Isaac who was a former Olympic swimmer for Mexico.<sup>59</sup> Marte R. Gómez, coordinator of the stamp exhibition and the “Exhibition of the History and Art of the Olympic Games,” had served in the IOC for over thirty years by 1968.<sup>60</sup> Other coordinators also drew on their professional experiences representing Mexico abroad. Coordinator and choreographer, Amalia Hernández, had taken her dance company, *Ballet Folklórico de México*, to venues such as the 1962 World’s Fair in Seattle.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, coordinator and physician Dr. Alfonso León de Garay had been a member on United Nations panels on the effects of radioactive atoms on humans and the use and possession of nuclear weapons.<sup>62</sup> In all of these cases, these individuals had backgrounds in asserting their nation’s place in the international community in much the same way as the hosting the Olympics required.

Exceptions existed within this group including those who were not Mexican nationals and those whose primary experience came from working in the private sector. Both those who immigrated to the country and who arrived from abroad provided important contributions to planning artistic aspects of the Games such as coordinators Mathias Goeritz and Vladimir Kaspé. While both men came to Mexico as adults, they had lived and worked in the country for many

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*La Malinche in Mexico: A Chicano Artist Returns Home*” in *José Limón and La Malinche in Mexico*, ed. Patricia Seed (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008): 119-153.

<sup>59</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 379 and 383; International Olympic Committee Website, <https://www.olympic.org/alberto-isaac>.

<sup>60</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 58, 640, 654.

<sup>61</sup> *Ballet Folklórico de México: directora general y coreógrafa Amalia Hernández, bajo los auspicios del Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes de México* (Mexico: Ballet Folklórico, circa 1960): unpaginated; Juan González A. Alpuche, “El Ballet Folklórico de México y Amalia Hernández, su creadora/The Mexican Ballet Folklorico and Amalia Hernández, Its Founder/ Le Ballet Folklorique du Mexique et Amalia Hernández, sa Créatrice/ Die Mexikanische Volkstanzgruppe und Amalia Hernández Ihre Gruenderin,” *Artes de México* 88, no. 89 (1967): 6.

<sup>62</sup> CV of Alfonso León de Garay, Gallery 7, Box 757, Folder 41-37 Leg. 1 and Leg. 2, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN).

years prior to 1968. Goeritz, an artist who was German by birth, had previously worked with architects such as Ruth Rivera and Mario Pani on projects such as sculpture installation and museum design.<sup>63</sup> Kaspé, an architect of Russian descent who had been educated in Paris, designed multiple buildings during the 1950s and 1960s and went on to teach at the National University.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to those who arrived from abroad, there were also those who had worked primarily in the private sphere rather than in federal institutions such as the SEP. The best example of this were coordinators Jacobo Zabłudovsky and Jorge Saldaña who were both news anchors for the television broadcasting company Telesistema Mexicana.<sup>65</sup> Telesistema as the parent company of the three privately owned Mexico City stations essentially had a monopoly on television by the late-1960s because the Mexican government issued few broadcasting licenses.<sup>66</sup> The company had a close relationship with the PRI, but the anchors did not simply act as a mouthpiece of the party and had some room to interpret aspects of Mexican culture.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, the channels broadcast celebrations for federal holidays and reinforced other aspects of identity including that Spanish was the official language of the Mexican people.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Mathias Goeritz, "Highway Sculpture: The Towers of Satellite City" *Leonardo* 3, no. 3 (1970): 320; Luis Castañeda, "Choreographing the Metropolis: Networks of Circulation and Power in Olympic Mexico" *Journal of Design History* 25, no. 3 (2012): 292.

<sup>64</sup> Alberto González Pozo, "Kaspé, Vladimir." *Grove Art Online*, 1996, Grove Art Online, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000045944>; Katherine E. O'Rourke, *Modern Architecture in Mexico City: History, Representation, and the Shaping of a Capital* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 242-243.

<sup>65</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 362 and 380; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 679-680; González de Bustamante, "Muy Buenas Noches" *Mexico, Television, and the Cold War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 11-15.

<sup>66</sup> González de Bustamante, "1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmares": 4-7 and 15.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*: 6.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, "Muy Buenas Noches", 16 and 31-52.

Thus, despite the fact that Zabludovsky and Saldaña's primary experience had been in the private sector, they too had worked to craft the image of the nation.

Not only did members represent the cosmic race through their professional backgrounds, participants from Mexico additionally served as symbols of national culture. Performance groups such as the *Ballet Folklórico de México* expressed the vision of the country as a mixture of the modern and the traditional by combining contemporary dance and national myths.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, the Organizing Committee chose the young people who participated in events such as the "Festival of Children's Painting" and the gymnastics display called the "Reception Offered by Mexico's Youth to the Youth of the World" through competitions and their schools meaning that they represented the image of a hardworking and well-educated population as the nation's future.<sup>70</sup> *Edecanes*-- a group of 1,170 mostly young and primarily female multilingual guides who assisted special guests, athletes, and sporting officials-- embodied the young and beautiful picture of the country that matched the countenance that the government wanted to display to visitors such as potential investors.<sup>71</sup>

As a part of this defining of nationalism through those chosen as performers and guides, there existed a dual process of excluding those who did not fit into the rubric of the cosmic race. Among the groups not represented were those protesters, particularly students, who were discontented with the PRI government and its image of the country. Organizers and politicians repeatedly emphasized in speeches, programs, and pamphlets that those living in peace and taking advantage of the opportunities of education and leisure activities such as sports, were the

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<sup>69</sup> Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow": 176.

<sup>70</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 12-18 and 399.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 165-167; Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow": 177-179.

ones who represented the nation's youth.<sup>72</sup> In addition to this were those who decided not to participate such as intellectual and diplomat Octavio Paz who resigned his position as the ambassador to India and declined to perform at the Cultural Olympics after the government's actions at the student massacre on October 2, 1968.<sup>73</sup>

The conception of the cosmic race itself served to exclude as much as it did to create a more inclusive nation. Because of the myth of the beginnings of the cosmic race as being with the child born to Hernán Cortés and Malinche, his Nahuatl-speaking guide from the Aztec Empire, this tended to define Mexican culture and history as one born from the union of the Aztecs and the Spanish. While there were great efforts, particularly during and after the Revolution, to find a place for all indigenous groups, those who crafted this nationalism through a variety of mediums had a tendency to prefer the figure of the mestizo rather than those of solely indigenous descent-- both in term of ancestry and culture.<sup>74</sup> The primary places for indigenous elements at the Cultural Olympics were in the folkloric arts, and the program did not address the conditions of the contemporary individuals and communities who performed and produced the materials for these events.<sup>75</sup> Additionally, European immigrants who arrived after Independence and their descendants as well as the contributions of the African- and Asian- descended populations also had less representation in the picture of Mexico on display in the artistic program.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> See Elaine Carey, "Los Chavos en el Callo: The Beginning" in *Plaza of Sacrifices: Gender, Power, and Terror in 1968 Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 37-80.

<sup>73</sup> Jacobo Sefamí, "Octavio Paz (México, 1914-1998)," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 14, no. 2 (1998): 253.

<sup>74</sup> Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow":177.

<sup>75</sup> "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow":177.

<sup>76</sup> For a discussion of immigration to Mexico as well as the histories of European, Asian and Afro-Mexican populations in the country, see Pablo Yankelevich, "Mexico for the Mexicans: Immigration, National Sovereignty and the Promotion of Mestizaje," *The Americas* 68, no. 3 (2012): 405-436; Jürgen Buchenau, *Tools of Progress: A German Merchant Family in Mexico City, 1865-Present* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2012); Theresa Alfaro-Velcamp, *So Far From Allah, So Close to Mexico: Middle Eastern Immigrants in Modern Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007); Anita Gonzalez, *Afro-Mexico : Dancing between Myth and Reality* (Austin:

The host city's history as the capital of the Aztec Empire and of the colony of New Spain in part contributed to this narrative of the cosmic race as urban and based largely on a history of the union of the Aztec and Spanish. This left less room for groups other than cultural and ethnic mestizos. Moreover, those who did not fit into the vision of the future of the cosmic race and the nation and those who rejected the project also did not receive representation in the Cultural Olympics. Instead, there existed a peaceful vision of the country as one born out of violence but who had since achieved social harmony.<sup>77</sup> What these groups included and excluded in the program demonstrate is the ways in which nations define their identity not only by what is consistent with accepted messages, but also what they see as incompatible.

### **Sites Used for the Cultural Olympics**

The Cultural Olympic consumed Mexico City taking over museums, college campuses, theaters, and the transportation system. Part of this all-consuming nature of the cultural program came from the fact that rather than a centralized location for the events, they took place throughout the host city. While the Mexican government had planned and begun building a subway system to allow individuals to move around the city, the project was not finished in time, and motor vehicles became the primary method of transportation with private cars, taxis, and buses allowing for travel between sites.<sup>78</sup> To facilitate this, the Organizing Committee created color-coded boulevards with corresponding maps and information booths, and they provided

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University of Texas Press, 2010); Theodore G. Vincent, "The Contributions of Mexico's First Black Indian President, Vicente Guerrero," *The Journal of Negro History* 86, no. 2 (2001): 148-59.

<sup>77</sup> Castañeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco": 176.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, *Spectacular Mexico: Design, Propaganda, and the 1968 Olympics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 199-207.

special Olympic buses that traveled between venues (Appendix B: Figure 2).<sup>79</sup> The coordinators utilized sites primarily located in the Cuauhtémoc borough of the city, Chapultepec Park, the Coyoacán borough, and the Olympic Village.

The Cuauhtémoc borough located in the north encompasses the historic boundaries of the city and thus has a rich colonial and pre-Columbian past that the Organizing Committee noted in the literature they provided to visitors. Cuauhtémoc is home to two of the theaters that served as venues for the “Ballet of the Five Continents” and the specially constructed Plaza de Veracruz used for the “International Exhibition of Folk Art.”<sup>80</sup> Moreover, Constitution Square (commonly referred to as the Zócalo) served as not only the starting point for the men’s marathon, but also the cultural event the “Reception Offered by Mexico’s Youth to World Youth.”<sup>81</sup> The Zócalo, as planners noted, was the center of power for the Aztec Empire. Like the Plaza of the Three Cultures, during the colonial period the Spanish razed the Aztec pyramids to build a cathedral and palace.<sup>82</sup> Another of the venues in this borough is the Fine Arts Palace (*Palacio de Bellas Artes* or simply *Bellas Artes*) where the Committee held the Cultural Olympics inauguration as well as some of the performances for the “Ballet of the Five Continents” and the “International Festival of the Arts.”<sup>83</sup>

Covering over 1,600 acres, Chapultepec Park sits just to the west of the limits of Cuauhtémoc in the borough of Miguel Hidalgo about six kilometers (3 miles) from the Zócalo.<sup>84</sup> Chapultepec also has a rich history that planners noted including its settlement by the pre-

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<sup>79</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 182-183 and 340-346; Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*, 152-196.

<sup>80</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 210 and 496.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 210 and 496.

<sup>84</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 1: The Country*, 227.

Columbian civilization of the Toltecs. The Aztecs too had claimed the area, first in the thirteenth century prior to their ascent to power. The park was also the site of invasion as the location of a namesake battle during the US War with Mexico (1846-1848). Additionally, during the Second Mexican Empire (1863-1867) the castle on Chapultepec Hill housed the French-backed Habsburg ruler Maximiliano I and his wife Carlota. By 1968, the park housed zoos, carnival rides, and lakes as well as two of the museums used for the Cultural Olympics: the National Anthropological Museum and the Museum of Modern Art.<sup>85</sup> The “International Reunion of Poets” held readings in the park and the Teatro del Bosque was one of the sites of the “Ballet of the Five Continents”.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, organizers used the National Auditorium, also located in the park, and the stretch of Paseo de la Reforma (a main boulevard that connects the historic center and Chapultepec) that borders the park to display the artwork for the “Festival of Children’s Painting.”<sup>87</sup>

The campuses of three universities-- the National University (UNAM), Ibero-American University (Ibero), and National Polytechnic Institute (Poli or IPN) -- provided another set of venues for the Cultural Olympics, and they demonstrated the economic growth of the Mexican Miracle. During the 1950s, the National University and the National Polytechnic underwent consolidation with the previously scattered departments housed on newly constructed Modernist campuses. The National Polytechnic’s main site is located about 9.5 kilometers (a little less than 6 miles) northeast of the Zócalo in the borough of Gustavo A. Madero. The campus housed both the events that alumnae architect Ruth Rivera coordinated: the “Exhibition on the Application of

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<sup>85</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report, Volume 1*, 51 and 171 and 296-297.

<sup>86</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 392 and 496.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 400.

Nuclear Energy for the Welfare of Mankind” and the “Exhibition of Sites for Sports and Culture and the International Meeting of Young Architects.”<sup>88</sup>

Rivera’s co-coordinator for the “Exhibition of Sites,” Vladimir Kaspé, and his colleague architect Mario Pani, were two of the many who designed aspects of the National University’s campus called University City (*Ciudad Universitaria*) that houses the Olympic Stadium and was the endpoint of the men’s marathon.<sup>89</sup> For the Cultural Olympics, it was one of the ends of the Route of Friendship (*Ruta de Amistad*) -- a stretch of highway that connected the Olympic Village and the Stadium.<sup>90</sup> University City sits a little over 14 kilometers (almost 9 miles) southwest of the Zócalo in the borough of Coyoacán. The campus’s design and murals by greats David Alfaro Siqueiros and Juan O’Gorman draw on themes of the cosmic race with the indigenous imagery and mestizo figures of the murals painted onto Modernist buildings.<sup>91</sup> Also located in Coyoacán was the campus of the private Jesuit institution of Ibero-American University that provided the home for the “International Olympic Philatelic” and the “Exhibition of the History and Art of the Olympic Games.”<sup>92</sup> These university campuses together represented the tremendous growth of the middle class during the post-World War II period and Mexico’s commitment to educating students as the future of the country. During the summer and fall of 1968, they were also sites of student strikes and encounters with law enforcement.

As with the building used for the “Exhibition on Space Research,” the Olympic Villages were examples of the few cultural venues constructed specifically for 1968.<sup>93</sup> For the Games,

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<sup>88</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 662 and 707.

<sup>89</sup> O’Rourke, *Modern Architecture in Mexico City*, 242; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 3: The Games*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 117.

<sup>90</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 357.

<sup>91</sup> O’Rourke, *Modern Architecture in Mexico City*, 236.

<sup>92</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 640 and 654.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 679.

the Organizing Committee designed two Villages, one for athletes and one for performers. Miguel Hidalgo Olympic Village, for athletes, sat in the extreme south of the city a little over four kilometers (about 2.5 miles) from the Stadium and nineteen kilometers (about 11.8 miles) from the Zócalo.<sup>94</sup> Here, the Committee screened submissions from the “Mission of Youth: International Film Festival” and held readings from the “International Reunion of Poets.”<sup>95</sup> Additionally, the Village was one of the extreme points of the sculptures for the Route of Friendship, and it provided a location for the conferences for the “Program on Human Genetics and Biology.”<sup>96</sup> The screenings, readings, and sculptures thus gave athletes a chance to experience the cultural program. The site for the artistic events’ participants, Narciso Mendoza Village (commonly called Coapa Village), was approximately eight kilometers (almost 5 miles) from Miguel Hidalgo Village in the southwest of the city near the Olympic Rowing and Canoeing Courses in Xochimilco.<sup>97</sup> The location provided performers the opportunity of spending time with individuals from around the world in the same way that athletes could.

Like the athletic venues, the cultural program allowed individuals to travel throughout the city and even into the surrounding areas such as Teotihuacan in the state of Mexico (about 65 kilometers or 40 miles from the Olympic Stadium)-- the home of the Aztec pyramid complex where “The Arrival of the Flame to Teotihuacan” took place. Additionally the “Mexican World Youth Camp” took place at the resort site of Oaxtepec in the state of Morelos about 90 kilometers (55 miles) from the Olympic Stadium.<sup>98</sup> Many performers and exhibitions also

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<sup>94</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 679; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report Volume 2*, 188-193.

<sup>95</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report Volume 2*, 188-193; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 30-35 and 386-387.

<sup>96</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 357 and 702.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 193-195.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 41 and 627.

traveled to multiple Mexican states to allow these populations to have the benefit of the capital city's hosting of the Games.<sup>99</sup> Despite the far-reaching nature of these locations, some parts of the city had fewer visitors with most venues on or near the main thoroughfares. Nevertheless, one reporter noted that even in poorer neighborhoods, residents allegedly received a bucket of paint to spruce up their homes courtesy of the government.<sup>100</sup>

One area not included in the program during the weeks of the athletic events was the Plaza of the Three Cultures and the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco neighborhood located in the Cuauhtémoc borough approximately 3 kilometers (about 2.5 miles) north of the Zócalo even though it too had a rich history that matched the theme of the cosmic race. The Department of Tourism had even hoped to attract visitors to the Aztec ruins there.<sup>101</sup> Instead, many residents had to relocate, at least temporarily, because of the destruction to the plaza and the surrounding buildings just ten days before the Olympic Opening.

## Literary Review

Multiple works have addressed the broken records, protests and boycotts related to the 1968 competitions. An emphasis on the Cultural Olympics can add to this literature by bringing Mexico City and its planners to the foreground.<sup>102</sup> By their nature, the artistic programs after 1948 took a different shape in each country making it necessary to consider Committee members

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<sup>99</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 275.

<sup>100</sup> "The Olympics: The Games Begin," *Time*, October 18, 1968: 79.

<sup>101</sup> Paul Kennedy, "Mexico Redoubles Efforts to Double Tourism," February 7, 1965, *The New York Times*: XX21; González de Bustamante, "1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmares": 8.

<sup>102</sup> For a discussion of the protests, boycotts, and broken records in 1968, see Richard Hoffer, *Something in the Air : American Passion and Defiance in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics* (New York: Free Press, 2009); Bass, *Not the Triumph*; Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On : Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

and the local and historical context of the events. The 1968 program like those before it used elements unique to the host city and its nation, so even though individuals and groups from all over the world participated, Mexico commands more attention to understand many of the events.<sup>103</sup>

Thus, this dissertation joins a growing historiography that seeks to make host cities and planners the subject of the study. These works oftentimes focus on the bid process for the Games and efforts to overcome doubts about the city's fitness because of issues such as available facilities or environmental factors such as altitude in the case of Mexico City. Using the Cultural Olympics as a lens to look at these topics in 1968 reasserts the role of Committee members. More than pawns in IOC Chairman Avery Brundage's efforts to keep superpowers' international relations out of the Movement, the Organizing Committee used non-athletic events such as the artistic program as a way to demonstrate their suitability and shape themselves into the ideal venue that could provide a necessary respite from the atmosphere of tense politics that the athletic competitions had come to symbolize.<sup>104</sup> Additionally, because most of the facilities used in the 1968 Games are still in use half a century later, the cultural and athletic events demonstrate how host cities could use the Olympics to improve existing structures and build venues that have long-term utility for the municipalities and their communities.<sup>105</sup>

This dissertation also looks at the Mexican context of how international events such as the World's Fair and the Olympics serve to create and maintain nationalisms through sterile environments such as pavilions and the contradictions and conflicts that occur when exporting

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<sup>103</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 23.

<sup>104</sup> For a discussion of how Mexico crafted its image as providing a space away from international relations, see Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World*; Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow": 159-188.

<sup>105</sup> For a discussion of the costs of the Games for host cities, see Andrew Zimbalist, *Circus Maximus: The Economic Gamble Behind Hosting the Olympics and the World Cup* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2016).

these themes clash with the realities of everyday life.<sup>106</sup> In the literature on Mexican history with regards to 1968, scholars have focused many projects on the student massacre starting with the journalist Elena Poniatowska's work *La noche de Tlatelolco* (translated in English as *Massacre in Mexico*)-- a work about the protests and the violence on the evening October 2, 1968 based on testimonials.<sup>107</sup> Many works focused on the student movement and political leaders' quest for control over its citizens have joined this scholarship with many using interviews as a source base.<sup>108</sup> This dissertation joins a growing scholarship that also considers the preparation for the Games-- both the athletic and cultural events.<sup>109</sup> An emphasis on the preparations for the Olympics and specific artistic performances and exhibitions allows for considering the image that planners worked to project and how students' actions and demands in 1968 contradicted these efforts.

Additionally, looking at the various backgrounds of the Organizing Committee's members offers a way to consider the face of Mexican nationalism as represented by the cosmic race a generation after Vasconcelos's seminal work and how various institutions and international gatherings such as the Olympics preserved and propagated this view of Mexican identity. Moreover, through the events and the discourses surrounding them, the planners laid out the ideal citizen including young people. This dissertation, thus, also serves to consider how national identity can include and cast out citizens to shut down challenges to a specific view of the country and its history and culture.

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<sup>106</sup> See Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fair: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

<sup>107</sup> Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico*.

<sup>108</sup> For a discussion of Mexico City in 1968 from the perspective of students, see Elaine Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*; Deborah Cohen and Lessie Jo Frazier, "México 68": 591-623; Claire Brewster, "The Student Movement of 1968 and the Mexican Press": 171-190.

<sup>109</sup> See Luis M. Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*; Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow": 159-188.

Finally, this dissertation adds to the scholarship on strategies used by non-aligned nations particularly in Latin America during the Cold War both to maintain sovereignty and to assert their places on the international stage.<sup>110</sup> This included not only the mutual support represented by Cuban leader Fidel Castro's exportation of doctors or offers of coaches and sports facilities, but also the effort by countries such as Mexico to keep foreign influences such as communism from threatening stability.<sup>111</sup> The Cultural Olympics provide another example of this because the members of the Organizing Committee argued not only that they had the ability to host the Olympics despite their Third World status, but also that their country served as the most appropriate atmosphere because of their lack of entanglement in many of the most inflammatory global affairs.<sup>112</sup> In their discussions, planners called into question the rubrics that many used to measure progress and made the argument that they held many more of these characteristics as compared to countries such as the US and USSR who inserted themselves into foreign affairs and created environments of exclusivity based on race, religion, and political affiliation.

Calls by leaders of non-aligned nations for collaborations despite political affiliation such as the Tlatelolco Conference-- a gathering that brought together the Western Hemisphere's states in an agreement to keep Latin America and the Caribbean free from nuclear weapons-- had much in common with the Cultural Olympics which serves as an important example of the efforts of governments in the so-called Third World to assert their ability to make choices that did not fall

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<sup>110</sup> See Patrick Iber, *Neither Peace nor Freedom: The Cultural Cold War in Latin America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Renata Keller, *Mexico's Cold War: Cuba, the United States, and the Legacy of the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>111</sup> For discussions of examples of mutual support among non-aligned nations for sports and medicine, see John M. Kirk, *Healthcare Without Borders: Understanding Cuban Medical Internationalism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015); Wolf Kramer-Mandau, "Our Young People are not to Participate in Sports Merely as Spectators but as Protagonists: Sports in Nicaragua in the Times of the Revolution," *Physical Education Review* 15, no. 2 (1992): 133-147; Trevor Slack and David Whitson, "The Place of Sport in Cuba's Foreign Relations," *International Journal* 43, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988): 596-617.

<sup>112</sup> Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow": 163-164.

solely within the limits either of communism or liberal democracy. Thus, the 1968 program demonstrates the diplomatic skills of countries such as Mexico to make a place for themselves in international relations in this era of superpowers and their spheres of influence with sharply contrasted ideologies.<sup>113</sup> It demonstrates, additionally, that in moments when the eyes of the world were on nonaligned nations it was all the more important to keep control over the political atmosphere as a show of strength for investors and allies to whom politicians and planners sought to present an environment of progress and stability while at the same time showing a festive and colorful atmosphere to tourists.<sup>114</sup> To accomplish this, they used culture as a way to define carefully what was Mexican and those who fell within or outside the national project.

## Chapter Outline

This dissertation has four chapters as well as an introduction and conclusion. Chapter 1 traces the history of cultural and artistic programs from 1896 to 1968 by grouping them into three broad eras. During the first era from 1896 to 1908, the IOC left these programs to the discretion of each organizing committee, and these early exhibitions and performances reflected their experiences with the World's Fair with host cities putting on display their modern infrastructure, educational systems, and fine arts institutions such as orchestras. The Concours d'Art, or art competitions, made up the second era and featured competitions in architecture, painting, sculpture, literature, and music where participants had to limit their subjects to athletics or the history of the Olympics. The third era began with the 1952 Games and continues to the

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<sup>113</sup> See Iber, *Neither Peace nor Freedom* and Keller, *Mexico's Cold War*.

<sup>114</sup> Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow": 185; For a discussion of this dual purpose during the 1968 Games, see Luis M. Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico* and Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World*.

present day with a requirement to hold a fine arts program but with great freedom in planning. For its part, the 1968 program both borrowed from previous programs while adding its own unique elements that the members of the Organizing Committee traced back to their national history and traditions.

Chapter 2 has a discussion of the professional and educational backgrounds of the 1968 Committee members and the development of the concept of the cosmic race. In the 1920s, educator José Vasconcelos's concept of the cosmic race served as a way to create a more inclusive nation in the aftermath of the Revolution. Unlike many eugenics movements in Europe and other American countries, the cosmic race served to celebrate the large indigenous population as a part of the national project rather than cast outside it in favor of whiteness and European culture. This effort pervaded educational reforms, artistic movements, and architectural projects. Generally, many of the Organizing Committee members came of age in this environment and the experience likely colored their educations and professional lives. The Cultural Olympics neatly fit into the vision of Mexico as the land of mestizos and cultural blending. Additionally, many of the events related back to the primary theme that it was modern with a rich history and tradition. While some have attributed this unity of message at the 1968 Games to the structure of the Committee itself, this chapter demonstrates that it also points to the pervasiveness of these messages throughout the nation during and after the Revolution.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Organizing Committee's efforts to use the cultural program to create a peaceful atmosphere that demonstrated the slogan of the 1968 Summer Games: "Everything is Possible in Peace". Planners tied this goal to both the Olympic Movement and their national identity. Some events had the primary aim of promoting friendship among participants by emphasizing commonalities such as interests in painting and film as well as

sports. Others worked to transform the city into an environment that called for peace through billboards and murals that emphasized this theme. Additionally, Committee members noted that Mexico was the perfect site for this theme because it was a country forged in peaceful relations between those of different ethnic groups down to the creation of their racial makeup itself from intermarriage between those of European and indigenous descent. Finally, peace also became a weapon used to paint those who protested against the PRI government in 1968 as rebels who were the opposite of Mexico and opponents of peace itself.

Chapter 4 looks at the artistic and scientific events starting with the comment Mexican anthropologist Ignacio Bernal made that the “Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art,” embodied a “museum without walls.” French scholar André Malraux coined this term in a 1951 work by the same name where he argues that collecting artwork across geographical and temporal divides would allow spectators both to identify similarities and create mutual understanding among the peoples of the world.<sup>115</sup> This effort to foment dialogue through cultural exchange unites the aims of the artistic and scientific events. In this atmosphere of exchange, the Organizing Committee worked to offer participating nations a platform to discuss their contributions to art and science while at the same time display to an international audience of tourists Mexico’s contributions to these fields.

This dissertation ends with a look at the legacies of the Cultural Olympics themselves. Although these types of programs remain a part of the Movement, the lasting impact of the 1968 program is most visible in the Opening and Closing Ceremonies that have some of the same activities and an emphasis on folklore and popular arts. While these Ceremonies have sometimes had artistic elements throughout the years, starting with the 1972 Ceremonies,

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<sup>115</sup> André Malraux, “Museum Without Walls” in *The Voices of Silence*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1953).

organizing committees came to incorporate folkloric elements similar to the ones that were the focus of events in the 1968 Cultural Olympics. These Ceremonies became a mainstay of the Movement by 1980 and included the celebration of the arrival of the flame as the focus of the Opening Ceremony and the use of drill formations that had also featured prominently in the Cultural Olympics. Thus, the 1968 Organizing Committee did leave a uniquely Mexican mark on the movement.

### **Sources Used**

This work relies on sources from physical and online archives as well as publications by the Organizing Committee and publications by the planners. Additionally, periodicals and an interview with a woman who served as an edecán also make up the research conducted for this dissertation.

Archives in Mexico City and the United States provided materials such as organizers' and participants' CVs and resumes; letters and memos between Committee members and to outside institutions; and finally the minutes of official meetings and conferences. The archives visited in Mexico City included the General National Archive (AGN) that has a document series completely devoted to the Organizing Committee. This content covers the evolution of the cultural and artistic program as well as memos and letters that relate directly to the planning process. Additionally, the collections at the Mexican Secretariat of Foreign Relations (SRE) has a wealth of sources related to the Games including the resumes, programs, and press coverage of individual participants and groups who performed in the city and around the country in 1968. In the United States, the Avery Brundage Collection at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign includes not only documents pertaining to the Games over the course of Brundage's

career in the US Olympic Committee and IOC dating back to the 1930s, but also the Chairman's reactions to elements of the 1968 events revealed in letters and in some cases reports. The Collection also has materials on Mexico City's bid as well as the minutes of IOC conferences when the Organizing Committee discussed their progress and mission.

Online archives served as another useful collection of primary source documents. One of these, the IOC Olympic Studies Centre's website, has documents related to the Movement including charters as well as rule and regulations.<sup>116</sup> Although founded in 1894, the IOC did not have its first official charter until 1908. After this, the IOC republished-- and sometimes changed-- its charter as well as its rules and regulations almost every year. These documents therefore provide a history of developments within the Movement concerning issues such as amateurism and the standards for host cities. For the purposes of this dissertation, they serve as a way to understand the changing priorities and place of the cultural and artistic aspects of the Games.

Another source of information for this project came from the official Olympic reports from 1896 to 1996. Produced by every organizing committee, these reports provide both narratives of the events that took place and an articulation of the goals of the planners in one or both the official permanent languages of the Olympic Movement --French and English. They are available through the website of the LA 84 Foundation, founded by the Los Angeles Organizing Committee with monies generated by the 1984 Summer Games in the city.<sup>117</sup> The official report for the 1968 is a four-volume set with Volume 4 set aside exclusively for the cultural program and Volume 3 for the athletic competitions. Not only does the report offer a summary, but also

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<sup>116</sup> The Olympics Studies Centre, "Olympic World Library Digital Collection: Olympic Charter," <https://library.olympic.org>.

<sup>117</sup> LA 84 Foundation, "Index of Official Reports," <http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/>.

it provides the aims of the planners as well as the language used to describe events that echoed the vision expressed in many other forums. As further proof of this effort to put the nation itself on display, Volume 1 of the report is devoted solely to the country laying out the history, geography, and communities—something that previous committees had not done. Volume 2 focuses on the organization of the Games with special emphasis on the departments of the Organizing Committee as well as logistics such as the Olympic Village and transportation.

In addition to the official report, the Department of Publications also produced a series of bulletins, newsletters, and programs for the performances, meetings, and festivals that also became a part of the source base for this dissertation.<sup>118</sup> These newsletters and bulletins published throughout the four-year Olympiad from 1964-1968 covered a number of topics such as Mexican history as well as the cultural and artistic exhibitions, conferences, and performances as well as the participants. Thus, they offer both a summary of anticipated events and a glimpse at what Olympic enthusiasts in Mexico and abroad consumed in 1968. In particular, these newsletters paint a picture of the nation itself as well as offer a preview of the type of environment that visitors could expect. For the Cultural Olympics event called the "Festival of Fine Arts," the Department of Publications produced ninety-three programs that provided a history of each company or individual as well as the dates, times, locations, and prices of all the performances within the host city.<sup>119</sup> Some of these newsletters and programs became a part of official archives while many also remain in the hands of private individuals and are available from collectors both online and at bookstores and open-air markets in Mexico City.

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<sup>118</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report Volume 2*, 308-323.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 314-319.

Accounts and reactions by individuals provide a way to consider how audiences consumed the cultural program. Articles from newspapers and magazines provide one source of reactions in this study. Throughout 1968, Mexico City newspapers included advertisements inviting audiences to the many events. Newspapers also filled their publications with photographs and stories about performances and exhibitions. Journalists from around the world descended on Mexico City throughout 1968 especially in the weeks leading up to the Games. In their accounts, they discuss the festive atmosphere of the city down to the bright colors, Modernistic signage, and performances not always appreciating that these were a part of the Cultural Olympics. These stories appeared alongside ones about the youth protests in the host city and around the world throughout the summer of 1968 as well accounts of the student massacre on October 2 in the Plaza of the Three Cultures.

Other articles competed for readers' attentions such as those on the continued concerns about the dangers of the city's altitude for athletes and questions about the readiness of Mexico for the Games as well as coverage about athletes' record-breaking achievement and their protests. One of the best known of these focused on Tommie Smith who broke the 200-meter world record. During the playing of the "Star-Spangled Banner," Smith took part in the iconic Black Power Salute on the medal stand with fellow black American sprinter John Carlos while the silver medalist from Australia, Peter Norman, wore an Olympic Project for Human Rights button as a sign of solidarity. Thus, newspapers and magazines provide a necessary context for understanding the dizzying number of events of 1968 that both focused on the cultural program and distracted away attentions.

IOC and Organizing Committee members' recollections of the events as well as those by participants provide another source of first-hand accounts for this project. Some come from

published articles and studies by coordinators such as Mathias Goeritz and Dr. Alfonso León de Garay. Additionally, the perspective of young people involved in the *edecanes* program offer another perspective and come in part from an interview that I did with a woman who served as an *edecán*. During the conversation, she offered a picture of feelings of excitement about witnessing fundamental changes in the country brought on by hosting the Games. The wide spectrum of these accounts represent the Cultural Olympic and the year of 1968 itself as one full of contradictions with many clamoring for a voice in the chaotic atmosphere of this watershed year in world politics.

### **The Plaza of the Three Cultures Fifty Years Later**

A stone monument joined Mario Pani's plaque in the Plaza of the Three Cultures on October 2, 1993, and it too speaks to a violent confrontation that changed the course of the country's history (Appendix B: Figure 1). The stone has a relief of birds in flight and the letters CNH --the National Strike Committee, the student organization who organized the rally where the massacre occurred-- and *Adelante!* (Forward!). Underneath the relief, the monument has the names and ages of twenty of those killed in the massacre and a note that even more died that night whose names no one would ever know. At the bottom is an inscription from a poem by Mexican author Rosario Castellanos (1925-1974). It charges that the others who died remain unknown because of the haste to cover up the events of the night.<sup>120</sup> By dawn on October 3, 1968, the dead, injured, and arrested had been carried away from the plaza, and television stations did not call on the government to account for the incidents of the night. Many carried

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<sup>120</sup> Molly Moore, "Unveiling a Hidden Massacre," *Washington Post*, October 2, 1998, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1998/10/02/unveiling-a-hidden-massacre/8b4c2ba8-04f2-48fc-af32-b111412ed774/?utm\\_term=.746610a1e704](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1998/10/02/unveiling-a-hidden-massacre/8b4c2ba8-04f2-48fc-af32-b111412ed774/?utm_term=.746610a1e704).

on as though nothing had happened or blamed an international conspiracy for the violence.<sup>121</sup>

This monument, rather than reconcile the meaning of the violence, as was the case with the plaque, has no resolution and calls out for transparency rather than order.

Even by 1993, many things had changed in Tlatelolco and within the nation that began with the contradictions that 1968 illuminated.<sup>122</sup> Maintaining order took the form of a dirty war in Mexico and many other countries in the hemisphere with clandestine arrests and disappearances that lasted throughout the 1970s and possibly longer.<sup>123</sup> Although Mexico City hosted the World Cup in 1970, the economic downturn of the 1970s led to a growing disillusionment of the middle class who struggled to hold on to their economic and social positions. Additionally, they had less reason to hope for the same uplift for their children that the end of the Second World War had offered the previous generation.<sup>124</sup> A major blow came with a magnitude 8.1 earthquake that hit the city on September 19, 1985, destroying, among other sites, sections of the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco neighborhood that represented the prosperity of the Mexican Miracle.<sup>125</sup> Despite this, less than a year later, the city was a host for the 1986 World Cup with matches held in the undamaged Aztec Stadium. Investigations into the earthquake uncovered that the complexes did not meet building standards and that in many cases architects, including Mario Pani, and construction firms used cheap materials while they padded

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<sup>121</sup> Moore, "Unveiling a Hidden Massacre," *Washington Post*, October 2, 1998; González de Bustamante, "1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmares:" 1-30.

<sup>122</sup> Roderic A. Camp, *Mexico's Mandarins Crafting a Power Elite for the Twenty-first Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 118-119.

<sup>123</sup> See Sandra C. Mendiola García, *Street Democracy: Vendors, Violence, and Public Space in Late Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017); Alexander Aviña, *Specters of Revolution: Peasant Guerrillas in the Cold War Mexican Countryside* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Alberto Ulloa Bornemann and Arthur Schmidt, *Surviving Mexico's Dirty War a Political Prisoner's Memoir* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007).

<sup>124</sup> See Louise E. Walker, *Waking from the Dream Mexico's Middle Classes after 1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

<sup>125</sup> See Poniatowska, *Nothing No One: The Voices of the Earthquake* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995); Walker, *Waking from the Dream*, 173-199.

their pockets with the excess funds.<sup>126</sup> The corruption and lack of government support for affected areas only increased the discontent of those who had unquestioningly supported the PRI who lost the presidency in 2000 after seven decades of continuous control of the office.<sup>127</sup>

In 2007, adjacent to the Plaza of the Three Cultures, the Tlatelolco Cultural Center (*Centro Cultural Universitario Tlatelolco*) of the National University (UNAM), opened a permanent exhibition called *Memorial 68*.<sup>128</sup> The Government of Mexico City, led by Andrés Manuel López Obrador (commonly referred to by his initials AMLO), donated the building to the National University with the expressed purpose that a part of the space would depict the history of the student movement.<sup>129</sup> *Memorial 68* has multimedia exhibitions that recount the student movement in Mexico City as well as the global political and cultural context of the late-1960s. On the top floor of the exhibition has bright colors and psychedelic designs cover the walls with replicas of the posters and signs from marches and rallies. They also have images of protests such as the Black Power Salute by Smith and Carlos. Visitors flow through the museum down halls that require going through the exhibitions in chronological order. Popular music by groups like the Beatles and the Doors plays on speakers and the sounds mix with those from screens playing videos of witness testimonials.<sup>130</sup>

The exhibition descends into a basement that has some of the most chilling scenes without the music and color-- only voices of the testimonials. This includes an exhibition by Víctor Muñoz with personal items such as clothing, purses, and shoes strewn on the floor

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<sup>126</sup> Gallo, "Modernist Ruins: The Case Study of Tlatelolco," 114-115.

<sup>127</sup> Walker, *Waking from the Dream*, 173-199.

<sup>128</sup> Alberto del Castillo Troncoso, "THE STUDENT MOVEMENT OF 1968 IN THE CITY OF MEXICO SEEN THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY," *Clio: Revista De Pesquisa Histórica* 1, no. 26 (2008): 106.

<sup>129</sup> Juan J. Rojo, *Revisiting the Mexican Student Movement of 1968 Shifting Perspectives in Literature and Culture since Tlatelolco* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 150.

<sup>130</sup> Reed Johnson, "Putting a spotlight on the massacre of 1968," *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 2008: <http://articles.latimes.com/2008/feb/16>.

recreating the scene in the Plaza after the violence stopped and representing the preceding moments that were so chaotic that individuals left behind even their glasses and bags as they ran from the bullets and fixed bayonets of law enforcement.<sup>131</sup> Another installation is a recreation of a prison cell with images of those detained that night in a single row along the walls of the room.<sup>132</sup>

The colorful and even nostalgic environment of much of the top floor combined with the recreation of the violence and repression in the basement echoes the struggles of the 1968 Organizing Committee to put forth an image of peace, order, and progress even as these themes contrasted sharply with the realities of that year. The Cultural Olympics served at times as a part of this effort to distract attention away from these contradictions. Thus, understanding them and those who planned them are integral to understanding 1968 and the political and social environment created in its aftermath.

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<sup>131</sup> Rojo, *Revisiting the Mexican Student Movement*, 153 and 156.

<sup>132</sup> Castillo Troncoso. "THE STUDENT MOVEMENT OF 1968," 88.

## **Joining the Aesthetic and the Athletic: The Mexican Organizing Committee and the History of Cultural and Artistic Events in the Olympic Movement**

Prominent individuals dressed in formal attire arrived at the Fine Arts Palace (*Palacio de Bellas Artes*) the evening of January 19, 1968. Outside the domed theater, the Olympic flag flew alongside the national banner.<sup>133</sup> The crowd included President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz and Chairman of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Avery Brundage and President of the Mexican Organizing Committee Pedro Ramírez Vázquez.<sup>134</sup> Diplomats, artists, celebrities, and prominent society members also made up the audience that night.<sup>135</sup> They attended the theater to celebrate the inauguration of the year-long festival that its organizers called the Cultural Olympics. Throughout 1968, dancers, musicians, painters, sculptors, scientists, educators, and writers would perform and present their works in Mexico City. National Olympic Committees and private individuals sent artwork to represent countries' histories and identities. During the two weeks of the Games, exhibitions, festivals, and performances would serve as a complement to the athletic events and both educate and entertain the foreign and domestic audiences gathered in the city for the quadrennial sporting event.

The crowd stood for the playing of the national anthem by the national symphony orchestra, before settling in for the night's entertainment. The evening featured a performance

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<sup>133</sup> "Cultural Program of the XIX Olympiad—Inauguration Night," *Mexico '68: Pictorial Review* 26, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (1968), cover.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 and 5; "Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics," *Mexico '68: Olympic Newsletter* 26, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (1968): unpaginated.

<sup>135</sup> "Inauguration Night," *Mexico '68: Pictorial Review*, 1.

from the event called the “Ballet of the Five Continents” as the Cultural Olympics’ premier.<sup>136</sup> The *Ballet Folklórico de México* dance company performed pieces arranged by choreographers who represented three of the five continents and whose nations held special importance in the Olympic Movement.<sup>137</sup> To pay homage to the Ancient Olympics, the committee invited the Greek choreographer Loukia. Her career had included converting Greek folk dances into ballets and working for the National Theater of Athens and the National Opera of Athens.<sup>138</sup> The performance for the Cultural Olympics’ inauguration included an ode to the Ancient Games and a dance that reenacted the legend of the Minotaur.<sup>139</sup>

The second act called the “Aztec Ballet” served not only to represent the American continent, but also to celebrate the host city. Legendary choreographer and founder of the *Ballet Folklórico de México*, Amalia Hernández, served as coordinator for the “Ballet of the Five Continents” and arranged the routine for the night.<sup>140</sup> The dance re-created the Tiger Knights funeral dance and the consecration of the throne by Aztec priests.<sup>141</sup> In the performance, the dancers celebrated the culture that many Mexicans saw as the backbone of their national identity.<sup>142</sup> Sudanese-born singer, dancer and author, Ofundu Robert Le’House, arranged the performance’s final act.<sup>143</sup> The planners chose an African choreographer to extend a welcome to the international Olympic movement’s new member committees from the continent.<sup>144</sup> Dances from the nations of Chad, Nigeria, Senegal and Mali made up the Ballet of the Five Continents’

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<sup>136</sup> “Inauguration Night,” *Mexico ’68: Pictorial Review*, 4 and 7-8; “Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics,” *Mexico ’68: Olympic Newsletter*, unpaginated.

<sup>137</sup> “Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics,” *Mexico ’68: Pictorial Review*, unpaginated.

<sup>138</sup> “Inauguration Night,” *Mexico ’68: Pictorial Review*, 14.

<sup>139</sup> “Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics,” *Mexico ’68: Olympic Newsletter*, unpaginated.

<sup>140</sup> “Inauguration Night,” *Mexico ’68: Pictorial Review*, 14.

<sup>141</sup> “Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics,” *Mexico ’68: Olympic Newsletter*, unpaginated.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> “Inauguration Night,” *Mexico ’68: Pictorial Review*, 14.

<sup>144</sup> “Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics,” *Mexico ’68: Olympic Newsletter*, unpaginated.

third act. This arrangement included a dance recounting Senegalese warriors' return to their village destroyed in battle. This act ended with a joyful section to celebrate the time of rebuilding that follows the war.<sup>145</sup> A recreation of the puberty dance of the Ibos community of Nigeria concluded the piece.<sup>146</sup>

Afterwards, President Díaz Ordaz invited the dancers and choreographers to his box, offered his congratulations, and enthusiastically pronounced that the cultural and artistic program would honor the Ancient Games' tradition of using the Olympics as an opportunity to develop both the body and mind.<sup>147</sup> Avery Brundage, chairperson of the IOC, exalted the artistic program, noting that the Cultural Olympics marked the start of a new era in the movement's history.<sup>148</sup> The comments of both the president and the IOC chair shared a common theme about the novelty of the program. Nevertheless, cultural and artistic events had a long history in the Olympic movement, and press releases reported that president of the Organizing Committee, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, knew about past cultural and artistic programs. He explained in a 1966 press release that his committee would use some of the same events and would consult previous organizing committees.<sup>149</sup> Despite this awareness, much of the language surrounding the Cultural Olympics stressed the idea of novelty.

Scholars have discussed the cultural programs including the one in 1968, but most have done so in passing. Some who write about the 1968 Games and protest movements of that year include a brief discussion of the Cultural Olympics.<sup>150</sup> Eric Zolov offered the most in-depth look

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<sup>145</sup> "Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics," *Mexico '68: Olympic Newsletter*, unpaginated.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>149</sup> "Programa General de los XIX Juegos Olímpicos," November 3, 1968, pg. 12, Press Release by Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, Gallery 7, Box 753, Folder 41-4, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN).

<sup>150</sup> See Luis M. Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico: Design, Propaganda, and the 1968 Olympics* (University of Minnesota Press, (2014); Keith Brewster, "Mexico City 1968: Oscillating Aspirations." *The International Journal of*

at the Cultural Olympics in his effort to understand the Mexican approach to Cold War politics.

<sup>151</sup> Cultural and artistic events of other years have received similar treatment. Even the most thorough essays focus on a single program, event, or nation's participation.<sup>152</sup>

This chapter offers an analysis of the cultural program to identify the similarities as well as the innovative aspects of the Organizing Committee's designs traces the history of the cultural and artistic program from 1896 to 1968 and discusses how the 1968 Games relate to earlier ones. The program also had innovative elements that highlighted how the planners conceived of Mexicans' priorities and sensibilities. An analysis of the cultural and artistic events puts the Mexican manifestation in its context within the Olympic Movement. These cultural and artistic events occurred in three waves and each has an in-depth discussion to show the relationship the 1968 program. The chapter concludes with a study of the planners' innovations to the 1968 Games.

### **A Brief History of the Cultural Program**

The cultural programs of the Games occurred in three phases. The first, from 1896 to 1906, featured cultural displays, lectures, and performances that were unofficially included in the Olympic Movement. The second wave from 1912 to 1949 the Olympic charter required host

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*the History of Sport*. 27, no. 16 (2010): 2748-2765; Kevin Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympics* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 2008); Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, "Hacia México '68: Pedro Ramírez Vázquez y el proyecto olímpico," *Secuencia* 56 (2003): 37-73.

<sup>151</sup> Eric Zolov "'Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow': Mexico and the 1968 Olympics," *The Americas* 61, no. 2 (2004): 159-188.

<sup>152</sup> See Claire A. Culleton, "Competing Concepts of Culture: Irish Art at the 1924 Olympic Games," *Estudios Irlandeses* 9 (2014): 24-34; John Hughson, "The Cultural Legacy of Olympic Posters," *Sport in Society: Cultures, commerce, Media, Politics* 13, no. 5 (2010): 749-759; Yvonne Singh, "1996 Olympic Arts Festival: AT&T Theater Series," *Theater Journal* 49, no. 1 (1997): 69-75; Deborah Stevenson, "Olympic Arts: Sydney 2000 and the Cultural Olympiad," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 33, no. 3 (1997): 227-238; Jilly Traganou, "Tokyo's 1964 Olympic Design as a 'Realm of (Design) Memory,'" *Sport in Society* 14, no. 4 (2011): 466-481.

cities to hold a fine arts competition called the Concours d'Art. During the third era from 1949 to the present, the IOC mandated the holding of a cultural program though not necessarily with a competitive aspect.<sup>153</sup> From the beginning of the Modern Olympic Movement in 1894, founder Baron Pierre de Coubertin wanted cultural events as a part of the Games. He reasoned that an artistic program would allow nations to come together over more than sports. The parallel program would allow for praising both the athletic and aesthetic accomplishments of countries.<sup>154</sup> This aspiration came out of the Victorian ideal, of developing both the body and mind as part of proper middle- and upper-class masculinity.<sup>155</sup> During this era, the charter did not expressly require the host to include non-athletic events. Nevertheless, experience with the World's Fair meant that cultural events sometimes occurred in host cities concurrent with the Games.<sup>156</sup>

The cultural and artistic events became an official requirement of the 1906 Olympic charter, and during this period, host cities held artistic programs on the same level as the athletic events. The IOC's definition of equity between sports and culture meant holding a sports-themed fine arts competition called the Concours d'Art.<sup>157</sup> Then in 1949, the cultural program replaced the artistic competitions with exhibitions. This change happened as the new countries that joined the international sporting movement transformed understanding of athletics, and debates on amateurism helped to the end of the Concours d'Art. Likewise, changes to the idea of

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<sup>153</sup> See Andrew Edgar, "The Aesthetics of the Olympic Art Competitions," *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 39, no. 2 (2012): 185-199.

<sup>154</sup> SP.P Lambros and N.G. Polites, *The Olympic Games: BC 776-AD 1896: First Part: The Olympic Games in Ancient Times*, trans. C.A. (London: H. Grevel & Co., 1896-1897), 1-2.

<sup>155</sup> J.J. MacAloon, "The Mighty Working of a Symbol: From Idea to Organization," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23, no. 3-4 (2006): 528-530; George Mosse *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>156</sup> See Robert W. Rydell, "The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Saint Louis, 1904: 'The Coronation of Civilization'," in *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, Reprint edition (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2013), 154-183.

<sup>157</sup> Swedish Olympic Committee, *The Fifth Olympiad: The Official Olympic Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912*, ed. Erik Bergvall, trans. Edward Adams-Ray (Stockholm: Wahlstrom & Widstrand), 806.

a separation of the body and mind challenged the need for arts competitions. The Mexican Organizing Committee of the 1968 Games sought to change the currents that scaled back non-athletic events by reemphasizing the cultural aspects.

The 1968 cultural and artistic program incorporated elements from all three eras. First, it shared the emphasis on the equal development of the body and the mind. In his reaction to performances at the inauguration, President Díaz Ordaz mentioned this equal development as the crowning accomplishment of the 1968 program.<sup>158</sup> Second, the members of the Mexican Organizing Committee similarly negotiated the place of artistic and cultural events in the Games. While omitting the competitions between artists, the Mexican Organizing Committee planned twenty separate events to match the twenty athletic ones thereby maintaining the equality of the arts and sports.<sup>159</sup> Third, the Organizing Committee showcased nationally-specific characteristics in the program. They asked other nations to participate—a practice that had largely died out since the 1948 Games. Thus, despite the discussions of novelty about the 1968 Cultural Olympics, the program had a firm grounding in the Movement's past.

### **The Development of the Body and the Mind: The Cultural Program, 1896-1906**

Baron Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the IOC, stood before a crowd at the Sorbonne on the evening of November 25, 1892 to give a speech to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Union des Sports Athletiques. He ended his remarks in a surprising way when he announced his plan to resurrect the Olympics.<sup>160</sup> As he later noted in his memoir, the crowd's reaction did not

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<sup>158</sup>“Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics,” *Mexico '68: Olympic Newsletter*, unpaginated.

<sup>159</sup> Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, Departamento de Publicaciones, *Programa artístico y cultural de los juegos de la XIX olimpiada* (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1968), 3-4.

<sup>160</sup> Pierre de Coubertin, *Olympic Memoirs* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 1979), 5-6.

match his expectations. Instead of meeting opposition, objection, or even indifference, the audience applauded his plan and wished him luck.<sup>161</sup> This reaction should have pleased Coubertin who had studied sports throughout his adult life and wanted to improve physical education in his native home of France. In fact, he pronounced the Games as the lynchpin of his plan.<sup>162</sup> Nevertheless, he recognized on that late autumn evening that the audience's applause and well wishes came because they did not understand his vision. The baron planned to bring them around to his way of thinking.<sup>163</sup>

In Coubertin's estimation, the issue of sport signified more than a leisure activity as it formed part of national sovereignty. A lack of physical fitness, he argued, had led to France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and the loss of the territories of Alsace and Lorraine. As he saw it, while French pupils studied the Classics, German students received training in both the liberal arts and gymnastics, and he believed this dual education led to a more physically fit German military.<sup>164</sup> Coubertin turned to France's ally, the British, for a model that had the appeal of its connection to the empire where the sun never set.<sup>165</sup> In the English tradition, an education meant developing strong bodies along with strong minds.<sup>166</sup> During his travels to

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<sup>161</sup> Coubertin, *Olympic Memoirs*, 6.

<sup>162</sup> Pierre de Coubertin, Timoleon J. Philemon, N.G. Politis, and Charalambos Anninos, *The Olympic Games: BC 776-AD 1896: Second Part: The Olympic Games in 1896*, trans. A. v. K. (London: H. Grevel & Co., 1897), 2.

<sup>163</sup> Coubertin, *Olympic Memoirs*, 6.

<sup>164</sup> Allen Guttman, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 7; For a discussion of educational reform in France during the Third Republic, see Gilbert Chaitin, "'France is My Mother': The Subject of Universal Education in the Third French Republic," *Nineteenth Century Prose* 32, no. 1 (2005): 128; Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870-1920* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Patrician A. Tilburg, "A Healthy Soul in a Healthy Body: Physical and Moral Education in the Third Republic" in *Colette's Republic: Work, Gender, and Popular Culture in France, 1840-1914* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 46-74.

<sup>165</sup> Guttman, *The Olympics: A History*, 7.

<sup>166</sup> For a discussion of differing sporting traditions in France, Germany and Great Britain, see Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Michael Krüger, "The History of German Sports Clubs: Between Integration and Emigration," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 14, (2013): 1586-1603; Mosse, *The Image of Man*; Christopher S. Thompson,

Great Britain and the United States, Coubertin marveled at the enthusiasm and support for sports.<sup>167</sup> Inspired, Coubertin wanted to spread this ideal for physical fitness and argued that an international Olympics would do the work of reforming and strengthening nations' citizens while spreading a love of sports and games to the world.<sup>168</sup>

Coubertin spent from 1892 to 1896 traveling throughout Western Europe and the United States attempting to foment excitement for the idea of resurrecting the Games to people who simply did not comprehend his aspiration.<sup>169</sup> In his accounts of these years, he describes infighting between athletic associations that did not want to share a venue with other sports and German sporting organizations who did not want to participate at all.<sup>170</sup> Additionally, the most cultured individuals saw government, philosophy, the arts and sciences as the most important parts of Greek culture whereas the Olympics served as nothing but an interesting footnote.<sup>171</sup> Coubertin's peers, he recalled, asked in jest if the athletes would compete in the nude as they had in the Ancient Games.<sup>172</sup> Others thought that this resurrection would only symbolically represent the dramatics of sporting competitions instead of being an actual confrontation of athletes.<sup>173</sup> Nevertheless, in June, 1894, Coubertin gathered the leading educators, sportsmen, and public figures in France for the first Olympic conference.<sup>174</sup> By the end of the Congress, the members had created the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and

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“Bicycling, Class, and the Politics of Leisure in Belle Epoque France” in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 131-146.

<sup>167</sup> John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press): 53-54 and 113-128.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 112; Coubertin et al., *The Olympic Games: BC 776-AD 1896*, 1-4; Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History*, 82.

<sup>169</sup> Coubertin, *Olympic Memoirs*, 6-8.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7 and 10.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 8; MacAloon, *This Great Symbol*, 195.

<sup>173</sup> Coubertin, *Olympic Memoirs*, 6.

<sup>174</sup> Coubertin et al., *The Olympic Games: BC 776-AD 1896*, 7; MacAloon, *This Great Symbol*, 44-51.

conceived of the Games as an international competition between amateurs. Moreover, the IOC's Games would occur every four years and rotate among cities in order to spread the cost of hosting them. Finally, in 1896, Athens would act as the first host.<sup>175</sup>

The Congress succeeded but during the early years of the Olympic Movement, Coubertin had to work to prove the integral place of sports in Greek culture. A discussion of the blending of art and sports that justified the resurrection of the Games dominated the Official Olympic Report from 1896. This connection to culture was necessary for a public who saw little immediate value in glorifying sport.<sup>176</sup> Coubertin explained in the Report that in the past, educated Europeans had studied Greek philosophy and art, and the time had come to celebrate the ancient civilization's athletics too.<sup>177</sup> Although audiences came to celebrate sports as a part of Greek culture, this view of the Olympics happened slowly. Indeed, in the late-nineteenth century, the Modern Games' founders thought it necessary to explain the value of commemorating this Greek tradition.

Until 1906, the cultural and artistic events had no official place in the Olympic Charter. Planners took advantage of the international venue to hold conferences and show off the technological advances and culture of their cities. Besides cycling and shooting, participating nations had little experience with international meetings for athletic competitions and much more familiarity with World's Fairs, where, performances and exhibitions of science and technology occurred in host cities.<sup>178</sup> At the Athens (1896) and London (1908) Games, the host cities showed off their gas lighting.<sup>179</sup> Moreover, in Athens, philharmonic associations performed

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<sup>175</sup> Coubertin, *Olympic Memoirs*, 9-12.

<sup>176</sup> Coubertin et al. *The Olympic Games: BC 776-AD 1896*, 1-8.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 1-4.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 65 and 75; The British Olympic Council, *The Fourth Olympiad Being the Official Report the Olympic Games of 1908 Celebrated in London under the Patronage of His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII and by*

before athletic events.<sup>180</sup> The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis coincided with the two weeks of the Games as a way to attract more tourists to the first American host city. Thus, it provides a useful example of how early Olympic organizing committees both sought to incorporate science and the arts into the Movement and demonstrate the benefits of athletics for national culture and education.<sup>181</sup>

Both the 1904 World's Fair and Olympic cultural program emphasized bringing together sports and education. These participants argued for the place of sports in a well-rounded life in the twentieth century.<sup>182</sup> The Louisiana World Exposition participants included workers and students from American Indian boarding schools. These teachers and administrators argued that sports built moral character while also providing a better transition from the active and outdoor experience of life on reservations to the sedentary and indoor life at the schools. In front of the Exposition's audiences, students— primarily members of the Sioux nation— from Fort Shaw, North Dakota won the girls' national basketball championship.<sup>183</sup> Proving the benefit to education, fair organizers provided audiences with the chance to observe players at a model school. Students learned lessons in English including ones on home economics and performed callisthenic exercises.<sup>184</sup> To show the dramatic contrast in mind and body training had produced in students' lives, a model reservation sat next door to the school and displayed the life students had lived prior to going to the boarding schools. Although, the models had overtones of racism

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*Sanction of the International Olympic Committee*, ed. Theodore Andrea Cook (London: Spottswood, circa 1908), 399.

<sup>180</sup> Coubertin et al., *The Olympic Games: BC 776-AD 1896*, 59.

<sup>181</sup> "Review of the Olympic Games of 1904" in *Spalding's Official Athletic Almanac for 1905: Special Olympic Number*, ed. J.E. Sullivan (New York: The American Publishing Company): 157-171.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 217-221.

<sup>183</sup> See Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, "World Champions: The 1904 Girls' Basketball Team from Fort Shaw Indian Boarding School," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 51, no. 4 (2001): 2-25.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 and 14-21.

and facile conclusions about assimilation, the exhibit fulfilled the goal of showing the benefits of physical education in teaching and improving the health of students who were not from a European-derived cultural background.<sup>185</sup>

The planners of the 1904 Olympic cultural program similarly focused on the scientific aspects of physical training with competitions, lectures, and exhibitions.<sup>186</sup> The organizers held track and field meets for US students. Through these events, the members of the organizing committee illustrated the pervasiveness of athletics in the educational system. The lecture series addressed subjects such as the construction of gymnasiums, athletic fields, and playgrounds. The 1904 cultural programs also presented information on the benefits of play and gymnastic dancing in educational settings.<sup>187</sup> YMCA representatives discussed adapting physical activity to urban life and industrial settings.<sup>188</sup> The scientific program had hundreds of exhibits from US and foreign schools, colleges, and athletic clubs that planners housed in a fully-equipped gymnasium to put on display methods of physical training.<sup>189</sup> Like the world's fair exhibitions, this program showed the scientific and educational value of sports and fulfilled the desire of the educators, political leaders, and sportsmen who wanted to spread the ideal of physical activity in daily life.

In a similar fashion to prior Games, the planners of the 1968 Cultural Olympics also had a close relationship with the World's Fair. Many Organizing Committee members designed aspects of their nation's pavilions during the 1950s and 1960s. Like the St. Louis cultural program's planners, the Mexican Organizing Committee's members drew on their experiences with the World's Fair and worked to make culture an important part of their 1968 Games by

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<sup>185</sup> Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 154-183.

<sup>186</sup> "Review of the Olympic Games of 1904," 171-173.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 217-221.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 171-173.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 171-173 and 217-219.

emphasizing the blending of the arts and science with sports. These planners also staged scientific and artistic exhibitions.<sup>190</sup>

As in St. Louis, the 1968 planners included scientific exhibitions in their cultural program. They also drew on experiences with international meetings in Mexico City to shape the events they chose—most notably the 1967 signing of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. This document made Latin America a zone free of nuclear weapons and meant that nations in the region would restrict themselves to so-called peaceful uses of the atom.<sup>191</sup> This convention and the Organizing Committee members' experiences with World Fairs gave the Cultural Olympics' scientific events an atmosphere of fair pavilions by focusing on how science could improve the average individual's life. The event called "Exhibition on the Application of Nuclear Energy for the Welfare of Mankind" emphasized alternative uses of nuclear energy such as space research, medicine, agriculture, manufacturing, food preservation, pest control, anti-pollution, and engineering.<sup>192</sup> This exhibition tied back to the Treaty of Tlatelolco in its discussion of nuclear potentials outside of a military context.

Resembling the 1904 scientific program, the planners in 1968 used the scientific exhibitions as a way to emphasize the relationship between athletics, education, and science. For the Cultural Olympics event called "The Reception Offered by Mexico's Youth to the Youth of the World," thousands of Mexican physical education students created gymnastics tableaux in

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<sup>190</sup> See Luis M. Castañeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco: Design, Media, and Politics at Mexico '68," *Grey Room* 40, no. 40 (2010): 100-126.

<sup>191</sup> For a discussion of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, see William Epstein, "The Making of the Treaty of Tlatelolco," *Journal of the History of International Law* 3, no. 2 (2001): 153-179; Davis R. Robinson, "The Treaty of Tlatelolco and the United States: A Latin American Nuclear Free Zone," *The American Journal of International Law* 64, no. 2 (1970): 282-309.

<sup>192</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 4: The Cultural Olympiad*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 661.

the host city's central plaza.<sup>193</sup> The famed Estonian choreographer, Ernst Idla, arranged the display. In a speech to Mexican educators, Idla pointed out that the display would awaken interest in physical fitness. Moreover, broadcasting the event would extend the benefit even to those who watched the spectacle on television.<sup>194</sup> The marriage of science and athletics also occurred at the event called "The Program on Human Genetics and Biology". During 1967 and 1968, scientists from Mexico, the United States, Europe, and parts of Latin America gathered in Mexico City to study athletes' genetics to isolate physiological predictors of the events where young athletes would excel.<sup>195</sup> The researchers published their findings in their professional journals.

Like the organizers in St. Louis, the members of the Organizing Committee drew on their experiences with world's fairs. The planners of "The Exhibition on the Application of Nuclear Energy for the Welfare of Mankind," "The Reception Offered by Mexico's Youth to the Youth of the World," and "The Program on Human Genetics and Biology" spread the benefits of their program by publishing or broadcasting the events. These parts of the program, like the 1904 version, worked to replicate the World's Fair atmosphere of shared scientific knowledge at the site of an international meeting. The Cultural Olympics also had similarities with the artistic program that began with the 1906 Olympic Charter.

### **The Concours d'Art in the Olympic Movement, 1906-1948**

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<sup>193</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Vol 4*, 12-18.

<sup>194</sup> Ernst Idla, "Speaking at the rally on Wednesday, July 3, 1968 in the Escuela Nacional de Educación Física, Mexico City," Gallery 7, Box 771, Folder 41-274, AGN; "Letter from Idla to the Mexican Organizing Committee," December, 1967, Gallery 7, Box 771, Folder 41-274, AGN.

<sup>195</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Vol 4*, 699-705.

The first effort to make non-athletic events an official part of the Olympic Movement occurred at the 1906 International Olympic Committee Congress in Paris, where members met to discuss the future of the movement; nevertheless, few IOC members attended the gathering because most had chosen to go to an Olympics in Athens.<sup>196</sup> By 1906, multiple sporting organizations, particularly ones from Greece, claimed to celebrate the *real* Olympics. Nationalists reasoned that as the Games' birthplace, only Greek cities should host them. In many ways, the 1908 Games-- the first after the 1906 congress-- marked the beginning of the IOC's Olympics as the version of the international sporting event with the most legitimacy.<sup>197</sup> The 1906 IOC Congress in Paris began this shift by creating a more stringent set of rules for future Games. Through this process of standardizing the Olympics, IOC members worked not only to bring together culture and sports, but also to make their Olympics different from pretender Games. During the congress, participants made a fine arts competition an official part of the Modern Games that would make the IOC's event unique among international sporting events.

For this fine arts competition called the *Concours d'Art*, Olympic nations' entrants produced sports-themed pieces in the categories of architecture, painting, sculpture, literature, and music. As a way to hold these competitions in the same esteem as sports, winners received medals just as athletes did. The sports theme allowed for bringing together the aesthetic and the athletic as founder Baron Pierre de Coubertin had desired from the beginning. Competitors in the architectural events created plans for stadiums and gymnasiums. Literary and the graphic

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<sup>196</sup> International Olympic Committee, "Overview of the content of the archives concerning the organisation, running and decisions of the Congresses between 1894 and 1981," April 15, 2011, pg. 11-12, Historical Archives Olympic Studies Center, [https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Olympic-Studies-Centre/List-of-Resources/Resources-available/Archives/EN-Olympic-Summer-Games.pdf#\\_ga=2.7839794.1602517221.1528062643-2134564011.1522715477](https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Olympic-Studies-Centre/List-of-Resources/Resources-available/Archives/EN-Olympic-Summer-Games.pdf#_ga=2.7839794.1602517221.1528062643-2134564011.1522715477).

<sup>197</sup> Rebecca Jenkins, *The First London Olympics, 1908* (London: Piatkus, 2008).

arts submission had to depict and glorify themes of sportsmanship and athletics.<sup>198</sup> Some organizing committees from 1912 to 1948 fully embraced the Concours d'Art while others expressed trepidation about the strictures placed on artists.

The Stockholm (1912) and Los Angeles (1932) Games represented both ends of the spectrum of support for the Concours d'Art. As such, their planning and celebration contain elements of the debates between embracing the art competitions and eschewing them and therefore offer useful examples for understanding the commonalities between the Concours d'Art and 1968.

All of the Olympic Concours d'Art occurred in the historical moment of the modernist debate in the art world. Members of the global arts community argued on one side for a traditionalist aesthetic and on the other for Modernism. Where traditionalists emphasized form and technique, modernists sought to use art to provide a critique of Enlightenment ideals. Traditionalists could ask artists to produce artistic pieces that faithfully glorified sport. Yet, modernists saw the fine arts competition as an opportunity to provide a critical reflection of sports such as claims about their ability to create moral populace.<sup>199</sup>

When the Swedish Olympic Committee turned to Stockholm's arts community in the process of planning the first Concours d'Art, most artists argued against the competitions for aesthetic reasons and suggested holding exhibitions. For artists in the host city, their concerns came down to the limitations of the theme of celebrating sports. The Royal Academy reasoned, for example, that this restriction required the artists who submitted paintings or sculptures to have previous knowledge of sporting technique.<sup>200</sup> Conversely, an open-themed competition

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<sup>198</sup> International Olympic Committee, "Overview of the Content," 11-12.

<sup>199</sup> Edgar, "The Aesthetics of the Olympic Art Competitions," 185.

<sup>200</sup> Swedish Olympic Committee, *The Fifth Olympiad: The Official Olympic Report*, 807.

would allow for artists from more varied backgrounds to participate. Other art organizations contended that the purpose of art had to be art and not a preselected conclusion and that a competition that required the product to reflect a particular vision of athletics defeated the core of art itself.<sup>201</sup> These organizations suggested holding an open art exhibitions. In the end, the Swedish Olympic Committee granted 5,000 francs to Baron Pierre de Coubertin to organize the competition. Meanwhile, they formed the Entertainment Committee whose members planned other fine arts events for visitors and residents of the host city.<sup>202</sup>

Rather than an art exhibition, the Entertainments Committee planned events to highlight the city's unique characteristics and to provide diversions for those who visited Stockholm during the Games.<sup>203</sup> This started with decorating the city with flowers and national flags to create a festive atmosphere. The planners noted that the Scandinavian city's long summer days made it necessary to offer public entertainment because the late hour of twilight allowed visitors to remain outside longer into the evening. The Royal Opera performed classics such as *Romeo and Juliet* and *Carmen* that even drew in the Swedish royal family. Additionally, they held a choral festival that featured 4,400 singers from all parts of the country who performed Swedish songs.<sup>204</sup> The more informal and cheaper open-air events such as marionette shows and dancing drew the largest crowds.<sup>205</sup> Thus, the 1912 Committee found its own way to provide cultural and artistic stimulus for Olympic crowds besides the artistic competitions. The planners for the Mexico City Games used the Cultural Olympics to provide similar outlets for tourists and visiting athletes.

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<sup>201</sup> Swedish Olympic Committee, *The Fifth Olympiad: The Official Olympic Report*, 806-808.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 807-808 and 825.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 825.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 825-826.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 828.

The 1968 Cultural and Artistic program's planners, like the Stockholm arts community in 1912, voiced similar concerns about the relationship art should have with the Olympic Movement. For this reason, organizers did not limit the subject of artistic submissions and worked to match the mood of the day through the events that they held. Contributions to the 1968 program could have any theme if they fell within the broad definitions of the event. For example, the choreographers' arrangements at the Cultural Olympics' inauguration had different themes: folk dances, mythology, and rites of passage. None of them solely glorified competitive athletics, as the Concours d'Art would have required.<sup>206</sup> Out of the 1968 program's twenty events, only two explicitly focused on celebrating competitive sports: "Exhibition of the History and Art of the Olympic Games" and "The Games of the XIX Olympiad in Motion Pictures and Television".<sup>207</sup> The program of that year allowed nations and citizens to celebrate the aspects of their identities and histories that represented them in each event.

The 1968 cultural program's planners also worked to weigh in on the cultural moment of the Cold War by emphasizing cooperation and exchange over competition. The host city became the cultural epicenter of 1968, and spectators gathered there both to watch athletic feats and to see influential works, artists, and performers. The 1968 planners saw the Olympics at a political crossroads and largely chose the so-called apolitical path. The selection of the slogan "All is Possible in Peace" reflected this choice. IOC Chairman Avery Brundage repeatedly emphasized throughout his career that politics had no place in sports. Instead, he argued, the Olympics should focus only on peace.<sup>208</sup> In this context, peace had the conservative IOC overtones of the Olympics' alleged ability to rise above politics. Importantly, Mexico's position as a non-aligned

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<sup>206</sup> "Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics," *Mexico 68: Olympic Newsletter*, unpaginated.

<sup>207</sup> Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, *Programa artístico y cultural*, 11.

<sup>208</sup> "Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics," *Mexico 68: Olympic Newsletter*, unpaginated.

nation helped its capital to get the Games, and Brundage enthusiastically supported the Organizing Committee from the beginning partly because of this. This did not even change after the student massacre in Mexico City weeks before the Opening Ceremony partially to uphold the false ideal of separating sports and politics.<sup>209</sup> Thus, the Organizing Committee's close relationship to the IOC in celebrating the Cultural Program contrasts with the Swedish Committee's decision not to plan their arts competition.

After 1906, art exhibitions served as a part of the aesthetic program even in places where organizing committees embraced the competitions such as at the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles. These exhibitions served as a way of making the Concours d'Art submissions available for the public to view just as they could watch athletic events. Like the athletic events of that year, the artistic exhibitions began on July 30 but lasted until the end of August.<sup>210</sup> The planners displayed 1,100 pieces from thirty-one nations—including Mexico—in the Los Angeles Museum of Art.<sup>211</sup> Oil paintings, watercolors, drawings, prints, architectural designs, models, and sculptures comprised just part of the artwork that drew a crowd of more than 384,000 visitors during August, 1932. Because the exhibition occurred along with the arts competition, all submissions focused on the theme of the celebration of sports. The Arts Committee also created posters to advertise the cultural program. The posters featured an image of Concours d'Art-winning sculpture called "Polo". The committee displayed these posters in libraries, schools, and hotels throughout Los Angeles.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> "Won't cancel Olympics," *Chicago Times*, October 4, 1968, 2.

<sup>210</sup> Xth Olympiad Committee of the Games of Los Angeles, *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932: Official Report* (Los Angeles: Wolfer Printing Company, 1932), 752.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 752-754.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 763.

The planners of the 1932 cultural program also worked to uphold the ideal of an equal promotion of art and sports. As required by the 1908 Olympic charter, the Concours d'Art had painting, architecture, sculpture, literature, and music competitions.<sup>213</sup> The judges for these events came from some of the most elite artistic circles in the world. For example, the Mexican Revolution muralist, David Alfaro Siqueiros, judged the painting competition and US playwright, Thornton Wilder, served on the literary panel.<sup>214</sup> Additionally, first, second and third place winners received medals, and the Committee announced these medalists' names in the Stadium and gave the medals to the winners' delegations since entrants did not accompany their works.<sup>215</sup> The 1932 Official Olympic Report's fine arts section included a medal count that mirrored the one for the athletic events.

Through the Concours d'Art regulations, the organizing committee treated the artistic events as the equal of the athletic competitions. All the pieces in the arts exhibition at the Los Angeles Museum of Art made up the pool of submissions. Nevertheless, the entrants into the Concours d'Art had to meet the criteria of production by only living artists, created between 1928 and 1932, have a sports-related theme, and receive the approval of the National Olympic Committee of the entrants' citizenship.<sup>216</sup> While all competitions have rules, these regulations specifically relate back to the requirements of athletes. The mandate that artists completed pieces between 1928 and 1932 attempted to mirror the ephemeral nature of a sporting competition. The rules also required entrants to submit their works through their National Olympic Committee in the same way that athletes represented countries and could not participate

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<sup>213</sup> Xth Olympiad Committee, *The Official Report*, 760.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 756 and 761.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 760 and 763.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 755.

as independent individuals. Entrants who did not meet these criteria were not eligible for medals but could still receive honorable mentions and have their works displayed in the art exhibition. In 1932, 540 contestants represented twenty-four countries in the competitions.<sup>217</sup>

Unlike at the Stockholm Games, the 1932 planners held the artistic competitions with the support of curators and artists from the United States and abroad. Nevertheless, the main critique that the Swedish artistic community voiced did not find resolution because the 1932 *Concours d'Art* still required award-winning pieces to relate to sports. Despite this, some submissions did reflect debates in the athletic world. This included submissions with depictions of athletes with dark skin.<sup>218</sup> In the second-prize winning painting called “Struggle” by Chicago native Ruth Miller, a wrestler with dark brown skin pins his lighter-skinned opponent’s hand behind his back (Appendix B: Figure 3). The wrestler with darker skin has closed eyes and a gentle look on his face, even as he holds his competitor’s face into the mat with a cupped hand. The victory of the athlete with dark brown skin goes against many eugenic notions of the time about the athletic superiority of Europeans.<sup>219</sup> Additionally, pieces such as this provide a commentary on a level of integration in sports that contrasted sharply to life in the nation of the host city.

For the 1968 Games, the planners also worked to create a festive atmosphere and promote the arts and sports equally. A diverse collection of performances and exhibits from multiple countries created a festival atmosphere for the 1968 Cultural Olympics that ranged from

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<sup>217</sup> Xth Olympiad Committee, *The Official Report*, 755.

<sup>218</sup> Ruth Miller, “Struggle,” in *The Official Report*, 755; Xth Olympiad Committee, *The Games of the Xth Olympiad*, 759.

<sup>219</sup> For a discussion of the varying approaches to eugenics in the Americas during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

a New Orleans jazz band to the Belgian Ballet.<sup>220</sup> Nevertheless, neither did the theme of the glorification of sports constrain the contributions nor did the tight definitions of fine arts categories. For the event called “Ads in the Service of Peace,” the Committee displayed depictions of the Olympic dove on banners, stickers, and billboards around the city.<sup>221</sup> Thus, as in 1932, an event from the cultural program became a way to decorate the Olympic host city. More than this, some participants in the “World Folklore Festival” event performed throughout the country in order to extend the benefits of hosting the Olympics beyond the capital city.<sup>222</sup>

The 1968 program’s planners also worked to promote sport and art equally, but they did this without relying on competitions. Where the 1932 Concours d’Art had only five events, Mexico’s had twenty-- the same number of events as the athletic program. Even though, many of the events focused on the same artistic forms as the Concours d’Art series, the less rigid rules allowed for celebrating difference. Additionally, they shared symbols with the athletic program such as a second Olympic cauldron placed outside the National Anthropological Museum to represent the cultural program. Despite this sharing, the planners did not award medals because they maintained that the importance of the cultural program was demonstrating that all cultural expression embodied similar values such as peace and fraternity.<sup>223</sup> Celebrating these values, the planners argued, defined the Games.<sup>224</sup> The 1968 Olympic Report included a participation chart similar to the medal count, and for each event that a country participated, there was an image of the Olympic dove logo in the corresponding box. Only Mexico had a dove in every one of its

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<sup>220</sup> “The Olympics: The Games Begin,” *Time*, October 18, 1968, 79.

<sup>221</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 735.

<sup>222</sup> Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, *Programa artístico y cultural*, 11.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*; Mexican Organizing Committee, Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, *Programa Cultural de los Veinte Eventos: Selected Works of World Art*, 1968, Gallery 7, Box 753, Folder 41-2, AGN.

<sup>224</sup> Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, “Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee at Opening of 67th Session of the IOC,” Oct. 7-11, 1968, Pg. 6, Box 88, Avery Brundage Collection (ABC), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

nation's boxes.<sup>225</sup> Like the cultural programs from 1912 to 1948, the planners in 1968 worked to use their cultural program to display their culture to entertain visiting crowds and to use the Games as an opportunity to provide art for the wider audience of sports enthusiasts. Additionally, they used the programs as an opportunity to comment on the state of art and politics.

### **Performances and Art Exhibitions in the Olympic Movement from 1948 to 1964**

The IOC removed the Concours d'Art from the Olympic Charter in 1949 and afterwards required host cities to hold cultural programs that emphasized performances and exhibitions rather than competitions. During this period after 1948, many organizing committees still held artistic competitions, but the winners no longer received Olympic medals. Partially, this change related to the addition of many new members to the Olympic Movement after World War II. Many of these new nations had not existed before 1939 such as the Soviet Bloc countries who sent their first delegations of athletes in 1948. Despite the steady growth of the Olympic Movement until World War I, it grew exponentially after that. It took twenty-four years to go from 15 participating nations at the 1896 Games to 29 at the 1920 Games. Nevertheless, between 1936 and 1948, the number jumped from 49 to 59. By 1968, 112 countries had recognition as Olympic members. This led to new debates on issues including amateurism.

New member nations did not always share the IOC's assumptions about amateurism and the separation of the body and the mind.<sup>226</sup> Notably, European communist thinkers saw the

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<sup>225</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 758-763.

<sup>226</sup> See James Riordan, "Differing Perceptions of Sport and Politics in East and West," in *Sport, Politics and Communism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 9-15; For a discussion of the ways that communist nations understood sport, see Matthew J. Noyes, "Hardball Diplomacy and Ping-Pong Politics: Cuban Baseball, Chinese Table Tennis, and the Diplomatic Use of Sport During the Cold War," *Masters These 1911-February 2014*

body and mind as one and that the development of one meant the development of the other. Typically, they also did not believe in the ideal that sports should be apolitical; therefore, they tended not to see a conflict with using sports for overt political gains. Additionally, they did not make a distinction between amateur and professional athletes. Soviet participation meant a professionalization of athletics even if unofficially.<sup>227</sup> The United States' government responded by using the NCAA and ROTC to funnel government money into college sports and support training potential Olympic athletes.<sup>228</sup> In the years after World War II, many came to accept sports as an entity in itself worthy of celebration. Not only did a new appreciation for sports hurt the future of the Concours d'Art, but debates about amateurism also contributed to their end.

Unlike athletes, medal-award winning competitors in the Concours d'Art could sell the products of their labors. In light of increasing scrutiny about amateurism, the demarcation between professional artists and unpaid athletes appeared even more contradictory. The IOC laid out the organization's policies on amateurism in a 1950 pamphlet that included an 1894 letter by Baron Pierre de Coubertin to amateur sporting organizations where he argued that the leaders of the sporting world should exemplify Ancient Greeks and aim to use sports for educational purposes. Otherwise, Coubertin argued in the letter, Olympic athletes would become nothing more than paid gladiators.<sup>229</sup> By employing this letter, the IOC legitimized its position with the founder's words and the Ancient Greeks in whose name the athletes competed. In this

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(2004); Riordan, *Sports, Politics, and Communism*; Wolf Kramer-Mandau, "Our Young People are not to Participate in Sports Merely as Spectators but as Protagonists: Sports in Nicaragua in the Times of the Revolution," *Physical Education Review* 15, no. 2 (1992): 133-147; Trevor Slack and David Whitson, "The Place of Sport in Cuba's Foreign Relations," *International Journal* 43, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988): 596-617.

<sup>227</sup> Don Anthony, introduction to *Sport, Politics and Communism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 9.

<sup>228</sup> Jeffrey Montez de Oca, "The 'muscle gap': Physical Education and US fears of a Depleted Masculinity, 1954-1963," in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds. Stephen Wagg and David L. Andrews (New York: Routledge, 2007), 123-148.

<sup>229</sup> International Olympic Committee, *The International Olympic Committee and the Modern Games* (1950), 25, <https://library.olympic.org>.

document, the IOC also replaced the requirement for host cities to hold a Concours d'Art.<sup>230</sup>

Moreover, they justified keeping artistic events to fulfill Coubertin's claim that they would "ennoble sports."<sup>231</sup> The cultural events and amateurism thus became the ways to preserve the alleged purity of sports from professionalism.

Not required to hold international competitions, some host cities between 1952 and 1964 held programs that both had a more nationalistic character and varying numbers of competitions. In Helsinki (1952), Melbourne (1956), and Rome (1960), the programs included competitions that awarded commemorative medals. The Melbourne (1956) and Rome (1960) programs had both national and international aspects. The Helsinki (1952) program offered an international exhibition with some competitions while Tokyo staged a completely national festival without competitions. Melbourne and Tokyo—the first two Olympic venues outside of Europe and the United States represented the ever-reaching spread of the Olympic Movement. Moreover, their planners' had opposite approaches to the 1968 Organizing Committee with the Cultural Olympics. They therefore provide useful examples of artistic events in the Games that immediately preceded the 1968 Cultural Olympics.

The planners of the Melbourne Olympics took up the amended mandate for a cultural and artistic program by holding only one competition with exhibitions' making up the bulk of their program, but they lost the international aspect that exemplified the Concours d'Art. The Melbourne program included architecture, painting, literature, theater, and music; nevertheless,

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<sup>230</sup> International Olympic Committee, *The International Olympic Committee and the Modern Games* (1950), 9-10.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

Australians made up most of the performers and artistic producers.<sup>232</sup> The Committee held a competition for composing the Olympic Hymn as had the planners of the cultural program in Helsinki in 1952. Winners in Helsinki and Melbourne's competitions did not receive Olympic medals as they had in the Concours d'Art. Instead, they received commemorative medals that did not count toward their nations' official medal count. Polish-born Parisian, Michal Spisak, won the commemorative medal in 1956 for his Olympic hymn.<sup>233</sup> Despite this international aspect, the Australian cultural program had a primarily national character.

The planners displayed their nation's artistic contributions and held performances at venues throughout the city. These sections consisted primarily of fine arts performed and undertaken by Australian participants. According to the 1956 Olympic Report, the program allowed for displaying the nation's contributions to the arts.<sup>234</sup> Ingenious sites and performances drew in large audiences. Physically bringing together art and sports, one concert performance took place on a concert stage constructed over a diving pool.<sup>235</sup> Puppet shows attracted large crowds. On the other hand, the symphony orchestra's performances to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of Mozart's birth played to smaller audiences. As a whole, this program showed the artistic atmosphere of Melbourne that the Australian Olympic Committee shared with tourists.

In contrast, the 1968 Organizing Committee also designed the program to celebrate Mexican artists along with masters of culture from other countries. In 1956, the cultural events almost exclusively featured Western European art forms performed by Australians. Thus, the

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<sup>232</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XVI Olympiad, Melbourne, 1956, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVI Olympiad Melbourne 1956* (Melbourne: W.M. Houston, Government Printer, 1958), 194.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

program achieved a cosmopolitan air with a national touch. In 1968, the Organizing Committee accomplished the same by inviting nations to send representations of their own countries. For example, the Australian section in the Cultural Olympics event called “The Ballet of the Five Continents” focused on a piece inspired by aboriginal culture. The dance combined the cosmopolitan aspect of the ballet with the national difference of aboriginal culture.<sup>236</sup>

Additionally, for the “International Reunion of Poets” and the “International Meeting of Sculptors,” foreign masters participated alongside well-known Mexican producers. In this way, international participation happened in a celebratory environment rather than one of competition.

Taking a different approach than the Melbourne program, the planners for Tokyo focused on the unique aspects of Japanese culture. The organizing committee that year decided to focus on traditional Japanese artwork and did not request participation from other nations.<sup>237</sup> Echoing the sentiment of the Melbourne planners, they also separated the cultural program from the athletic one with none of the fine arts events’ having a sports theme. Additionally, they focused on contributions by Japanese masters to the creation of art and culture. Artists performed literary, musical, and dance forms whose origins the planners traced back to Japan. The program included Kabuki and Noh Theater and Bunraku puppet shows that the planners described as some of the oldest Japanese art forms.<sup>238</sup> Thus, the organizers emphasized the antiquity of their national identity.

Despite emphasizing traditional Japanese culture, some aspects of the aesthetic program spoke to more cosmopolitan and modern aspects of Tokyo. For example, the program included

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<sup>236</sup> Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes and Organizing Committee of the XIX Olympiad, *Programa Cultural de la XIX Olimpiada: Ballet of the Five Continents* (Mexico City: Miguel Galas, 1968), unpaginated.

<sup>237</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XVIII Olympiad, *Tokyo 1964: Official Report, Volume 1*, (Tokyo: Kyodo Printing, 1966), 269.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 270 and 272.

the “Monument of Art Exhibition”: a 13-meter high monument with the red circle of the Japanese sun set above the Olympic rings. The monument stood in the entrance of Ueno Park, the venue that served as the center of the Art Exhibitions.<sup>239</sup> Additionally, the organizers held an Exhibition of Sport Philately, or stamp exhibit, that displayed Japanese postage stamps including sports-themed ones from earlier periods.<sup>240</sup> In many ways, the Tokyo Games aesthetic events succeeded in presenting Japanese culture. They also accomplished an appreciation of art on its own terms and not just as it related back to sports. Nevertheless, the 1968 program expanded on Tokyo’s undertakings by not only focusing on art for its own sake, but also bringing in an international aspect.

The Cultural Olympics had similarities to the 1964 artistic program in that it also focused on nationalistic aspects of culture. Nonetheless, the Cultural Olympics included representations from participating nations. This was one of the biggest departures from the cultural program in Tokyo. The 1968 Organizing Committee also planned events other than fine arts’ forms that came from Western Europe. For example, the Cultural Olympics event called the “Arrival of the Olympic Flame at Teotihuacan” featured a light show with three thousand dancers performing the pre-Hispanic ceremony called “New Fire” at the ancient pyramids.<sup>241</sup> Moreover, in some cases, the hosts invited other nations to show off their own national cultures. The Japanese section of the “International Festival of the Arts,” for instance, included the same Noh and Kyogen dance forms as the 1964 program.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XVIII Olympiad, 1964: *Official Report*, 271.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>241</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 626-633.

<sup>242</sup> Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes and the Organizing Committee of the XIX Olympiad *Programa Cultural de la XIX Olimpiada: Noh and Kyogen Theater* (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1968): unpaginated.

The Cultural Olympics also included two of the events from the Tokyo program: monument building and the exhibit of stamps. While the 1964 program had one monument that the planners featured outside the building that housed the art exhibitions, the 1968 event called the “Meeting of Sculptors” had participants from seventeen different countries produce nineteen monuments that city planners positioned along a seventeen-kilometer (10.5 mile) stretch of highway, known as the “Route of Friendship”.<sup>243</sup> The sculptures became iconic and remain in the city even to the present day. Similarly, the stamp exhibition became the “International Olympic Philatelic Exhibition” and displayed the stamps produced by all participating nations during the history of Modern Games.<sup>244</sup> Thus, it told the story of the host city in the Games in an international context.

The planners in 1968 both drew inspiration from 1952 and 1964 provided many new elements that had not been part of the cultural programs of those years. This included providing the opportunity for an international group of participants to create and perform in Mexican art forms. Additionally, inviting artists and performers to come to Mexico City brought back the international aspects that the Melbourne and Tokyo programs lost in their emphasis on national culture. Nevertheless, the 1968 planners’ contributions to the Olympic Movement went beyond adding new elements and incorporated aspects that provided innovations to the cultural program.

### **Innovations in the Cultural and Artistic Program: The 1968 Cultural Olympics**

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<sup>243</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 357.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 637.

In Baden-Baden, Germany, in 1963, Mexico City became the first Latin American and Spanish-speaking city to win an Olympic bid. After the selection of architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez as the president of the Mexican Organizing Committee, the 1968 Olympics took on a character distinct from previous Games as he asserted that Mexico would deliver all of the splendor that the event warranted, but on the country's own terms.<sup>245</sup> The Cultural Olympics became a key to this goal. Despite the borrowing and renovating of older traditions, the 1968 program's planners provided their own innovations to the events including widening the program. The main innovation revolved around expanding the definitions of not only culture but also the Games. In both cases, 1968 Organizing Committee worked to make a place for nations like Mexico in the Olympic Movement.

Unlike previous manifestations, the 1968 version put scientific and artistic exhibitions and performances into the same program. This central management of the non-athletic events simplified planning and defined culture as something that went beyond the fine arts and included scientific research.<sup>246</sup> This definition of national identity better fit with the one displayed at the World's Fair. Moreover, with science as culture, it became easier to argue for treating this research as a site of exchange by pulling it from the realm of competitions such as the space race and stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Culture also offered every nation an opportunity to excel whether in dance, monument building, or research.<sup>247</sup> Additionally, Olympic athletes and spectators could get satisfaction both from their nations' performance on the sports field and at the Cultural Olympiad.<sup>248</sup> Thus, the program provided a space of equality in the unequal

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<sup>245</sup> See Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico*; Rodríguez Kuri, "Hacia México '68," 37-73; Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World*; Zolov, "'Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow,'" 159-188.

<sup>246</sup> Comité organizador de los juegos de la XIX olimpiada, *Programa artístico y cultural*, 7.

<sup>247</sup> Ramírez Vázquez, "Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee," 4-5, ABC.

<sup>248</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 51.

atmosphere of the Games. As Organizing Committee President Pedro Ramírez Vázquez explained, Mexico was a youthful nation with deep roots. Therefore, he argued, the Mexican citizenry especially understood that a lack of prowess in science, technology, or sports did not mean that other youthful nations did not have other accomplishments to celebrate.<sup>249</sup>

Organizers argued that a single program allowed them to create an environment of equality and peace in art as well, with the international venue as a space for young Mexicans, athletes, and tourists to meet and learn about artistic traditions. The performances and exhibits also created opportunities for understanding that, the organizers noted, could serve as the basis for peace in future generations.<sup>250</sup> Additionally, with broadcasting, the 1968 Games had the potential to reach an even larger audience of those who could not go to Mexico City. This ability to advertise their message of peace to the world showed the widening stretch of the Olympic Movement.<sup>251</sup> Thus, despite the high costs that the Organizing Committee had spent to host the Games, the benefits would be to all the societies of the world. This applied to those who went to Mexico City in 1968 and those who saw the events on television or in the Olympic newsletters.<sup>252</sup>

An amended understanding of the Olympics as more than the celebration of sports offers another example of innovation in the 1968 cultural program. From 1896 to 1964, organizing committees defined the Olympics as a celebration of sports whose rotation from city to city allowed for the opportunity of spreading the sporting movement. Thus, the non-athletic events had to glorify sports or focus on the specific character of the host city. On the other hand, the

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<sup>249</sup> Ramírez Vázquez, "Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee," 6, ABC.

<sup>250</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 661.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 732

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

Mexican Organizing Committee made the case for appreciating the cultural program on its own terms. They did this by redefining the meaning of the Olympics as primarily an international meeting of young people. As Organizing Committee president Pedro Ramírez Vázquez explained, the Committee saw them as the opportunity to bring young people into the task of uniting the peoples of the world by focusing on commonalities instead of differences.<sup>253</sup> In this environment, the 1968 Organizing Committee made a blending of arts and science with sport in a spirit of fraternity and peace the central theme of their program.<sup>254</sup>

### **Concluding Remarks:**

The Victorian ideal of developing the body and mind led to organizers' inclusion of art and culture in the Olympic Movement. Nevertheless, the Cold War meant a new emphasis on both athletes and the ideologies that their successes served to support. The members of the Mexican Organizing Committee offered another way to bring culture into sports. President of the Organizing Committee, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, argued that the cultural program provided the only place where nations would not rank one another. Although the 1968 Cultural Olympics had many similar elements to previous cultural programs, it also had original aspects. First, the program spoke to the planners' experiences with the World's Fair. The organizing committee also worked to blend sports and culture similarly to the planners of programs from 1912 to 1948. Secondly, the Cultural Olympics' planners created a program reintroduced international participation that had epitomized the Concours d'Art while still celebrating national difference. Another innovative contribution of the 1968 organizing committee was in redefining the

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<sup>253</sup> Ramírez Vázquez, "Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee," 1, ABC.

<sup>254</sup> Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, *Programa artístico*, 3.

Olympic Movement as more than a celebration of sports. In all of their efforts, the members of the Organizing Committee worked to create a space for all nations regardless of ideology and stage of development.

The members of the Cultural and Artistic Program's subcommittee shaped events in ways that reflected their visions of the nation's most important characteristics. Most of these members had worked as architects and educators. The architects had designed their nation's World's Fair pavilions in the years after World War II. Additionally, they had created the plans for many of the buildings that exemplified the capital city during the Mexican Miracle.<sup>255</sup> The educators on the subcommittee had spent their careers spreading the benefits of education to the young residents in Mexico City. Like the architects, they had experience presenting their nation's advancements on an international stage. Educators, for their part, had presented at UNESCO and UN congresses.<sup>256</sup> In their planning and management of the program, subcommittee members used their experiences of showcasing the products of the Mexican Revolution.

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<sup>255</sup> See Luis M. Castañeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco," 100-126; Rodríguez Kuri, "Hacia México '68," 37-73.

<sup>256</sup> See Eileen Mary Ford, "Children of the Mexican Miracle: Childhood and Modernity in Mexico City, 1940-1968," (ProQuest Dissertation Publishing, 2008); Patience Schell, *Church and State Education in Revolutionary Mexico City* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2003).

## **The Children of the Cosmic Race Celebrate the XIX Olympiad: Planners and Participants of the 1968 Cultural Program**

The October 22, 1966 International Olympic Committee (IOC) executive board meeting in Mexico City began with words from IOC Chairman, Avery Brundage, and President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. Both of them asserted their faith in the Organizing Committee's ability to fulfill all of the necessary tasks for a successful celebration of the XIX Olympics.<sup>257</sup> As both Brundage and Díaz Ordaz noted in their speeches that day, the Olympics had become a spending contest--a pattern that the 1968 Games could end.<sup>258</sup> Brundage argued that while the 1964 Games in Tokyo had reputedly cost their organizing committee three billion dollars, he believed that he had witnessed one of the most beautiful and best remembered Games in 1952 in Helsinki--a city with 350,000 residents within a country of four million people.<sup>259</sup> More than this, the country had endured so much warfare in the years leading up to 1952 that they did not have any extra money to spend on staging the Olympics that year.<sup>260</sup> The hosts for 1968, Brundage urged, should not try to recreate the Games of previous years but instead do it in a way that dutifully remained true to their own character and sensibilities.<sup>261</sup> Brundage concluded by saying that he had had the chance to meet with the Organizing Committee President, architect Pedro Ramírez

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<sup>257</sup> "El señor presidente de la república Licenciado Don Gustavo Díaz Ordaz concediera a los honorables miembros del Comité olímpico internacional, el viernes 2 (sic) de octubre de 1966," October 22, 1966, Pg. 1-8, Box 85, "IOC Meetings--Executive Board, Mexico--October 22, 1966," Avery Brundage Collection (ABC), University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., 1-3.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

Vázquez who appeared to have a firm grasp on the Olympic philosophy and thus all the IOC members could rest assured that everything would happen according to plan.<sup>262</sup>

President Díaz Ordaz, who spoke next, also ensured the IOC that under Pedro Ramírez Vázquez's guidance, the Games would not only proceed smoothly, but also in a way that remained true to their values and priorities.<sup>263</sup> The president echoed Brundage's assertion that spending excessive amounts of money would not make for a successful celebration. Instead, he maintained, the Organizing Committee would focus on the Olympics' main purpose of providing a venue where young people could compete and improve their physical and moral standards.<sup>264</sup> Thus, the president explained, whenever possible, expenditures would go towards creating facilities and programs that would give young people opportunities to develop their physical fitness and chances to build camaraderie.<sup>265</sup> Díaz Ordaz asserted that because of Ramírez Vázquez's experience and technical background, he could best take on the challenge. This experience included his work as the designer of World's Fair pavilions in the 1950s and 1960s as well as Mexico City landmarks such as the National Museum of Anthropology and the Aztec Stadium.<sup>266</sup> As the head architect, Ramírez Vázquez had had to coordinate the many groups of workers who transformed his ideas into two of the most iconic buildings in the capital city.<sup>267</sup> This level of organizational skills would thus serve him well in bringing together the many subcommittees who would all have to collaborate in order to stage the Games.

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<sup>262</sup> "Díaz Ordaz concediera a los honorables miembros del Comité olímpico internacional," 2, ABC.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 1-4.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>266</sup> "Datos biográficos de funcionarios del Comité organizador de los Juegos de la XIX olimpiada," 1968, Pg. 1, Record Series DAC, Folder 57-1 (4a Parte)--1968--Juegos Olimpicos, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SRE), Mexico City, Mexico.

<sup>267</sup> "Díaz Ordaz concediera a los honorables miembros del Comité olímpico internacional," 6, ABC.

When Ramírez Vázquez gave his report on the preparations that he and the Organizing Committee had put into place for the Games, he emphasized that he believed that the objectives of Olympic meetings transcended athletic competition. He argued that they included creating an occasion where young people could come together in an environment of mutual knowledge, goodwill, and friendship that had the potential to unite the peoples of the world and make them believe in the equality of all humans. He further noted that he saw this objective as coinciding with his fellow citizens' desire that the world's nations live in peace.<sup>268</sup> A cultural presence at the Games served as the way to create this peaceful and fraternal atmosphere. In his plan for the cultural program, he requested that all National Olympic Committees send along with their athletic delegations two works of art -- one that represented their pasts and a contemporary piece.<sup>269</sup> The contributions, he explained, would make up exhibition that would create a universal view of art. More than exhibitions, the program would include international meetings of sculptors, dancers, and scientists, not to mention the traditional exhibitions of stamps, photography, and the art and history of the Games.<sup>270</sup>

Ramírez Vázquez's vision for the Cultural Olympics fulfilled the two goals that Brundage and Díaz Ordaz had laid out: it did not require spending large amounts of money, and they allowed the Organizing Committee to make their mark on the Games. Although this speech occurred a little over a year before the Cultural Olympics' inauguration, the majority of the plan that Ramírez Vázquez put forth occurred as outlined at the IOC meeting that afternoon in 1966. The essence of his proposal that emphasized a bringing together of the traditional and modern

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<sup>268</sup> Organizing Committee for the XIX Olympic Games, "Report presented by Mr. Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, Chairman of the Organizing Committee, to the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee in Mexico City," October 22, 1966, Pg. 2, Box 85, "IOC Meetings--Executive Board, Mexico--October 22, 1966," ABC.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

remained the centerpiece of the project as a whole. He articulated this theme in his request from nations for a piece of traditional and of modern art as well as his discussion of connecting the traditional Olympic athletic competitions with the modern interpretation of the Games as essentially the meeting of young people. Finally, in giving a nod to past artistic programs, he noted that the 1968 Cultural Olympics would include both traditional events and modern additions. In sum, the plan fit into Ramírez Vázquez's vision of his nation that he had put forth during his time designing World's Fair pavilions. As a *New York Times* article on the architect's life and career explained, he marketed his country as one that had achieved industrial modernity while remaining true to its ancient roots.<sup>271</sup> Essentially, the country while developing an international presence in the fields of industrialization, it had deep cultural roots such as a commitment to peace.

This conception of the country as a youthful nation with deep cultural roots did not begin with Ramírez Vázquez's work on pavilions; nevertheless, the idea permeated intellectual thought in the years leading up to and after the signing of the 1917 Constitution, during the era when Ramírez Vázquez was born, educated, and began his career. Moreover, it became the cornerstone for many of the institutions he utilized for planning the 1968 Olympics. This included the Secretariat of Public Education and the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature as well as numerous government entities, schools, universities, museums, art galleries, businesses, and dance companies in the host city and throughout the country.<sup>272</sup> Evidence of this comes not only from the quantity of correspondence between these organizations and the Organizing Committee, but also from the number of planners who had received training or

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<sup>271</sup> Sam Dillon, "Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, Architect Is Dead at 94," *New York Times*, April 17, 2013: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/18/arts/design/pedro-ramirez-vazquez-mexican-architect-dies-at-94.html>.

<sup>272</sup> Organizing Committee for the XIX Olympic Games, "Report presented by Mr. Pedro Ramírez Vázquez," 4, ABC.

employment from them. Moreover, Ramírez Vázquez and most of the planners from the Organizing Committee had come of age after 1917, and thus had grown up in a society that espoused the values of cultural blending as a mark of modernity. In essence, they were the children of the cosmic race. Moreover, they used the Olympics to put on display this conception of their national identity.

The subcommittee members' multiplicity of backgrounds influenced the planning of the Games and requires an examination these individuals, their training, and their professional projects and affiliations. This approach demonstrates the many ways that the planners in 1968 drew on existing institutions, and it demonstrates the goal to show off the product of the Revolution: a modern nation with both an appreciation of international trends and a focus on nationally-specific forms. Throughout the period after 1917, pavilion and host city planners in Mexico, like their counterparts around the world, used the opportunity of international events to put on display an idealized version of urban spaces, architecture, and cultural identities. In these pavilions and host cities, planners did not include the aspects of lived experiences that deviated from the larger message. Over time, the repeated message that pavilions provided had the opportunity to become the cornerstones of national identity, but there was no way to predict the parts their fellow citizens would accept or how components would change when adopted by the population at large. Additionally, the transition from the sterility of a pavilion or experience as a host city to the realities of life also tended to change the message as individuals and institutions took the parts that they found most useful and that best fit with their sensibilities.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> See Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fair: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

The professional backgrounds of Organizing Committee including their experiences with World's Fairs and their participation in international movements in education, science and the arts provides an opportunity to consider why organizers drew on the symbols and narratives they chose when organizing the 1968 Games.<sup>274</sup> Moreover, since the majority of Cultural Olympics' planners came from the generation born just before or during the Revolution, this offers a way to look at the long-lasting nature of post-1917 messages about national identity. The pervasiveness of this message went beyond the ways that the planners chose events and venues and included the participants they chose to participate in the program.

While previous works have considered the 1968 planners and participants, because of their focus on the athletic events, they have tended to do research on Pedro Ramírez Vázquez and figures such as torchbearer Norma Enriqueta Basilio.<sup>275</sup> Focusing on the cultural events allows for demonstrating a depth of leadership and planning on the part of Ramírez Vázquez; moreover, it allows for expanding on the individuals who brought life to his vision. While made up of architects like Ramírez Vázquez, the Organizing Committee also had members with training and experience as educators, artists, and scientists. Additionally, focusing on the cultural program brings young people who worked with the Organizing Committee into the narrative. Young people had an important part in the image of development that planners put forward, but with the exception of athletes such as Basilio, most historical works on them focus

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<sup>274</sup> Luis M. Castañeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco: Design, Media, and Politics at Mexico '68," *Grey Room* 40, no. 40 (2010): 100-126.

<sup>275</sup> Celeste González de Bustamante, "1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmares: Imagining and Imaging Modernity on Television" *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 26, no. 1 (2010): 21-22; Kevin B. Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympic Games* (Decatur: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014).

on protestors.<sup>276</sup> The cultural events, on the other hand, provide a wider net of young Mexicans to include those whom planners offered up as the image of their youthful nation.

### **The Cosmic Race: The People of the Future**

Educator, intellectual, and politician, José Vasconcelos, probably best expressed the dualism of his country in his 1925 work *La Raza Cósmica (The Cosmic Race)*, where he put forth his definition of the term. Vasconcelos estimated that the processes of industrialization, colonization, and the populating of the Americas by peoples from Europe, Africa, and Asia had put into motion a sequence of interactions that would make intermarriage between the races more likely. The future, he speculated, would not belong to the Nordic or Germanic groups as white British, German, and US eugenicists of the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries speculated. This distinction would go to the products of intermarriage because all races had something to offer, and through the process of natural selection, the children of interracial unions would benefit from the best that all the peoples of the world had to offer. Because of the history of intermarriage between Spaniards and the indigenous peoples of the Americas, Latin America had already started this process. As Vasconcelos explained, all peoples would eventually converge into a race of the future that held within it all the best parts of the others.<sup>277</sup>

Vasconcelos's conception of the cosmic race-- as represented by mestizos-- did not occur in an intellectual vacuum; instead, his work reflected other formulations in Latin America and

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<sup>276</sup> See Elaine Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices: Gender, Power and Terror in 1968 Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, "Los primeros días. Una explicación de los orígenes inmediatos del movimiento estudiantil de 1968," *Historia Mexicana* 53, no. 1 (2003): 179-228; Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

<sup>277</sup> José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: A Bilingual Edition*, trans. Didier T. Jaen (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1997), 40.

Western Europe on race and culture. In his 1900 essay, *Ariel*, Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó noted that many characteristics separated Latin Americans from their North American counterparts including their appreciation of beauty and the liberal arts.<sup>278</sup> Thus, Rodó too considered the peoples from Spain's former colonies in the Americas as distinct and in some fields worthy of emulation by those from the United States who favored utilitarian education and pursuits.<sup>279</sup> Vasconcelos's definition of the cosmic race also did not differ radically from racial thought -- particularly social Darwinism-- in Western Europe and the United States from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. In both cases, proponents emphasized a dual approach for the future of nations: racial improvement and racial preservation. As noted in the previous chapter, Western European and US intellectuals focused their concerns on improvement on making stronger bodies through athletics. Additionally, they sought to make education into a vehicle for social mobility. Those with these anxieties about the future of races paid special attention to Europeans and white Americans reared in overseas colonies and expressed their fears that tropical climates had deleterious effects on health and intellect.<sup>280</sup> Therefore, racial preservation had both a hereditary and cultural aspect. From the perspective of heredity, preservation meant ensuring that only those with the best pedigrees reproduced-- including those with the best work ethic, the most success, and the strongest bodies. Culturally, this meant providing proper education and training in preparation for the future.

Vasconcelos was not alone in his work to redefine racial improvement and preservation among peoples and nations shut out of early-twentieth century Eurocentric ideas related to social

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<sup>278</sup> See José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel*, trans. FJ Stimson, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922).

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>280</sup> See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1884-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2001).

Darwinism. In the US, during the early twentieth century, African-American intellectual, WEB DuBois conceived of a group he called the “Talented Tenth” who achieved success in education and profession despite economic and social barriers. He argued that not all African Americans could achieve success because slavery and racial violence had led to a reverse of natural selection that propped up the weakest and killed off those who did not conform -- the most intelligent. Nevertheless, racial improvement would come if the most able received proper education and could inspire others of African descent to work toward similar uplift.<sup>281</sup>

In 1930s and 1940s Brazil, anthropologist Gilberto Freyre focused on the products of unions on sugar plantations between white planters and black slaves-- mulattos. Preservation came in Freyre’s argument that the long history of miscegenation had created more harmonious relations between black and white Brazilians than existed in the racially divided United States. Thus, Brazilians should continue this type of relationship. With regards to racial improvement, Freyre maintained that many of Brazilians’ characteristics that Social Darwinists blamed on a lack of a pure European heritage actually went back to the legacy of the monocrop plantation system that gave birth to a mulatto population. This included a shortage of fresh food since planters devoted much of the land to sugarcane and coffee, and malnutrition could explain physical characteristics such as short stature.<sup>282</sup>

Even prior to Vasconcelos’s 1925 publication of *The Cosmic Race*, many parts of life had undergone a process of cultural blending. His role as the minister of public education from 1921 to 1924 did much to influence understandings of national identity; nevertheless, the general public did not take on his ideas wholesale without alterations. In particular, Vasconcelos put the

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<sup>281</sup> See WEB DuBois, *The Talented Tenth* (New York: James Pott and Company, 1903).

<sup>282</sup> See Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, trans. Samuel Putnam (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956).

idea of a mestizo nation at the center of the historical biological process of the cosmic race, and mestizos -- those of European and indigenous descent-- became the new faces of the nation. While mestizos carried with their heredity the indigenous footprint of the nation, Vasconcelos anticipated that by bringing indigenous community members into the larger society, they would disappear altogether within a matter of generations.<sup>283</sup> His educational plans called for bringing European culture into the lives of students of indigenous descent. Teaching the Spanish language and the Classics became the focus of racial improvement in Vasconcelos's Secretariat of Public Education.<sup>284</sup> At the same time, he sent ethnographers to the countryside where indigenous groups lived in order to collect information on their languages, diet, dances, clothing, celebrations, and music. These photographs and recordings made their way back to the cities where they got absorbed into national culture. Thus, the process of making rural groups more culturally European also had the reverse effect of making urban European-descended Mexicans more culturally indigenous.<sup>285</sup> In a similar way that World's Fair pavilions' messages became distilled and transformed when they met the sensibilities of the general population, Vasconcelos's conception of the cosmic race underwent a similar process of retrofitting.

The conception of the cosmic race in its various forms became an integral part of architecture, education, the arts, and science in the nation-- especially after the 1920s when most of the Organizing Committee's planners received their educations and early professional training. Thus, although most have understood the planning of the 1968 Olympics as the conception of Committee president, Ramírez Vázquez and the national government, the singularity of the vision might also come have from the institutions and individuals that

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<sup>283</sup> William H. Beezley, "Creating a Revolutionary Culture: Vasconcelos, Indians, Anthropologists, and Calendar Girls," *A Companion to Mexican History and Culture* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 422-423.

<sup>284</sup> Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race*, xiv.

<sup>285</sup> Beezley, "Creating a Revolutionary Culture," 420-435.

coordinators came into contact with prior to 1968. Their training and careers came largely in the form of communicating national values and culture both within the country and on an international stage. These multivalent conversations came to define the cosmic race as one that worked to blend the colonial Spanish culture and ideas from Western Europe and the United States with indigenous culture. Additionally, especially in the capital, many understood this blending as harmonious while ignoring the social strife that persisted between members of indigenous communities and the government.<sup>286</sup>

### **Designing the Host City: Architecture and Public Works**

The conception of Mexico as a mestizo nation pervaded national thought from the 1920s through the 1960s-- arguably continuing to the present day. In architecture and public works projects, the idea of blending Western European and indigenous influence appeared both in subject matter and in design. During the 1920s and 1930s, this took the shape of public art projects such as the murals that came to accent government buildings, for example Diego Rivera's in the Secretariat of Public Education building.<sup>287</sup> These images bring together modernity and tradition in style and subject with the cosmopolitan art deco style to depict national history and concerns. In other murals, Rivera espouses the global ideals of socialism with depictions of workers with dark skin and in nationally-specific dress such as sombreros.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Alexander S. Dawson, *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico* (University of Arizona Press, 2004); Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1997).

<sup>287</sup> David Craven, *Diego Rivera as Epic Modernist* (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1997): 53-101.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-93.

In the 1940s and 1950s, architecture and works of public art also communicated ideas about national identity and culture. Architects such as Mario Pani and Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, adopted the blend of the modernism and tradition that characterized the works of muralists in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>289</sup> Pani designed some of the most iconic buildings in the capital including the apartment complexes in the Mexico City neighborhood of Nonoalco-Tlatelolco and University City-- the centralized campus of the National University.<sup>290</sup> Pani and Ramírez Vázquez's designs mirrored many of the design choices in 1968 down to the Olympic "Mexico '68" symbol that incorporated art from the Huichol, an indigenous group from the Sierra Madre Occidental mountain range, and the cosmopolitan psychedelic art design of the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>291</sup>

Many of architects and artists who worked on the 1968 cultural program had put their mark on the host city as they had World's Fair pavilions. For example, architect Oscar Urrutia, who had worked with Ramírez Vázquez on pavilions in 1958, 1960, and 1961, acted as General Coordinator of the Cultural Program. His projects in the 1950s and 1960s included apartment and office buildings in Mexico City.<sup>292</sup> Individuals like Urrutia show the pervasiveness of the connections of the organizers for the Cultural Olympics. Moreover, some of the events that they chose represented these long-standing ties as well as their visions for the future of the capital city.

The event called the "International Meeting of Sculptors" serves as an example of the union between past public art projects and city planning experience with the 1968 Cultural Olympics. For this event, artists from seventeen countries created nineteen monument-sized

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<sup>289</sup> Castañeda, "Beyond Tlatelolco," 102 and 115.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., 102 and 115.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., 111; Sam Dillon, "Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, Architect Is Dead at 94," *New York Times*, April 17, 2013 <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/18/arts/design/pedro-ramirez-vazquez-mexican-architect-dies-at-94.html>;

<sup>292</sup> "CV for Oscar Urrutia," Gallery 7, Box 760, Folder 41-67, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN).

sculptures that city planners positioned along the seventeen-kilometer (10.5 mile) stretch of highway named “The Route of Friendship” that connected the sports installations. Choosing the monuments, Ramírez Vázquez and event coordinator, Mathias Goeritz, headed a group of architects who served as the first level of juries with the decision for final selections done by a panel of local and international architects and art critics, as well as members of the Organizing Committee.<sup>293</sup> Like other coordinators, Mathias Goeritz’s planning of a Cultural Olympics event came at the end of a distinguished career.

Born in Germany in the 1910s, Goeritz, the coordinator of the “International Meeting of Sculptors,” immigrated to Mexico from Spain in 1949 to teach at the School of Architecture at the University of Jalisco.<sup>294</sup> His work influenced a generation of architects, and in return, living in Mexico made an impact on his own career as he expanded his artistic specialty from painting into sculpture, drawing inspiration from ancient national culture.<sup>295</sup> Nevertheless, Mexican painters such as Diego Rivera criticized Goeritz’s first forays into sculpture and claimed that he would corrupt young artists even going as far as to call the artist a Nazi.<sup>296</sup> Since he lacked the engineering background for realizing his monument-sized sculptural projects, Goeritz relied on architects to create plans for his designs, and from this network with individuals like Diego Rivera’s daughter, Ruth Rivera, he found support for his work.<sup>297</sup> In fact, by the mid-1950s he

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<sup>293</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 4: The Cultural Olympiad*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 357; Mathias Goeritz, “‘The Route of Friendship’: Sculpture” *Leonardo* 3, no. 4 (1970): 397.

<sup>294</sup> Olivia Zuñiga, *Mathias Goeritz* Sonia Levy-Spira (trans.) (Mexico City: Editorial Intercontinental, 1963), 13 and 24-25.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 and 26; Margarita De Orellana, Clara Marin, Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, Mariana Méndez-Gallardo, Leticia Torres Hernández, Ana María Rodríguez Pérez, Paige Mitchell, Gabriel Chávez De La Mora, Quentin Pope, Leonor Cuahonte, and Nick Papworth, “Mathias Goeritz: Obsessive Creativity,” *Artes De México*, no. 115 (2014): 70.

<sup>297</sup> De Orellana et al., “Mathias Goeritz: Obsessive Creativity,” 70.

started gaining experience with renowned architects such as Mario Pani in addition to Ruth Rivera. Like Goeritz, Ruth Rivera served as a Cultural Olympics planner and coordinated the event called the “Exhibition of Sites for Sports and Cultural Activities.” For the event, planners put on display the public art projects that transformed the capital city for the Games as well as the buildings that housed sporting competitions and cultural displays.<sup>298</sup>

As for his own event, the “Meeting of Sculptors,” Goeritz’s vision for the project formed part of a larger international movement to make cities more artistic. As he noted in a 1970 article, urban planners had become increasingly aware that residents in industrial nations spent more time in their cars surrounded by an urban landscape that provided little visual stimulation. Urban planners asked why not make these landscapes a site of beauty.<sup>299</sup> The 1968 Games provided an opportunity to bring this vision to fruition. Although the sculptures had an international brigade of designers, each statue sat on a bed of volcanic rock that represented the Xitle volcano lava and rock that once covered the stretch of highway and site of the sports installations.<sup>300</sup> Goeritz’s vision went beyond bringing art to the masses to include creating an environment where artists could work with urban planners, architects and engineers in order to create these public art works.<sup>301</sup> The “Route of Friendship,” the collection of monuments that became the lasting effect of the “Meeting of Sculptors,” sat along one of the most traveled thoroughfares in the host city and provided for the cultural edification of residents and guests.<sup>302</sup>

Architecture and public works artists were not the only professional backgrounds that the Cultural Olympics’ planners had. As a group, they had worked in a variety of fields in both the

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<sup>298</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 707.

<sup>299</sup> Goeritz, “The Route of Friendship,” 402.

<sup>300</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 357.

<sup>301</sup> Goeritz, “The Route of Friendship,” 402.

<sup>302</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 358.

public and private sector; nevertheless, most had experience with the Secretariat of Public Education and its branch called the National Fine Arts Institute (INBA). Among the coordinators of the Artistic Program, all had some experience in representing the country to national and international audiences.

Other than architecture and public works, planners' experiences and the events they coordinated fall roughly into the three categories of education, art, and science. In all three fields, various individuals had worked to project ideas of what it meant to be Mexican through the use of indigenous peoples and culture while also keeping out an eye for the future. In education, those working in the Secretariat of Public Education aimed to inform both children and adults about their national identity. Domestically, this occurred through a number of venues including museum exhibits that some directors sent abroad. Similarly, those in the arts put a new emphasis on indigenous rituals and traditions, and they wove these styles into music, dance, and the visual art. Finally, scientists and technological innovators aimed to project visions of the national identity. This came through an emphasis on public health. Technologies such as radio, and later television, also served to demonstrate to domestic and foreign audiences the most important characteristics of the nation.

Taken together, these fields and the individuals in them, worked to emphasize the ideals of the cosmic race: racial improvement and cultural preservation. Thus, the reappearance of these themes in the 1968 Cultural Olympics likely comes from not only Organizing Committee President, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, but also the coordinators' experiences with government institutions such as the Secretariat of Public Education and the National Fine Arts Institute. Their overlapping professional networks have a presence in the Cultural Olympics' twenty events.

## Educating the Children of the Cosmic Race

Article 3 of the 1917 Constitution not only made education free and secular, but also it made it subject to the federal government's oversight. The earliest attempts to create a federal educational system started in 1917; nevertheless, political elites did not realize their vision of a centralized ministry of education until September 25, 1921. José Vasconcelos, author of *The Cosmic Race*, became Minister of Public Education in October of the same year and remained in that position until 1924. During his tenure, the number of public schools increased greatly as did the training of normal students to meet the growing demand for teachers.<sup>303</sup> Technical schools also tended to the educational needs of adults.<sup>304</sup> One of the most popular images of Vasconcelos's administration is of the young urban and middle-class women who went out into the countryside as modern-day missionaries of education. There, they taught both Spanish and Classical literature and philosophy.<sup>305</sup> Anthropologists, photographers, and musicologists also went out into rural areas in order to study and document the culture of *campesino* and indigenous communities. The material that they collected made its way back to cities and became an integral part of the national identities of much of the citizenry.<sup>306</sup>

As minister of the Secretariat of Public Education, Vasconcelos created three branches for the ministry, including the Fine Arts Department (later the National Fine Arts Institute)

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<sup>303</sup> Beezley, "Creating a Revolutionary Culture," 420-428; Stanley D. Ivie, "Jose Vasconcelos and Hispanic-American Education," *Journal of Thought* 2, no. 1 (1967): 18-24.

<sup>304</sup> See Anne Rubenstein, "The War on Las Pelonas: Modern Women and Their Enemies, Mexico City, 1924" in *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico*, eds. Jocelyn Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughan, and Gabriela Cano (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007): 57-80.

<sup>305</sup> See Beezley, "Creating a Revolutionary Cultures," 423-424; Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution*.

<sup>306</sup> Beezley, "Creating a Revolutionary Culture," 420-435.

whose members coordinated artistic activities that would complement education.<sup>307</sup> Similar to Goeritz's work with making more aesthetically pleasing highways, those working in the Fine Arts Institute aimed to make art more easily accessible to ordinary citizens and not just those who could afford expensive performances and exhibitions. Popular art projects started prior to Vasconcelos's becoming minister of Public Education with painters such as Atl who depicted the country's landscapes and peoples and put them on display in public exhibitions.<sup>308</sup>

Vasconcelos commissioned artists to paint murals within the Secretariat of Public Education's headquarters that reflected national culture. Muralists included Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros whose works went beyond the Secretariat of Public Education headquarters and adorned walls within the presidential palace and buildings around the historic center of the capital.<sup>309</sup> In addition to these murals, museums spread throughout the city including ones that displayed handiworks from the countryside, particularly indigenous communities.<sup>310</sup> In these museums, urbanites could learn about the cultures from throughout the Republic.

One of the governmental agencies created to preserve history and educate the Mexican people was the National Institution of History and Anthropology whose infrastructure the Organizing Committee used for the cultural program. For example, one of their institutions, the National Anthropological Museum housed the "Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art."

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<sup>307</sup> Ivie, "Jose Vasconcelos and Hispanic-American Education," 20; Jessica Gottfried, "Music and folklore research in the Departamento de Bellas Artes. 1926-1946," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia for Latin America*, ed. William H. Beezley (online publication, 2017).

<sup>308</sup> Rick A. Lopez, "The Noche Mexicana and the Exhibition of Popular Arts: Two Ways of Exalting Indianness," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 23-42.

<sup>309</sup> Craven, *Diego Rivera as Epic Modernist*, 72-88.

<sup>310</sup> See Rick A. Lopez, "The Museum and the Market, 1929-1948" in *Crafting Mexico: Intellectuals, Artisans, and the State after the Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010) 151-173.

Director of the National Institution of Anthropology and History, Ignacio Bernal, had spent his adult life working in the fields of archeology and anthropology. Bernal was born in France to Mexican nationals and came from a family of intellectuals with his maternal grandfather and great-grandfather both having achieved prominence as historians.<sup>311</sup> Educated in Mexico City and Montreal, Bernal originally sought to study law, before switching to business and finally settling on anthropology. With archaeologist Alfonso Caso, Bernal helped to uncover Monte Albán (near present-day Oaxaca City) where the Zapotec people created a vast temple complex atop a leveled mountain where they worshipped their gods.<sup>312</sup> Bernal received his master's and doctoral degrees in archeology from the National University.<sup>313</sup> In his work, he focused on reconstructing the pre-Columbian cultures—particularly ones from Oaxaca-- by combining ethnohistory with archeology in order to answer questions about the development of Zapotec and Mixtec culture.<sup>314</sup>

During his professional career, Bernal worked in a number of capacities for the national government and within the educational system. He served as the cultural attaché for Mexico's embassy in Paris from 1955 to 1956.<sup>315</sup> In the 1960s, he worked on the excavation and restoration of Teotihuacan-- a site of Aztec pyramids located outside of the capital that serves as a popular tourist destination.<sup>316</sup> Additionally, Bernal served as subdirector of the National Institution of Anthropology and History from 1958 to 1968 and director from 1968 to 1971.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> Kent V. Flannery, "Ignacio Bernal: 1910-1922," *American Antiquity* 59:1 (1994): 72.

<sup>312</sup> "Ignacio Bernal is Honored" *Archaeology* (1971): 359. Flannery, "Ignacio Bernal: 1910-1922," 72.

<sup>313</sup> Flannery, "Ignacio Bernal: 1910-1922," 72.

<sup>314</sup> "Ignacio Bernal is Honored," 359; "Ignacio Bernal, Anthropologist, 81," *New York Times*, January 26, 1992; Flannery, "Ignacio Bernal: 1910-1922:" 72-74.

<sup>315</sup> Flannery, "Ignacio Bernal: 1910-1922:" 74.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*

Simultaneously, he taught as a professor at the National University (1948-1976) and chaired the Department for Anthropology at Mexico City College (1951-1959).<sup>318</sup>

Other members of this move to restore archeological sites and open them up to the public served on the Organizing Committee. This included the coordinator of the Cultural Olympics event the “Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art,” famed anthropologist Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla who had worked with Bernal’s mentor Caso to excavate the site of Mitla in Oaxaca.<sup>319</sup> Rubín de la Borbolla had also previously served as the director of the National Anthropological Museum that housed the “Exhibition of Selected Works.” The event consisted of a collection of both historical artifacts and works of modern art.<sup>320</sup> In the end, forty-one countries from the Americas, Asia, Europe, Africa, and Australia had representation in the exhibition.<sup>321</sup> Because of restrictions on sending artwork and artifacts overseas, the exhibition required the participation of individuals and institutions, including two private individuals’ collections. One of these private collections belonged to IOC Chairman Avery Brundage who held many pieces of art from Asia. The other came from Mexico City collector Ricardo Hecht and contained works from Ethiopia, Thailand, India, and Peru. Institutions in the United States, Peru, Chile, Western Africa, and Egypt also contributed works in order to round out the exhibition.<sup>322</sup> This display of world art fulfilled the vision of anthropologists such as Bernal and Rubín de la Borbolla that future generations should use the benefits of technological advances to

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<sup>318</sup> Flannery, “Ignacio Bernal: 1910-1922:” 74

<sup>319</sup> John Paddock and Ignacio Bernal, *Ancient Oaxaca: Discoveries in Mexican Archeology and History* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1970), 213 and 345-346.

<sup>320</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 51.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>322</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 52.

bring together the artwork of the world in a single place to allow for a greater appreciation of humanity's accomplishments.<sup>323</sup>

### **The Dance and Music of the Cosmic Race**

Music and dance, like education and architecture, became a way to position national culture as a mixture of the modern and the ancient for both national and international audiences. The modern dance movement in the country provides one of the best examples of this cultural blend of contemporary and cosmopolitan currents girded by national culture since coordinators of four of the twenty events had backgrounds as dancers in this movement. Among them were Ana Mérida, coordinator of the Cultural Olympics event called "The World Folklore Festival," Ruth Rivera, coordinator of the "Exhibition of Sites for Sports and Culture," Rosa Reyna, coordinator of "Reception Offered by Mexico's Youth to the Youth of the World," and Amalia Hernández, coordinator of the "Ballet of the Five Continents." These coordinators received their training and began their careers in some of the most prestigious Revolution institutions, especially the National Fine Arts Institute.

One of the earliest examples of the modern dance movement occurred in 1939 when American Anna Sokolow received an invitation from Guatemalan artist, Carlos Mérida, to bring her dance company to Mexico City. He, as director of the National Fine Arts Institute's dance department, hoped that Sokolow would bring the movement to the country. Sokolow, the child of Russian immigrants and a native of New York City, had spent her career working to extend

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<sup>323</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 52.

the reach of ballet to popular audiences.<sup>324</sup> Artists and dance companies with this vision used lower ticket costs and more accessible venues to expand their reach to those who did not ordinarily make up ballet audiences. The members of this so-called Revolutionary Dance Movement closely aligned themselves with socialism and the Communist Party during the period from the 1920s to the 1950s. Their goal to improve workers' lives through the fine arts and bring awareness to labor issues fit well with socialist ideals. In particular, Sokolow's affiliation with socialism and choice of subject, including the struggles of industrial workers, attracted the attention of intellectuals such as Carlos Mérida.<sup>325</sup>

Sokolow remained in Mexico City when, after the close of her company's first season in the capital city, she received an invitation from the minister of Public Education, Gonzalo Vázquez Vela, to stay in the city to teach and establish a foundation for a modern dance company in the city that the national government would sponsor.<sup>326</sup> The next year, 1940, Sokolow chose fifteen dancers for her company that she called *Paloma Azul* (Blue Dove), named for a traditional song. Of these fifteen, two became coordinators of Cultural Olympics events: Carlos Mérida's daughter, Ana Mérida, and Rosa Reyna. *Paloma Azul* enjoyed the support of the Ministry of Public Education and the local artistic community.<sup>327</sup> Many of Sokolow's shows had themes based on Mediterranean culture and myths; nevertheless, the company also collaborated with well-known artists as was the case when they staged Carlos Chávez's *Sinfonia de Antígona* (Antigone Symphony).<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Hannah Kosstrin, "Inevitable Designs: Embodied Ideology in Anna Sokolow's Proletarian Dances," *DRJ* 45, no. 2 (2013), 7.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10; Larry Warren, *Anna Sokolow: The Rebellious Spirit* (Princeton, NJ: Dance Horizon Book, Princeton Book Company, Publishers, 1991), 81-82.

<sup>326</sup> Kelly and Leslie Morris "An Interview with Anna Sokolow," *The Drama Review: TDR* 14, no. 1 (1969): 98; Warren, *Anna Sokolow*, 88.

<sup>327</sup> Warren, *Anna Sokolow*, 93.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

A Mexico-city native, Carlos Chávez not only wrote for *El Universal* (one of the capital city's largest newspapers), but also served as director of the National Symphony Orchestra and director-general of the Fine Arts Institute.<sup>329</sup> Additionally, he composed some of the most iconic examples of the interest in the culture of the cosmic race. His *Sinfonia India* (Indian Symphony), that he wrote between 1935 and 1936, used a traditional orchestra for the string and wind sections while utilizing the percussive instruments of indigenous groups.<sup>330</sup> He achieved fame outside of the country including in New York City where he received commissions from orchestras and gave public lectures.<sup>331</sup>

Modern dance advocates other than Sokolow worked in the country during the 1940s such as Waldeen Falkenstein (known professionally as simply Waldeen). Like Sokolow, she was an American modern dancer and choreographer, but unlike Sokolow who spent half of her year in the United States, Waldeen lived full time in her adopted home. Over time, Sokolow could no longer compete with Waldeen's company to whom popular support shifted. Some former students of Sokolow such as Ana Mérida joined Waldeen's company.<sup>332</sup> In addition to Ana Mérida, Cultural Olympics coordinators, Ruth Rivera and Amalia Hernández also studied dance with Waldeen whose performances favored more nationally-specific subject matter.<sup>333</sup> Greatly popular with the public, this style differed from Sokolow's more universal approach.<sup>334</sup> Waldeen too moved in intellectual and political circles including her work with Nellie Campobello, who had risen to fame in the dance world along with her prima ballerina sister,

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<sup>329</sup> William Robin, "Carlos Chávez, Mexican Modernist" *New York Times* (July 30, 2015): AR8.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Warren, *Anna Sokolow*, 99.

<sup>333</sup> Xavier Guzmán Urbiola, "Semblanza de Ruth Rivera Marín, emblema cultural del siglo XX mexicano" in Carlos Ríos Garza *Cuadernos de Arquitectura INBA*, Digital version (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2014), 13.

<sup>334</sup> Warren, *Anna Sokolow*, 98.

Gloria Campobello, and served as director of the Mexican National School of Dance of the Fine Arts Institute in the mid-1930s.<sup>335</sup> Raised in the state of Chihuahua, Campobello had grown up during the Revolution and achieved prominence as an intellectual through her writings about the northern countryside during the 1910s.<sup>336</sup>

Coordinator Ana Mérida's training in dance included a variety of prominent figures who had a multitude of loyalties and visions about the future of modern dance in the country. Nevertheless, like Goeritz and Bernal, she too closely associated her work with the idea of providing access to history and the arts to the masses and not just social and political elites. Mérida's early career demonstrated well that her training had given her the necessary connections for working in the upper echelons of the dance world. From 1948 to 1949, she served as director of the Mexican Dance Academy. In this capacity, she organized tours to countries in South and Central America. Later, she directed the dance department of the National Fine Arts Institute. For one of her most notable works, she wrote and produced *Ausencia de flores* (Absence of Flowers), a ballet homage to one of the great muralists of the Revolution, José Clemente Orozco.<sup>337</sup> Thus, by 1968, Mérida had spent much of her adult life representing national culture through dance in one capacity or another.

The event that Mérida coordinated, the "World Folklore Festival", consisted of performances by 54 groups from 25 countries-- including 24 groups from 19 Mexican states-- and provided participants the opportunity to represent what they perceived as the most authentic aspects of their national cultures. Altogether, 2,458 artists and 287 dancers and musicians from

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<sup>335</sup> Warren, *Anna Sokolow*, 88; See Felipe Segura, *Gloria Campobello: la primera ballerina de México* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1991).

<sup>336</sup> See Nellie Campobello, *Cartucho and My Mother's Hands*, trans. Doris Meyer, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988.

<sup>337</sup> "Ana Mérida, bailarina, y coreografa," *El País* (August 15, 1991) [http://elpais.com/diario/1991/08/15/agenda/682207201\\_850215.html](http://elpais.com/diario/1991/08/15/agenda/682207201_850215.html).

Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia, Canada, and the United States participated in the festival. The “World Folklore Festival” differed from the Cultural Olympics event called “The Festival of the Arts” because of the special emphasis placed on traditions and ritual and what the planners called indigenous folklore.<sup>338</sup> This reference to the indigenous specifically reflected the tendency in the country to divide national culture between indigenous folklore and European fine arts.

Rosa Reyna, another of Sokolow’s students and member of the *Paloma Azul*, served as coordinator of the Cultural Olympics event called “The Reception Offered by Mexico’s Youth to the Youth of the World” that featured young Mexicans performing callisthenic drills and gymnastic displays set to music from Mexico and abroad.<sup>339</sup> The calisthenics display of “The Reception Offered by Mexico’s Youth” brought together two of the goals of social improvement that marked intellectual thought in the early twentieth century: racial preservation and preparation for the future. These goals also appeared in modern dance with participation in the movement serving to prepare the nation’s citizenry for the future of dance with the emphasis on bringing in elements of indigenous culture serving to preserve the art forms. “The Reception Offered by Mexico’s Youth” similarly straddled these two goals. On the one hand, the callisthenic exercises emphasized the necessity of a physically fit population of young people. The display also included traditions and artistic contributions from the country such as the use of the piece “*Sobre las olas*” (“Over the Waves”) by Mexican composer Juventino Rosas that had achieved such ubiquity that it could be heard at circuses and on carousel rides.<sup>340</sup> Additionally, the plaza where the event took place had on one side an intricate pre-Columbian design

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<sup>338</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 420.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid., 13-18; “Ballet des cinq continents--Ballet of the Five Continents--Ballet de los cinco continentes,” *México 68: Programa Cultural de la XIX Olimpiada* (Mexico City: Miguel Galas, 1968), unpaginated.

<sup>340</sup> *Excelsior*, October 10, 1968: 10.

fashioned by flower weavers from Tlaxcala who traditionally create patterns from flowers covered in colorful sawdust.<sup>341</sup> Thus, this event too brought together the elements of modern dance and the conception of the cosmic race as one that blended outside influences with indigenous aspects.

Amalia Hernández, a student of Waldeen, served as the coordinator of the “Ballet of the Five Continents”, and her event too represented many of the themes of modern dance and the idea of the cosmic race.<sup>342</sup> Hernández, unlike coordinators Mérida and Reyna, became disillusioned with the manifestation of modern dance in the capital finding it too synthetic. She ended her training early and returned to the profession in the 1950s after forming her own company who danced in a style she called folkloric ballet.<sup>343</sup> The company had such success that they represented Mexico at international venues such as the 1959 Pan American Games in Chicago, the 1961 Festival of Nations in Paris where Hernández won first prize as the company’s director, and the 1962 World’s Fair in Seattle.<sup>344</sup>

For her folkloric ballet, Amalia Hernández not only got inspiration from the dances from throughout the Republic, but also she also used their regional legends as subject matter and included both the Aztecs and legends from groups such as the Maya and Tarascans.<sup>345</sup> Hernández used sources such as chronicles by early sixteenth-century Spanish conquistadors in

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<sup>341</sup> *Excelsior*, October 10, 1968: 1 and 21; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 13-18.

<sup>342</sup> *Ballet Folklórico de México: directora general y coreógrafa Amalia Hernández, bajo los auspicios del Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes de México* (Mexico: Ballet Folklórico, circa 1960): unpaginated.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*; Juan González A. Alpuche, “El Ballet Folklórico de México y Amalia Hernández, su creadora/The Mexican Ballet Folklorico and Amalia Hernández, Its Founder/ Le Ballet Folklorique du Mexique et Amalia Hernández, sa Créatrice/ Die Mexikanische Volkstanzgruppe und Amalia Hernández Ihre Gruenderin,” *Artes de México* 88, no. 89 (1967): 6.

<sup>345</sup> Margarita de Orellana, “Los Dioses Bajan a la Escena/ The Gods Come Down to the Stage/ Les Dieux Descendent Sur Scène/ Die Goetter Kommen auf die Buehne” *Artes de México* 88, no. 89, (1967): 9-16; Orellana, “Los Tarascos/ The Tarascans/ Les Tarascos/ Die Tarascos” *Artes de México* 88, no. 89 (1967): 101-102.

order to recreate some of these myths.<sup>346</sup> One of these ballets recounted the legend of the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl and his desire to create humans. Hernández delved into Aztec philosophy and religion through the piece including their beliefs about the underworld and the relationship between gods and humans.<sup>347</sup> For audiences going to see her ballet company, the performances could serve multiple purposes. On the one hand, they offered a way to go beyond copying European art forms and themes and allowed for appreciating the cultures that made up the country. Along with this, the ballets served as another way to educate local audiences about states other than their own. The company's popularity continues to the present day with the company still performing weekly.

The event that Hernández chaired, the “Ballet of the Five Continents” featured dances from around the world and arranged by a wide array of choreographers; nevertheless, her company performed all of the pieces. The event accomplished a similar outcome to her original folkloric ballets by having her group perform dances with techniques and themes that reflected culturally specific art forms and subjects. In the case of the United States, under the direction of famed choreographer, Alvin Ailey, the performance featured Negro spirituals.<sup>348</sup> Thus, through their performance they displayed for audiences an aspect of US culture that was not a part of American culture that many viewers knew. With her event, Hernández drew on her modern dance training and also invited choreographers to join her nation's sensibilities by bringing together the modernity of the genre of dance with the deep-rooted tradition of their own national and regional cultures.

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<sup>346</sup> Margarita de Orellana, “Los Dioses Bajan a la Escena”: 9-16; Orellana, “Los Tarascos”: 101-102., “Los Dioses Aztecas/ The Aztec Gods/ Les Dieux Aztèques/ Die Aztekengoetter” *Artes de México* 88, no. 89 (1967): 78.

<sup>347</sup> Orellana, “Los Dioses Aztecas,” 78.

<sup>348</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Vol 4*, 510.

### Science and Technology in the Cultural Olympics:

Those working in science and technology also aimed to improve conditions for the citizenry by spreading the benefits of twentieth-century research to the cosmic race. The physicians, scientists, architects, and bureaucrats who coordinated Cultural Olympics events had many of the same connections as did educators and artists including ones to the National University and the Secretariat of Public Education. Moreover, many of them projected the same national identity. Thus, even though many of public health centers, physical education programs, highways, and bridges might have been only a generation old, they reflected a unique national culture. Chief among these cultural values was an understanding that the primary legacy of the Revolution was offering the opportunities of modernity to all. Similar to design, education, and art, this required reforming environment and education in order to improve citizens' lives.

The 1917 Constitution included health as a right for citizens, and throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, politicians, scientists, physicians, social workers, and teachers worked to make this a reality, particularly for young people. Part of this drive came not only from the Constitution, but also from the large number of young people living in the country and increasingly more of them lived in cities like the capital. For example, by 1921 people ages ten to twenty four made up one third of the population in the capital.<sup>349</sup> This young citizenry became a way to create a healthier future for the country. Newly founded institutions conducted vaccination campaigns and created mobile health units for poor communities in the city and

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<sup>349</sup> Katherine Elaine Bliss and Ann S. Blum, "Dangerous Driving: Adolescence, Sex, and the Gendered Experience of Public Space in Early-Twentieth-Century Mexico City" in *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence*, eds. William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 164.

countryside.<sup>350</sup> Social scientists researched the effects of young maternal age and sexually transmitted diseases on offspring.<sup>351</sup> Educators used sports and games as a part of physical education in an effort to strengthen students' bodies.<sup>352</sup> All of this reflected the notion that many lacked a healthy environment-- not the wrong heredity-- for success and prosperity in the twentieth century.

For the 1968 Cultural Olympics, the host city became a site for scientific research and exhibition as well as for demonstrations on technology's potentials. For example, medical researchers used the host city's high altitude as an opportunity to study its effects on athletes.<sup>353</sup> The coordinators for these events came from this tradition of spreading the benefits of health to a larger population. For the event called the "Program of Human Genetics and Biology," scientists from around the world arrived in the host city in order to study Olympians' biology to see what distinguished them from non-athletes by focusing on both environmental and genetic factors. The goal of the study was to apply what they learned to create guidelines and recommendations to design for students' effective physical education, as well as promote hygiene and healthfulness. The program itself was organized with the cooperation of the National Nuclear Energy Commission.<sup>354</sup> Through using athletes as case studies, these researchers focused on many of the things that had been a priority during the Revolution: hygiene (a category that broadly includes the prevention of sexually transmitted disease) and physical fitness both of

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<sup>350</sup> Anne-Emanuelle Birn, "Public Health or Public Menace? The Rockefeller Foundation and Public Health in Mexico, 1920-1950" *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 7, no. 1 (1996): 44.

<sup>351</sup> Bliss et al., "Dangerous Driving," 164-166.

<sup>352</sup> See Keith Brewster, "Redeeming the 'Indian': Sport and Ethnicity in Post-Revolutionary Mexico" *Patterns of Prejudice* 38, no. 3 (2004): 213-231.

<sup>353</sup> Barbara J. Culliton, "The Plague of High Altitudes: Researchers Forecast Disappointments for Olympic Athletes in the Mexico City Games" *Science News* 92, no. 25 (1967): 587; "Sport in Thin Air," *The British Medical Journal* 1, no. 5497 (1966): 1186-1187.

<sup>354</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 699.

which worked to ensure the future of a healthy population by creating a more salubrious environment.

Not only did scientific research and medicine provide a way to spread the ideals of the Revolution, technological innovation such as broadcasting offered a medium for projecting ideas of what it meant to be Mexican. In the 1920s and 1930s, aspiring broadcasters applied for licenses for radio stations. The governmental agency, the Ministry of Communications and Public Works, issued these licenses, and thus the agency itself had a great deal of control over who could own radio stations and what played on airways.<sup>355</sup> Through the programming, those with radios learned about the holidays, traditions, and cultural symbols that made up the nation's identity. Moreover, because radio stations had to procure special permission for programming not in Spanish, the language did not have to compete with either indigenous or other European languages.<sup>356</sup> As the language of broadcasting, Spanish penetrated more communities and reemphasized its dominance as the official mode of communication for Mexicans.

Television allowed for political elites to compound on their ability to set the agenda on national identity because the government issued few licenses essentially creating a monopoly with Telesistema Mexico as the de facto broadcaster of nationalism.<sup>357</sup> While Telesistema's producers did not have a relationship of total submission to the national government, they did have one similar to those working with the Secretariat of Public Education and the National Fine Arts Institute that allowed them a certain amount of autonomy in interpreting national culture.<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>355</sup> Joy Elizabeth Hayes, *Radio Nation: Communication, Popular Culture, and Nationalism in Mexico, 1920-1950* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2000): 37.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>357</sup> See Celeste González de Bustamante, *"Muy Buenas Noches" Mexico, Television, and the Cold War* (University of Nebraska Press, 2013).

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-52.

As the number of radios and televisions in homes rose and the broadcasting abilities grew into the far reaches of the Republic, the definition of identity became more set.

As an industry, tourism benefited from growth in technology and broadcasting and offered another way for citizens to express what made up their identity both on a national and international stage. Tourism allowed for bringing together the notion of the country as modern with deep cultural roots. The growth in the number of modern highways, airports, and miles of railroad served to make travel to the far reaches of the Republic easier.<sup>359</sup> On the other hand, what internal and external tourists could find in the countryside spoke to the seemingly timeless nature of their national culture including the communities of indigenous groups and archeological sites.<sup>360</sup> For the 1968 Games, planners used broadcasting to make the country more inviting to tourists by producing a series of short film starring the well-known actor Cantinflas. These videos worked to educate host city residents on how to treat tourists including reminding taxi drivers to charge just fares.<sup>361</sup>

In particular, the work with tourism represented a larger trend not only in Mexico, but also around the world to promote international travel. Notably, in 1966, the United Nations declared 1967 as the “International Tourism Year”. In the resolution, the General Assembly not only discussed the economic benefit of tourism especially to developing nations, but also the potential for tourism to promote mutual understanding.<sup>362</sup> The Organizing Committee planned the event called “Ads in the Service of Peace,” coordinating with commercial firms as well as

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<sup>359</sup> Mexican Government Tourism Department, “Thoughts of the President of the Republic” in *Tourism as a Medium of Human Communication* (Mexico City: Imprenta Nuevo Mundo, 1967): 9-17.

<sup>360</sup> For a discussion of this dichotomy, see Dina Berger, *The Development of Mexico’s Tourism Industry: Pyramids by Day, Martinis by Night* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

<sup>361</sup> See Keith Brewster, “Teaching Mexicans How to Behave: Public Education on the Eve of the Olympics” in *Reflections on Mexico ‘68*, ed. Keith Brewster (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>362</sup> “General Assembly: Text of the United Nations Resolutions, Adopted November, 1966” in *Tourism as a Medium of Human Communication*, 23-24.

local and foreign agencies to replace billboard advertisements with ones promoting peace and friendship. These billboards appeared on the roofs of buildings, city thoroughfares, and hundreds of other public spaces.<sup>363</sup> With this event, the 1968 planners sought to go beyond the economic incentive of broadcasting. In their account of the historical functions of broadcasting, they alluded to their nation's use of the medium to form habits and customs.<sup>364</sup> They also pointed out that broadcasting could work to improve lives through campaigns that focused on public health, nutrition, housing, education, and safety.<sup>365</sup> Thus, like tourism, broadcasting could also have a social function and in 1968, organizers used it to promote peace through mutual understanding.

### **The Next Children of the Cosmic Race:**

Not only did planners transform the host city and the Games in order to project national values, but also they used the image of young people to highlight the nation's future. *Edecanes*, or guides, serve as useful case study for the participation of young people in the Cultural Olympics because they allowed for displaying national ideals and identity while at the same time becoming a medium who could pass these concepts from one generation to the next and thus replicate beliefs about what it meant to be Mexican.

For the 1968 Summer Olympics, 1,500 individuals in their late teen and early twenties – mostly women and some men—served as *edecanes* for the athletes, dignitaries, judges, press, and other special invitees of the Organizing Committee. Overseen by Committee member,

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<sup>363</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 732.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, 731.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*

Diana Salvat, this division of the Committee recruited participants through a system of referrals and applications.<sup>366</sup> Candidates had to have proficiency in at least one language other than Spanish and attend a six-week course on national history and culture.<sup>367</sup> Most *edecanes* were members of the country's upper classes and had learned their languages from their travels and studies abroad in Europe and North America.<sup>368</sup> As one the permanent official languages of the Olympic movement, English was highest in demand especially since most athletes spoke it with at least some proficiency. Nevertheless, many candidates also spoke French, German or Italian.<sup>369</sup>

Those selected after passing a language exam and meeting the standards of Diana Salvat, attended a series of conferences given by high-profile personalities such as architect and president of the Organizing Committee, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez. Cultural Olympics planners designed some courses specifically for the *edecanes* while others were part of the curriculum of post-secondary institutions such as the National University.<sup>370</sup> These seminars covered national history from the pre-Columbian period to the twentieth century, architecture, the history of the Olympics and sports, Olympic protocols, and tutorials on how *edecanes* should comport themselves around visitors to the city.<sup>371</sup> The lessons in history and culture that trainees learned did not diverge much from the lessons they would have had in school, but the depth and scope of

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<sup>366</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 2: The Organization*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 167; Interview by author with a woman who served as an edecán in 1967 and 1968, Mexico City, April 23, 2016.

<sup>367</sup> Associated Press, "Mexico City Gal Guides High-Toned," *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, WA), February 19, 1968, 6.

<sup>368</sup> Interview by author with a woman who served as an edecán in 1967 and 1968, Mexico City, April 23, 2016; Associated Press, "Mexico City Gal Guides High-Toned," 6.

<sup>369</sup> Associated Press, "Mexico City Gal Guides High-Toned," 6.

<sup>370</sup> "Memo from Alberto Campillo S. to Gaston Garcia Cantu," Attachment with schedule of *edecanes* training, May 16, 1968, Gallery 7, Box 764, Folder 41-138, AGN.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*; Associated Press, "Mexico City Gal Guides High-Toned," 6.

information made the lessons incredibly intensive.<sup>372</sup> Training took place with head *edecanes* receiving instruction before passing it down to the newer arrivals they oversaw.<sup>373</sup> Thus, it worked similarly to the larger structure of the Organizing Committee. This was particularly important because the biggest opportunity for *edecanes* to receive on-the-job training was at the International Sports Week Games—also known as the Pre-Olympics—that occurred in the fall of 1967. At that point, the Organizing Committee had recruited only about half of the necessary guides. Nevertheless, by that time Salvat had already chosen all of the head *edecanes* who could pass on what they had learned to the newer arrivals.<sup>374</sup>

*Edecanes'* youth, beauty, and skills offered a picture of how members of the Organizing Committee wanted visitors such as athletes, dignitaries, journalists, and tourists to the city to conceive of the nation.<sup>375</sup> As tour guides, they both served specific sites and events as well as delegations and special guests to the city for the Olympics. Members of the Organizing Committee and the national government could specifically request the use of *edecanes*. Many of the requests were accompanied by orders for chauffeured cars. Among these requests were for those attending Cultural Olympics' events and even included high-profile visitors such as playwright Arthur Miller.<sup>376</sup> For athletes, *edecanes* could be particularly important since they had to arrive to the host city two to three weeks before the Games in order to acclimate to factors such as the food and altitude before competing in their events. *Edecanes* arranged transportation

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<sup>372</sup> Interview by author with a woman who served as an *edecán* in 1967 and 1968, Mexico City, April 23, 2016; "Memo from Alberto Campillo S. to Gaston Garcia Cantu," AGN.

<sup>373</sup> Interview by author with a woman who served as an *edecán* in 1967 and 1968, Mexico City, April 23, 2016.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid.; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 167.

<sup>375</sup> Eric Zolov, "Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow: Mexico and the 1968 Olympics," *The Americas* 61, no. 2 (2004), 177-178.

<sup>376</sup> "Memo from Diana Salvat to Oscar Urrutia," September 2, 1968, Gallery 7, Box 764, Folder 41-138, AGN.

and excursions for them to sites such as the pyramids and the National Anthropology Museum.<sup>377</sup>

In the way of compensation, *edecanes* received payment for their services during the Olympics but not during their training or even their service for the Pre-Olympics although the Organizing Committee did provide them with their uniforms. After the Olympics ended, *edecanes* received a personally addressed and signed letter of thanks from Pedro Ramírez Vázquez.<sup>378</sup> Moreover, participation as an *edecán* provided young people with an opportunity to participate in what many thought of as an opening of the City. Intermingling with visitors from around the world was an important part of this. Most *edecanes* were young women who were required to meet with unfamiliar people and play organizer to large groups of foreigners. Additionally, they stayed out late at night and attended functions without the accompaniment of familial chaperones.<sup>379</sup> In the scholarship on 1968, this type of independence for young women is usually limited to the discussion of those who worked with the student movement.<sup>380</sup> Thus, while *edecanes* provided a fresh face to represent the country, their participation also demonstrates the larger changes that hosting the 1968 Games brought to the nation.

### **Concluding Remarks:**

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<sup>377</sup> Interview by author with woman who served as an *edecán* in 1967 and 1968, Mexico City, April 23, 2016; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 2*, 168.

<sup>378</sup> Interview by author with woman who served as an *edecán* in 1967 and 1968, Mexico City, April 23, 2016; Mexican Organizing Committee, 1968, draft letter of thanks from Mexican Organizing Committee to *edecanes*, Gallery 7, Box 411, Folder 32-65, AGN.

<sup>379</sup> Interview by author with a woman who served as an *edecán* in 1967 and 1968, Mexico City, April 23, 2016.

<sup>380</sup> See Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*; Deborah Cohen and Lessie Jo Frazier, "Mexico 68: hacia una definición del espacio del movimiento. La masculinidad heroica en la cárcel y las 'mujeres' en las calles" *Estudios Sociológicos* 22, no. 66 (2004), 591-623.

In order to plan the 1968 Cultural Olympics, Organizing Committee president, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez relied not only on private and governmental institutions, but also he used the experiences of his coordinators to aid in creating the program. The events themselves reflect the educations, training, and careers of the individuals who served as coordinators, most of whom had been influenced by the cultural and institutional atmosphere after 1917. Because of this use of these institutions and planners, the Cultural Olympics not only put on display the host city and national culture, but also the children of the cosmic race who had benefited so much from the Revolution. Moreover, the young people who participated provided an opportunity to pass on certain aspects of national identity such as the conception of the nation and people as youthful with deep cultural roots.

## Creating an Atmosphere of Peace and Friendship

Mexico City's countenance had transformed into that of an Olympic city by mid-October in 1968. Deadly attacks, arrest, and exile of young people by law enforcement had cleared the streets of the protests that filled the plazas, parks, and university campuses during the preceding summer. Finished sports installations and the continued arrival of athletes, journalists, and tourists also signaled the shift in atmosphere. Decorations around the city provided a festive ambience. A *Time* magazine reporter noted that all of the posters, balloons and signs in the same optical art patterns gave the boulevards a carnival feeling. Even beyond the places where most tourists ventured, many shantytowns had a fresh coat of color that inhabitants had added from the bucket of free paint granted to them for the occasion of the Games.<sup>381</sup> Large banners constructed from plastic sheets with images of the Olympic white dove on pink, yellow, green, and blue backgrounds filled sporting venues, wide avenues, and residential neighborhoods.<sup>382</sup> The logo of the dove itself represented the 1968 Games' theme: "*Todo es posible en la paz*"-- Everything is possible in peace. Additionally, this adornment served to fulfill the Organizing Committee's objective of creating an atmosphere of peace.

The Cultural Olympics event called "Advertising in the Service of Peace" focused on changing advertising billboards around the city and thus added to this atmosphere. In an effort to expand the nation's image beyond the stereotype of its population as one perpetually in a state of happiness, some of these billboards had black-and-white photographs of everyday life in the nation such as workers in chef hats posing together in a kitchen with the Olympic dove

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<sup>381</sup> "The Olympics: The Games Begin," *Time*, October 18, 1968: 79.

<sup>382</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 4: The Cultural Olympiad*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 732-735.

superimposed in a top corner.<sup>383</sup> The use of these snapshots allowed for displaying a more diverse picture of the country and for demonstrating that quotidian scenes offered examples of a peaceful world. Other billboard advertisements included illustrations by the famed political cartoonist Abel Quezada.<sup>384</sup> His drawings featured scenes of hope and progress with the tagline “Everything is possible in peace” inscribed on the images. One of these cartoons depicted an enormous classroom full of eager students with the slogan running along the bottom.<sup>385</sup> Quezada alluded to the Olympics in another image that depicted a crowd of people in various national costumes surrounding a man with a mustache and a huge sombrero with the slogan inscribed on his hat.<sup>386</sup> A mason constructing an outline of Mexico in brick with the line inscribed at the top provided the subject matter for a third picture and pointed to the fact that Mexico was a country forged in peace.<sup>387</sup> Alternatively, it could also symbolize that any disunities in the country could find resolution without violence.

Beyond the “Advertising in the Service of Peace,” the Cultural Olympics also had other events that focused on peace and youth, seeking to bring together young participants in a common mission to define and promote the theme of unity.<sup>388</sup> How these events that focused on providing spaces for participants to work together in the host city served to create an environment conducive to cooperation and understanding gives insight into the goals the Organizing Committee set out for its cultural program. Through these events, the Committee offered a way to focus on the Games as primarily a meeting of young people rather than an

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<sup>383</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 732 and 734.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, 732; Associated Press, “Abel Quezada Dead; Mexican Artist Was 70” *New York Times*, March 2, 1991 <https://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/02/obituaries/abel-quezada-dead-mexican-artist-was-70.html>.

<sup>385</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 738.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*, 739.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 and 731-732.

environment for competition between nations.<sup>389</sup> This spirit of friendship allowed both for emphasizing the other potentialities for youth than as athletes and for defining what it meant to work toward a world without violence and with mutual understanding between the world's populations. In all of this, the planners noted that not only were harmony and reciprocal consideration Olympic goals, but also they were fundamental to Mexico's national ideals thus making its capital city the perfect venue for reconsidering the meaning of the international event.

### **Meetings for Friendship**

The "Mission of Youth" section of the "International Film Festival" specifically focused on works in experimental film that young directors produced.<sup>390</sup> National Olympic Committees set the rules for how to decide which works to send in to represent their countries.<sup>391</sup> In the end, the Organizing Committee screened sixty-five films at the Olympic Village International Club and showed twenty out of these sixty-five in the National Anthropological Museum along with promotional films produced by the Film Section of the Organizing Committee.<sup>392</sup> Originally, organizers requested short film that would show the international youth community what humanity expected of them.<sup>393</sup> The specific goal for this event shifted by 1968 both to provide a space where young people could put forth their concerns and hopes about the future and to

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<sup>389</sup> Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, "Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee at Opening of 67th Session of the IOC," Oct. 7-11, 1968, Pg. 6, Box 88, Avery Brundage Collection (ABC), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

<sup>390</sup> "Actividades de la sección de cine," *Mexico '68: Carta Olimpica* 30, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (1968), unpaginated.

<sup>391</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 35.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>393</sup> Dirección de actividades artísticas y culturales del Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, "Festival of Mural Painting for Children," *Eventos Culturales*, Gallery 7, Box 753, Folder 41-2, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City.

portray in exchange the expectations that participating nations had for their youth populations.<sup>394</sup> The Official Olympic Report's writers noted that while these films highlighted young adults as the hope for the future, they also revealed the doubts that participants had that their visions come to pass.<sup>395</sup>

The Report's writers speculated that this might be the product of the contradictory feelings that society had about those in early adulthood. On the one hand, communities wanted a young population who had an adventurous, enthusiastic, original, and brave spirit, but on the other, many expected this same group to display characteristics such as deference to existing institutions and traditions. Older members of society, the writers explained, wanted to see respect for the values of the past in the present while youth's hope for the future lay in the potentialities of the tomorrow that they would forge.<sup>396</sup> Despite this generational divide, the space provided an opportunity for young filmmakers to express their hopes for the world's and their individual nations and communities in a productive way. This film festival served as a contrast to the youth protests that occurred around the world in the late-1960s because it offered an example of an official space for envisioning the future and the place that the newest generations would have in it. In this case, young individuals' passion and idealism allowed them to work together to express their concerns for culture, education, sports, and work while also conceptualizing what they wanted for the world instead of pointing out the wrongs of institutional leaders.<sup>397</sup> The Organizing Committee, in fact, used the term "experimental" to discuss the youth section of the film festival to demonstrate the challenge they posed to young

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<sup>394</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 35.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid., 35-36.

people to search for solutions to the problems they identified. As a gesture of the importance of the work, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization gave a prize to the film that they felt best expressed the aspiration of youth. “The Days of Our Youth,” a film by English filmmaker John Irving won the prize.<sup>398</sup>

With events and sections such as the “Mission of Youth,” the Organizing Committee provided a separate place for young participants to contribute to what they viewed as the future of their nations and chosen professional fields. Nevertheless, by giving them the space, the Organizing Committee and the National Olympic Committees who submitted the works set the terms of participants’ inclusion in larger conversations. The generation born in the first decade and a half after World War II as a demographic group had more numbers than older ones. Not only had pesticides and vaccinations increased their chances of living to adolescence, but also faster methods of transportation and communication allowed this generation to communicate with one another across geographic, political, and cultural boundaries even if indirectly.<sup>399</sup> These factors left social, cultural, and political leaders with the task of directing these youthful energies into endeavors productive to their aims. While it is important to consider the ways that youth rebelled against these structures, it is equally important to understand the types of venues offered as a way to think about the hopes, fears, and futures envisioned by older generations.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 36.

<sup>399</sup> For discussions of this population growth, see Alison Bashford, “Population, Geopolitics, and International Organizations in the Mid-Twentieth Century,” *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 327-347; *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008).

<sup>400</sup> See Valerie Manzano, “The Blue Jean Generation: Youth, Gender, and Sexuality in Buenos Aires, 1958-1975,” *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 3 (2009): 657-676; Jeremi Suri, “The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960-1975,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009): 45-68; Joel Kotek, “Youth Organizations as a Battlefield in the Cold War,” in *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*, eds. Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam (London: F. Cass, 2003), 168-191; Jeremi Suri, “The Language of Dissent,” in *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 88-130; Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

Another event, the “Meeting of Young Architects,” allowed young professionals to consider the problems that faced their countries in an atmosphere of cooperation. Architecture has one of the oldest histories as an aesthetic event in the Olympic Movement including its incorporation into artistic competitions starting in 1912. The 1968 meeting, in addition to presenting plans for spaces for sports, gave architects the chance to meet one another and discuss the problems in the profession.<sup>401</sup> The “Meeting of Young Architects,” as part of the larger event called the “Exhibition of Sites for Sports and Cultural Activities,” began with a meeting between the Organizing Committee and a group of young Mexican architects to craft a joint paper presentation for the Cultural Olympics.<sup>402</sup> For the other submissions to the “Meeting of Young Architects,” organizations in participating countries held contests with the winners representing their respective nations. Entrants received more consideration if their projects had a social meaning.<sup>403</sup> The “Meeting of Young Architects” had 171 participants in all with 129 from Mexico. The group included both graduate students and professional architects all under the age of thirty-five.<sup>404</sup>

At the conference, all the participants had the opportunity to present individual papers. Met with great interest, the presentation by the participants from the Mexican delegation covered themes such as the role of architects in society; ways to develop international relationships between those in the profession; and how young architects could navigate economic and political realities.<sup>405</sup> The conference proved so influential that delegates from Argentina, Spain, the United States, India and Mexico passed a resolution to create an international association to

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<sup>401</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 708.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid., 708-709.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid., 709.

continue the work they had begun at the conference.<sup>406</sup> As with the films from the “Mission of Youth” festival, the “Meeting of Young Architects” carved out a separate space to consider the future that young participants would have a part in creating while at the same time proving the social value of their craft.

The event called “The Reception Offered by Mexico’s Youth” went as far as to create an event completely focused on bringing together the world’s young people. The display featured 14,000 children from Puebla and 4,000 students from military and secondary schools around the capital who performed a gymnastics tableau and physical education demonstrations of callisthenic drills.<sup>407</sup> The half hour performance had three parts. The first part consisted of students from both Puebla and Mexico City marching together around the plaza to the music of a military band.<sup>408</sup> At the end of this part, both groups of students said in unison to the audience: “*Bienvenidos a México, juventud del mundo*”—“Welcome to Mexico, youth of the world.”<sup>409</sup> The second section had the students from Puebla holding colorful bouquets of feathers and creating gymnastics tableaux as pieces by Mexican musicians and pop songs such as the Beatles’ “Hard Day’s Night” played over the loudspeakers, providing the beats for the formation of shapes such as a star that represented youth’s bright future and a dove.<sup>410</sup> The military and secondary schools students’ doing gymnastics drills made up the final part of the performance.<sup>411</sup> All of this was a part of the skills students had honed during seven months of practice led by over ninety physical education teachers and university students from the *Escuela Nacional*

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<sup>406</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 708.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>408</sup> Lewis H. Diuguid, “Children’s Parade Opens Olympic Festivities,” *The Washington Post*, October 11, 1968: A15.

<sup>409</sup> *Excelsior*, October 11, 1968: 1.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>411</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 16-18.

*Educación Física* (National Physical Education School).<sup>412</sup> The performance took place with the help of educators from around the country and even from abroad. For their hard work, all participants received certificates from the Organizing Committee.<sup>413</sup>

The venue and crowds added to the festive atmosphere of the performers' welcome. Flower weavers from Huamantla, Tlaxcala had begun work at dawn to create the 100-meter-long carpet of flowers covered in a layer of colorful sawdust and formed into a pre-Hispanic symbol that bordered one side of the plaza.<sup>414</sup> Balloons with the Olympic logo flew overhead. Banners with white doves surrounded the plaza.<sup>415</sup> Spectators crowded onto the streets bordering the city center to observe the event while even more watched from the balconies, windows, and roofs of the surrounding buildings.<sup>416</sup> Audience members waved flags and threw flowers.<sup>417</sup> According to the reporters of the Mexico City newspaper *Excelsior*, the display of rhythm and color frequently elicited gasps of admiration, applause and cries of “*Viva México!*” Vendors added to the festive atmosphere, selling ice cream and candy as well as Olympic souvenirs. At the end of the ceremony, the students chanted: “One ideal--peace; one country-- the world.”<sup>418</sup>

Gymnastics demonstrations such as this one had a history at the Olympics going back to the Amsterdam Games; nevertheless, in 1928, they were an international gathering and emphasized national difference in gymnastics movements. These displays related to demonstrations of games and sports not included in the athletic program such as baseball from

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<sup>412</sup> “Memo from Oscar Urrutia to Ernst Idla,” May 20, 1968, Gallery 7, Box 771, Folder 41-274, AGN.

<sup>413</sup> *Excelsior*, October 11, 1968: 1 and 21.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*, 21; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 16.

<sup>415</sup> *Excelsior*, October 11, 1968: 1; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 16.

<sup>416</sup> *Excelsior*, October 11, 1968: 1.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.* 1 and 21; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 13-18.

the 1908 Olympics until it became an official event at the Barcelona Games. These types of demonstrations allowed nations to emphasize their individual sporting traditions, and for much of the twentieth century, gymnastics had a nationally-specific character that went beyond the Olympics event. In 1928, five teams made up of at least sixteen male or female gymnasts from Czechoslovakia, Germany, Holland, Hungary, and Poland gave forty-five minute displays.<sup>419</sup> These displays, unlike the 1968 demonstration, were not part of the cultural program, and their main purpose was promoting physical education, not offering a space of welcoming for youth.

In 1968, along with Organizing Committee members and their special guests, athletes and the participants in cultural events made up the audience for the gymnastics performance.<sup>420</sup> The fact that the event emphasized an extension of welcome from young Mexicans to the athletic and cultural participants fit well with the focus on the 1968 Games as primarily a meeting of the world's youth. More than this, as a part of the cultural program, the "Reception Offered by the Mexico's Youth" allowed for concentrating on two aspects of these friendship events. The first provided a space for participants to conceptualize Olympic ideals and the place of young adults in the future of the Movement and the world as a whole. The second pivoted on both providing an opportunity for participants to share their national traits with one another and more specifically educating them about Mexican culture. The gymnastics tableau accomplished the first goal through the repeated mention of peace and the tableau shapes of the star and the dove. The second goal came through the emphasis on national art forms such as flower weaving.

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<sup>419</sup> Netherlands Olympic Committee (Committee 1928), *The Ninth Olympiad being the Official Report of the Olympic Games of 1928 Celebrated at Amsterdam*, ed. G. Van Rossem, trans. Sydney W. Fleming (Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy, Ltd. Printers & Publishers, circa 1928), 672.

<sup>420</sup> Dirección de actividades artísticas y culturales del Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, "Reception Offered by Mexico's Youth to the Youth of the World" *Eventos Culturales*, Gallery 7, Box 753, Folder 41-2, AGN.

Other events completely focused on bringing young participants to Mexico City; nevertheless, in these too, the mission revolved around forming friendships with a diverse group of individuals and envisioning a harmonious future. At the event called the “Mexican Camp for World Youth,” 885 young men and women between the ages of 15 and 20 lived for twenty-one days in the Oaxtepec Vacation Center, located ninety kilometers (55.9 miles) outside of the host city.<sup>421</sup> While at the camp, participants had the task of promoting friendship and unity among the people of the world. They spent the three weeks teaching one another about their regional and national dances, songs, and games.<sup>422</sup> Participants also attended panel discussions on world youth, and the camp’s organizers devoted a day to each of the countries who sent participants.<sup>423</sup> In addition to going on excursions throughout the city and receiving visits from famous artists and athletes, the Organizing Committee arranged lectures and courses on Mexican culture.<sup>424</sup> World youth camps in Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo provided antecedents for the “Mexican Camp for World Youth” but in these previous instances, they were not part of the cultural program.<sup>425</sup> Including the event in the Cultural Olympics program provided an opportunity to frame the content and mission of the camp in terms of culture, meaning that friendship was possible through mutual understanding and the aspects of Mexican culture that participants learned included not only art and music, but also its population’s commitment to creating peace.

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<sup>421</sup> Dirección de actividades artísticas y culturales del Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, “Mexican Olympic Camp for World Youth,” *Eventos Culturales*, Gallery 7, Box 753, Folder 41-2, AGN; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 41-42.

<sup>422</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 42.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid.

<sup>425</sup> Dirección de actividades artísticas y culturales, “Mexican Olympic Camp for World Youth,” AGN; Organisationskomitee für die XI. Olympiade Berlin 1936 E.V., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin, 1936: Volume I* (Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1937), 64.

“The Festival of Children’s Painting” and its section called “Festival of Mural Painting” also completely focused on young people, and for it, 160 children from forty-seven countries, including a group from the United Nations, came to Mexico City.<sup>426</sup> During their time in the host city, the young artists lived, worked, played, and went on excursions together. This included official Olympic events such as the “Reception Offered by Mexico’s Youth,” the Opening Ceremony, and the inauguration of the “Festival of Children’s Painting”-- where they could see the works produced by other children that the Committee displayed in the National Auditorium.<sup>427</sup> Participants also went to the carnival rides at the host city’s iconic Chapultepec Park, attended a rodeo, and visited the National Museum of History.<sup>428</sup> At the dormitory where they lived called the “Children’s Village,” celebrities such as the Mexican comedian and actor Cantinflas visited.<sup>429</sup> The Children’s Village residents additionally entertained themselves with games, puppet shows, and their own theatrical performances.<sup>430</sup> The entire group of artists, hosts, and chaperones also put their artistic abilities to work constructing twenty musical sculptures from aluminum tubes, cones, and acoustical bars that went into motion with small windmills.<sup>431</sup>

The child painters who arrived in Mexico for this event not only met other young artists from around the world, but they also worked during this time producing murals on the theme of “A World of Friendship.” For the first four mornings of their time in the host city, participants worked side-by-side in Chapultepec Park painting their murals. While engaged in this work they

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<sup>426</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 399-400.

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.*, 400 and 411.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*, 412.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*, 402 and 405.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*, 411.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*, 409.

typically wore official smocks with the psychedelic “Mexico ‘68” logo or in t-shirts emblazoned with the official logo for the “Festival of Children’s Painting”-- a stick figure with a smiling face, protruding ears, and spiky hair. Although the Organizing Committee originally planned for participants to paint the outsides of buildings, they settled for children’s producing their artwork on large freestanding walls that they displayed along Paseo de la Reforma, a tree-lined thoroughfare in the host city.<sup>432</sup> This event not only provided young artists the chance to meet and live together in the same way that athletes could, but also, according to a preliminary report, would allow for children to participate directly in Olympics, thus offering a chance for instilling Olympic ideals early.<sup>433</sup>

Youth events did not provide the only opportunities for expressing friendship and cooperation. Scientific conferences also offered a place for celebrating something other than competition. As young people had the task of conceiving of the future and unity between the countries of the world, the scientific exploits celebrated at the Cultural Olympics similarly emphasized the spirit of solving some of the biggest problems of day. For example, at the “Exhibition on Space Research,” rather than focusing on the aspects of the Space Race such as achieving a lunar landing, the emphasis was on the potentialities for bringing humans closer together.<sup>434</sup> As the writers of the Olympic Report noted, breakthroughs in telecommunication satellites allowed individuals to share information faster between continents and to learn more about their own planet.<sup>435</sup> Moreover, participating in space research in and of itself could give scientists from many countries the chance to work together in a spirit of exchange.<sup>436</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>432</sup> Dirección de actividades artísticas y culturales, “Festival of Mural Painting for Children,” AGN.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid.

<sup>434</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 677.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid.

at the Cultural Olympics, the successes of individuals and groups in the arts, science, and diplomacy went beyond bolstering any one nation's list of accomplishments or proof of the superiority of any economic or political system. They all provided instead a win for all the populations of the world. Understanding these technologies, just as learning about each other's cultures, gave all peoples a way to achieve the Olympic ideal of peace.

### **Defining Friendship and Cooperation through the Cultural Events**

Despite the association between militarism and sports, from the beginning of the Modern Games, peace undergirded the movement in that it provided a space where nation-states could compete other than on a battlefield. Over the generations, many have maintained that the connection between the Olympics and peace relates to the myth of the sacred truce that mandated that Ancient Greek city-states stop all fighting while celebrating the Games. Historical research has tended to complicate the meanings of this truce; nevertheless, peace has remained a long-lasting Olympic ideal that has had many different interpretations.<sup>437</sup> Members of the IOC and the Organizing Committee in 1968 typically defined peace as bringing together examples of art and science as well as individuals in order to facilitate greater understanding between different nations and cultures.<sup>438</sup> Thus, this perception of peace went beyond avoiding military conflict to attempting to root out ignorance and misinformation as well as embracing those from different cultures and traditions. On numerous occasions, organizers at the national and international level defined peace as allowing individuals to come together regardless of factors such as race, creed

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<sup>437</sup> See Mark Golden, "War and Peace in the Ancient and Modern Olympics," *Greece & Rome*, Second Series 58, no. 1 (2011): 1-13.

<sup>438</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 732.

or nation.<sup>439</sup> The 1968 Organizing Committee worked to establish an atmosphere of peace through promoting inclusion. For example, as a representation of the atmosphere of unity, on the final day of the “Mexican World Youth Camp, the venue served as a site where Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and Buddhist leaders took part in a Mass given by the archbishop of Cuernavaca.<sup>440</sup>

Another way of establishing a peaceful atmosphere involved uniting people from different racial and national backgrounds through a shared mission. One of the most visible ways to demonstrate unity between nations was bringing together individuals with different skin colors. Images in literature produced by the Organizing Committee included many images of groups of participants of different races smiling, dancing, playing and working together. While any international gathering would likely include peoples of different ethnic backgrounds, some evidence points to the intentionality of this. For example, in his article on organizing the “Reunion of Sculptors,” event coordinator Mathias Goeritz specifically discusses his desire for a sculptor from a sub-Saharan African nation to demonstrate to the diverse group of sculptors. He explains that when he could not arrange this, so he chose an African-American participant and another one from Morocco.<sup>441</sup>

Encouraging participants to wear nationally-specific dress provided another way for visually displaying unity between individuals of different backgrounds. For the “Mexican World Youth Camp,” organizers argued that the gathering would have more color if the residents of the

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<sup>439</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 10; Pedro Ramirez Vázquez, “Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee at Opening of 67th Session of the IOC,” Oct. 7-11, 1968, Pg. 5, ABC.

<sup>440</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 42.

<sup>441</sup> Mathias Goeritz, “‘The Route of Friendship’: Sculpture” *Leonardo* 3, no. 4 (1970): 404.

camp dressed in accordance with their identities and cultures.<sup>442</sup> The children who went to the host city to paint murals were also prompted to wear national and regional costumes particularly during their outings in the city.<sup>443</sup> Similar to the case of racial difference, an international gathering would increase the likelihood of individuals wearing different styles of dress. Nevertheless, in the case of both the “Mexican World Youth Camp” and the “Festival of Mural Painting,” the images of participants during moments when the event guidelines did not encourage them to wear specific clothing, their fashions tended to have more similarities regardless of nationality. Moreover, the nationally-specific costumes tended to have either ceremonial or historical meaning rather than reflect styles of dress in different countries such as Japanese children dressed in kimonos and North Americans in wide-brimmed frontiersmen hats.<sup>444</sup>

Language, in addition to race and dress, became another center of attention. Logistically, the Organizing Committee recognized that those attending the “Meeting of Young Architects” conference and living in both the “Children’s Village” and the “Mexican Camp for World Youth” would need to speak at least one of the official Olympic languages for 1968: English, French, or Spanish.<sup>445</sup> Nevertheless, emphasis remained on the number of different languages that participants spoke. For instance, when describing the “Mexican Camp for World Youth,” Olympic Report writers noted that one of the experiences for the youth involved included the opportunity to hear a multitude of tongues they had never heard.<sup>446</sup> Language, although like

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<sup>442</sup> “Mexico 68: Campamento olímpico mexicano de la juventud mundial,” program notes for “Mexican Olympic Camp for World Youth,” unpaginated, circa 1968.

<sup>443</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 400 and 402.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid.*, 400 and 405.

<sup>445</sup> “Mexico 68: Campamento olímpico mexicano de la juventud mundial,” program notes for “Mexican Olympic Camp for World Youth,” unpaginated, circa 1968; Dirección de actividades artísticas y culturales, “Festival of Mural Painting for Children,” AGN.

<sup>446</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 42.

dress and physical characteristics in that it served as a noticeable difference between nations, became the vehicle for unity as well. Organizers maintained that through the work of joining with one another, participants could work to erase the linguistic barriers and would acquire the ability to create a language of peace and friendship.<sup>447</sup> Not only did the Committee use this definition, but also many young artists' paintings on the theme "A World of Friendship" featured images of figures with different skin colors and national dress holding hands, dancing, and playing together. Displaying these images in public places provided for opportunities for the Organizing Committee to define and bolster this particular notion of peace.<sup>448</sup>

### **Peace as a Traditionally Mexican Ideal**

From his first proposal of the program, president of the Organizing Committee, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, argued that his nation had a well-established commitment to peace and a traditional desire that all the countries of the world could live together without violence.<sup>449</sup> This claim that peace made up Mexican national values spoke to the country's position as one outside of the Cold War confrontation between the US and USSR evidenced by the fact that the country maintained at least nominal relations with Cuba while at the same time sustaining close ties to the United States.<sup>450</sup> A nation such as Mexico, IOC Chairman Avery Brundage argued, had the potential to have the best host cities because they did not have to navigate complications with

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<sup>447</sup> "A.B. Visit to Mexico City," pg. 12-13, Box 87, ABC.

<sup>448</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 400-402.

<sup>449</sup> Organizing Committee of the XIX Olympic Games, "Report presented by Mr. Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, Chairman of the Organizing Committee, to the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee in Mexico City," October 22, 1968, Pg. 2, Box 85, Folder, "IOC Meetings--Executive Board, Mexico--October 22, 1966," ABC.

<sup>450</sup> Renata Keller, "A Foreign Policy for Domestic Consumption: Mexico's Lukewarm Defense of Castro, 1959-1969," *Latin American Research Review* 47, no. 2 (2012): 100-119.

issuing visas to athletes from countries with contentious statuses such as East Germany. In addition to establishing a special ability to understand peace and provide an atmosphere based on this Olympic ideal, the emphasis on non-violence also served to place students protesting the Mexican government during 1968 outside of national identity and priorities.<sup>451</sup>

Peace as defined by a union between peoples regardless of factors such as religion or race related back to Revolutionary goals and the environment it created. In the 1910s and 1920s, Mexican intellectuals worked to conceive a path to a lasting peace in a country plagued by cycles of civil war since declaring independence in 1810. In his 1916 work *Forjando Patria (Forging a Nation)*, anthropologist Manuel Gamio argued that ending internal strife required completely incorporating indigenous peoples and their culture into national life.<sup>452</sup> The 1917 Constitution also worked to create a place for indigenous groups through education and the preservation of some of their traditional and cultural practices through the land reforms that created *ejidos* that allowed their communities to own and work land collectively.<sup>453</sup>

In the 1948 prologue to his book *The Cosmic Race* (originally published in 1925), Mexican intellectual José Vasconcelos further explained his argument and discussed the biological and cultural mixing of peoples primarily of European and indigenous ancestry. As he explained, this mixing of what he called “the light colored race” had allowed for a harmonious blending of different ethnic groups.<sup>454</sup> Thus, the brown skin associated with the Mexican population spoke to the peaceful union of two races separated by characteristics such as

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<sup>451</sup> Eric Zolov, “Showcasing the ‘Land of Tomorrow’: Mexico and the 1968 Olympics” *The Americas* 61, no. 2 (2004): 159-188.

<sup>452</sup> See Manuel Gamio, *Forjando Patria: Pronacionalismo*, trans. Fernando Armstron-Fumero (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2010).

<sup>453</sup> For a discussion of the 1917 Constitution, see E.V. Niemeyer, Jr., *Revolution at Queretaro: The Mexican Constitutional Convention of 1916-1917* (Austin: University of Texas, 1974).

<sup>454</sup> José Vasconcelos, prologue to the 1948 Edition of *The Cosmic Race: A Bilingual Edition*, trans. Didier T. Jaén (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997): 4-5.

language, dress, and religion, the very differences celebrated in the Cultural Olympics' fraternal atmosphere. This blending, Vasconcelos argued, contrasted with the United States where most of the ethnic blending came from intermarriage between the descendants different European groups.<sup>455</sup> Moreover, the social strife that many associated with countries such as the United States and South Africa had a very stark racial contrast between white political leaders and law enforcement and demonstrators with dark skin. Clashes such as these served to cast doubt on the model of liberal democracy.

Finally, the events that emphasized bringing together young individuals outside of athletic competition highlighted the equation between youth and the future. These gatherings had the implied theme that despite the fact that the younger members of nations' populations needed some guidance from their older counterparts, the future belonged to them. Spokespersons for the 1968 Games at the international and national level similarly stressed that Mexico was a young country whose hosting of the Olympics would provide a renaissance for the movement especially because of the Organizing Committee's focus on using the cultural events to return to the ideals of the Ancient Greeks' celebrations.<sup>456</sup> Ramírez Vázquez, for his part, argued that his nation's status as a youthful one helped the citizenry to understand other young nations.<sup>457</sup> Therefore, just as only a nation outside the East-West divide could truly provide the venue for an international meeting of individuals from around the world regardless of governmental structure or economic system, only a country such as his could conceptualize how to create a space where all participants would feel they had a place.<sup>458</sup> This included the Cultural

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<sup>455</sup> Vasconcelos, prologue to the 1948 Edition of *The Cosmic Race*, 5.

<sup>456</sup> "Inauguration of the Cultural Olympics," *Mexico '68: Olympic Newsletter 26*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (1968): unpaginated.

<sup>457</sup> Ramírez Vázquez, "Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee," 5-7, ABC.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

Olympics as a site where the many groups who made up the international community could put on display their conception of their cultures on their own terms and on an equal footing that the athletic events did not provide.

### **The Cultural Events and an Environment of Mutual Understanding**

Artistic and scientific events also provided for creating an atmosphere of peace because, according to the Organizing Committee, a future without violence required mutual understanding that they worked to facilitate through gathering the artwork, music, dance, scientists, and youth of the world together with the cultural program. More than athletics, they argued, the cultural side would allow countries to decide on and display the elements of their identities and mores that would best provide insight into the communities their performances and exhibitions represented. Artistic and scientific events aided in creating an atmosphere of peace and understanding by transforming and expanding the use of athletic venues.

One of the ways that the Organizing Committee used the cultural program to aid in creating this atmosphere at the 1968 Games came from using the Olympic Village as a venue for some of the artistic and scientific events. The Olympic Village first appeared at the Los Angeles Games in 1932 and originally served to provide low-cost accommodations for visiting athletes.<sup>459</sup> Prior to that, national committees and individuals had the responsibility for paying for room and board. Nevertheless, in 1932, two factors converged that led to the addition of the Village to the Olympic tradition. First, the global economic crisis caused by the Great Depression made it a possibility that nations would not send athletes because of a lack of funds.

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<sup>459</sup> For a discussion of the 1932 Games, see Doris H. Pieroth, *Their Day in the Sun: Women of the 1932 Olympics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996); Xth Olympiad Committee of the Games of Los Angeles, *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932: Official Report* (Los Angeles: Wolfer Printing Company, 1932), 47.

The location of the host city in the western United States provided another reason why some nations --particularly from Europe-- might decide not to come to the Games. The United States had not had a host city since the 1904 Olympics in St. Louis when many European athletes did not to make the trip because of the expense. The Olympic Village, the 1932 Organizing Committee estimated, would save European delegations five hundred dollars per participant.<sup>460</sup> Greatly increasing access to athletes of slim individual means or from countries with fewer resources, the Village quickly became a permanent part of the Movement although they remained primarily the domain of athletes.

In 1968, performing artists who came to the host city as a part of the cultural program had the opportunity to live in one of the Villages and could experience an environment of international unity in the same way as athletes. Some of the events also took place at the Olympic Village so that athletic delegations could have the chance to enjoy the program. Originally, the Organizing Committee planned for athletes also to share their culture by putting on dramatic production or playing instruments. Screening some of the entries for the event called “The International Film Festival” instead provided one of the ways to bring culture to the Village.<sup>461</sup> Another example was the “International Meeting of Poets” that included performances by poets where they read the verse that they had written for the occasion. One of these included British poet Robert Graves who wrote a poem called “Torch and Crown” about the young woman who lit the cauldron that year, Norma Henriqueta Basilio.<sup>462</sup> The Village also served as the site of the conferences for the “Program on Human Genetics and Biology”.<sup>463</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> Xth Olympiad Committee, *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932*, 47.

<sup>461</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 32.

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid.*, 387.

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*, 702.

Thus, through these types of events, the Organizing Committee transformed athletic spaces into cultural ones as well.

**Concluding Remarks:**

One of the stated goals of the Organizing Committee for the Cultural Olympics was creating an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding. Some of these events specifically emphasized bringing together young people, so they could share their cultures with one another and consider their mission in conceiving and creating a world of friendship and unity for the future. The cultural and artistic program also provides a way for understanding how the Organizing committee defined the Olympic ideal of peace from both a national and international perspective. Finally, even events not specifically focused fostering unity among young participants served to create an environment of confraternity including in athletic spaces thus serving to demonstrate the compatibility with the athletic side of the movement.

## The 1968 Organizing Committee and the Museum Without Walls

Among the many firsts that journalists, politicians, organizers, and IOC members credited to the 1968 Summer Games, the Mexico City Olympics also became the first projected to an international audience in color and with many of the competitions, performances, and ceremonies broadcast via satellite.<sup>464</sup> The Organizing Committee members used this technological undertaking as the focus of the twentieth event of their cultural program called “The Games of the XIX Olympiad in Motion Pictures and Television.” Focusing on more than the athletic competitions, the event showcased the nation’s cinematic capabilities by producing short films directed by some of the most prominent and promising directors and cinematographers in the country.<sup>465</sup> Six of these films focused on cities with historical importance or of touristic interest such as the host city, the resort city of Acapulco, and the cultural center of Guadalajara.<sup>466</sup> Additionally, the Organizing Committee released television programs prior to the Games that served as previews.<sup>467</sup> During the 1968 Summer Olympics, an audience of over six hundred million watched live coverage of the athletic events.<sup>468</sup>

The development of motion pictures and the Olympics occurred in tandem. The first films for public screening appeared in the early- to mid-1890s, during the same period that IOC founder Baron Pierre de Coubertin began the Modern Olympic Movement and that Athens became the first modern host city. Thus, the films of the Games serve as the history of the

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<sup>464</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 2: The Organization*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 301.

<sup>465</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 4: The Cultural Olympiad*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 746-748.

<sup>466</sup> *Ibid.*, 745-746.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*, 749.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*

evolution of motion picture technology. In the early years, audience members and crews captured contests, but these typically consisted of short sequences. The 1936 Games in Berlin became the first time that an organizing committee produced a feature-length documentary that worked to emphasize the drama and spectacle of sport rather than serving merely instructional or informational purposes.<sup>469</sup>

Director Leni Riefenstahl's critically-acclaimed documentary of the 1936 Games, *Olympia*, not only set a precedent of organizing committees' production of documentary films of the events, but also became a cinematic achievement in its own right because of her use of many of the same techniques that she had employed when directing the 1935 Nazi propaganda film *Triumph of the Will*. This included the use of dramatic music and aerial shots to heighten emotion and allow her to manipulate the photography for events that she had little power to direct.<sup>470</sup> To avoid crowds and create continuity, the 1936 Organizing Committee positioned towers and ladders in the stadium and used a hot air balloon that circled above the events.<sup>471</sup> Camera operators captured shots standing in pits near sporting sites to allow for close-ups of races.<sup>472</sup> For the diving competitions, Riefenstahl's crew used cameras in underwater containers that floated at the surface level of the pool and could capture competitors as they descended from the high boards into the water. When the divers went into the pool, the cameras submerged into the water as well, capturing the first underwater shots of sports photography.<sup>473</sup> During the trials, Riefenstahl even staged track and field competitors, having them repeat their events long

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<sup>469</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 24; Jürgen Trimborn, *Leni Riefenstahl: A Life*, trans. Edna McCown (New York: Faber and Faber, 2007), 133.

<sup>470</sup> Trimborn, *Leni Riefenstahl*, 135.

<sup>471</sup> Organisationskomitee für die XI, Olympiade Berlin 1936 E.V., *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin, 1936: Volume I* (Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert, 1937), 330.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, 331-333.

<sup>473</sup> Steven Bach, *Leni: The Life and Work of Leni Riefenstahl* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 152; Trimborn, *Leni Riefenstahl*, 136.

into the night after the crowds had left in order to shoot the movements of athletes' bodies and their facial expressions.<sup>474</sup>

Together, these techniques allowed for a multitude of takes that Riefenstahl could piece together to tell stories of victory and defeat for the featured athletes as the film cut between wide shots of the competitions, close ups of spectators' reactions, slow motion montages, and tight frames of Olympians' bodies and faces. The film itself included the comments of radio announcers, simulated sounds of sporting competitions, and a triumphal operatic score performed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra that built suspense and emotion for audiences.<sup>475</sup> In these ways, *Olympia* straddled the line between a documentary and a scripted movie.<sup>476</sup> The Olympic films after 1936, including the one for the Mexico City Games, used many of the same techniques such as the use of dramatic music and slow motion to heighten the emotions of viewers. The 1968 film served as an innovation as well because the Organizing Committee included it as a part of the cultural program and made the projection of athletic, artistic, and scientific events to a worldwide audience a high priority.<sup>477</sup>

Thus, the event called "The Games of the XIX Olympiad in Motion Pictures and Television" mirrored the aims and scope of the other Cultural Olympics events by offering the world a chance to witness this gathering of productions and by providing an opportunity for nations to present their cultural achievements as they could their athletic ones. Participating nations received a certain amount of subsidization from the Mexican Olympic Committee in the form of the absorption of costs such as filming. In some cases, the Committee directly funded

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<sup>474</sup> Organisationskomitee für die XI, *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin, 1936: Volume I*, 334-335; Bach, *Leni*, 151.

<sup>475</sup> Bach, *Leni*, 161-162.

<sup>476</sup> Trimborn, *Leni Riefenstahl*, 134-135.

<sup>477</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 748.

international transportation. Nonetheless, organizers of the cultural program needed a unifying concept that could match the national pride and competition that characterized the athletic events. For the confraternal gatherings, they emphasized the meeting between young people as something that united the cultural and athletic sides of the 1968 program. In his commentary about the “Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art,” anthropologist and director of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, Ignacio Bernal, drew connections between the event and the 1951 essay “A Museum Without Walls” (“Le Musée Imaginaire”). In their goals and implementation, the Committee members who organized the artistic festivals and scientific exhibitions drew on many of the same arguments and aims of the essay as their unifying themes.<sup>478</sup> Therefore, the piece provides an approach for understanding these events.

In “A Museum Without Walls,” French scholar André Malraux argues that in taking advantage of technologies that made it possible to gather as many examples of art as possible, the international community could reveal the larger historical and cultural context of art movements and the shared values among societies from around the world.<sup>479</sup> The scholar coined the titular term to describe the changing face of art since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought on by the practice of photographing pieces of artwork and thus opening up the chance to see these works beyond those able to travel to the great museums of the world.<sup>480</sup> Even though this opening of access to artwork had already begun, Malraux argued that to complete this process, it was necessary to create international and cross-cultural exhibitions that would bring artwork out of geographic separation and the seclusion of galleries.<sup>481</sup> In doing this,

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<sup>478</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 51-52.

<sup>479</sup> See André Malraux, “Museum Without Walls” in *The Voices of Silence*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1953).

<sup>480</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 52; Malraux, “Museum Without Walls,” 16.

<sup>481</sup> Malraux, “Museum Without Walls,” 16.

the creators could demonstrate values shared among the peoples of the world and provide a larger context for what critics and scholars considered genius to show that it was not isolated to European artists and forms.<sup>482</sup>

Beyond collecting artists, artwork, and performers from many nations for Cultural Olympics events, the members of the Organizing Committee created a museum without walls by using multiple buildings and the entire year of 1968 so that neither time nor space would limit their ability to make a truly international representation of world cultures. These measures allowed for moving beyond the restrictions of museums that Malraux laid out in his essay where he notes that the rise of museums during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries changed patrons' and critics' relationship to art.<sup>483</sup> Prior to museums, artwork had specific functions such as religious worship; conversely, museums led to the rise of pieces created specifically for the purpose of display in galleries.<sup>484</sup> Thus, societies with museums, particularly in Western European cities and urban centers in the Americas, came to understand works in these institutions as art while classifying everything else with terms such as crafts and handiwork.<sup>485</sup>

The items that became part of museum collections did not necessarily demonstrate more skill or have unique qualities; instead, administrators oftentimes made these decisions based on logistics. Most statues were too large to house as was religious artwork such as mosaics and stained glass windows.<sup>486</sup> On the other hand, pieces such as coins and medallions required too much lighting to make their bas-relief visible to patrons.<sup>487</sup> Since paintings made for the easiest

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<sup>482</sup> Malraux, "Museum Without Walls," 17-19.

<sup>483</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>484</sup> Ibid.

<sup>485</sup> Ibid., 15 and 17-18.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid., 15 and 30.

<sup>487</sup> Ibid. 25, 27, 30.

works to house and to transport during military conquests such as the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), they made up the bulk of the items on display.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, because of Western European artistic conventions that preferred adherence to a form that resembled Renaissance masters', an even smaller number of paintings became a part of collections.<sup>489</sup> Limitations of technology and knowledge about non-European and ancient artwork also meant that most pieces came from Western Europe.<sup>490</sup> Most museum administrators and patrons regarded the small number of statues and sculptures from Ancient Greece and Rome, as well as some from overseas territories, as examples of genius whose worthiness came as a result of a break from cultural convention instead of as representations of ancient and non-European aesthetics.<sup>491</sup>

Photography and a growing knowledge about cultures outside of Western European and American cities served to break down these assumptions about artistic quality, according to Malraux, because it broadened the viewing audience and expanded the subject matter. In the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, art books with photographic reproductions became available for mass consumption.<sup>492</sup> Rather than the small audience of those with access to museums and private galleries, art books opened the art world to a larger number of viewers. Moreover, art books did not have the same restrictions as brick-and-mortar buildings. Photography could make large pieces like statues and buildings small enough to fit onto one or two pages.<sup>493</sup> Additionally, producers of these books could enlarge small pieces such as the bas-relief on coins and medallions.<sup>494</sup> Photographers more often went to less conventional sites to collect images

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<sup>488</sup> Malraux, "Museum Without Walls," 15.

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 66, and 71-72.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 and 18.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 and 20.

<sup>492</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>493</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 and 24.

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.*

including rural and non-European communities.<sup>495</sup> Depicted in the same space of an art book, the audience of these photographic collections began to resurrect the question: what is art?<sup>496</sup> For Malraux, this question served as the beginning of the museum without walls.<sup>497</sup>

Although photography and greater contact between different areas of the world had begun the process of creating a museum without walls, Malraux argued that this process required concerted efforts to display pieces in the same space.<sup>498</sup> Technological improvements such as color photography would aid in making reproductions as realistic as possible; nevertheless, by physically housing the pieces together, audiences could appreciate these works without the flatness of snapshots.<sup>499</sup> Writing in 1963, Malraux noted that galleries, geographic segregation, and the tendency to separate contemporary and traditional art all prevented the creation of a true museum without walls.<sup>500</sup> Divisions between works found in museums and so-called minor art also served as an obstacle.<sup>501</sup> Breaking down these barriers served as the only way to move beyond ideas of universal standards that tended to hold up only a small minority of world art as worthy of appreciation.<sup>502</sup>

Although the 1968 Organizing Committee only referred to Malraux in their description of the event called the “Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art,” their theme of mutual understanding through an international gathering related directly to what Malraux argued that the museum without walls would provide viewers. Thus, his work serves as a good way to

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<sup>495</sup> Malraux, “Museum Without Walls,” 16.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>497</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>498</sup> Ibid., 15 and 126-127.

<sup>499</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>500</sup> Ibid., 15-16 and 18-19.

<sup>501</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 24.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid., 17-20.

understand all of the artistic events and even the scientific ones. The performances, festivals, international meetings, and exhibitions that made up the cultural program both displayed the country's unique cultural offerings and allowed for displaying the rest of the world's cultural productions alongside each other rather than isolated in national pavilions as in the case of the World's Fair. The scientific and technological events presented the collective international achievements in fields such as medicine and space research as belonging to all humans meaning that success did not belong to any one nation but to all of mankind and as such should benefit all regardless of nationality or ideology.

### **A Museum Without Walls and Art at the Cultural Olympics**

Throughout 1968, particularly the month of October, dancers and musicians performed at venues around the host city. Young people carried out rhythmic gymnastics routines in front of crowds of spectators. Large sculptures adorned the main thoroughfare between the Olympic Village and the Olympic Stadium. Children's artwork hung along the Mexico City boulevard, Paseo de la Reforma. Brightly colored billboards and flags depicting doves covered the city urging viewers to create a world of peace and offering directions to the many sites. In the Olympic Village, museums, and open-air venues, crowds viewed short films, watched theater companies stage classic plays, and listened to poets' original works. Schoolchildren, tourists, and domestic enthusiasts viewed exhibitions on nuclear and space sciences as well as ones on architecture. In sum, during this Olympic year, the host city became more than the site of the quadrennial sports spectacle, it became a museum without walls.

One of the events that most actively aimed to create a museum without walls was the "Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art" that brought together both traditional and

contemporary pieces from all the participating nations. According to the Official Olympic Report, Mexican anthropologist and director of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, Ignacio Bernal, compared the exhibition to the 1951 essay “Museum Without Walls” by French scholar and politician André Malraux. The 1968 Organizing Committee furthered many of the conversations on the nature of art that Malraux posited by taking advantage of factors such as the available spaces in museums and universities in Mexico City as well as using the entire Olympic year for exhibitions and performances to create their museum without walls in the Cultural Olympics.

The “Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art” provides one of the best examples of this effort to bring together both conventional and non-conventional pieces. This event began with a request in 1966 from Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, that participating nations send one piece of traditional and one example of contemporary art.<sup>503</sup> The Organizing Committee housed the “Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art” at the National Museum of Anthropology and the Museum of Modern Art. The exhibition included pieces from nations around the world and not only paintings, but also small statues, stained glass windows, and tapestries.<sup>504</sup> The works came from both urban centers and rural communities. In holding this event, the organizers presented this collection to an international audience. This held a special importance for countries in Africa and Asia since their nations had less of a museum tradition. For example, writing in 1965, Malraux could not think of any museums

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<sup>503</sup> Organizing Committee for the XIX Olympic Games, “Report presented by Mr. Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, Chairman of the Organizing Committee, to the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee in Mexico City,” October 22, 1968, Pg. 3, Box 85, Folder, “IOC Meetings--Executive Board, Mexico--October 22, 1966,” Avery Brundage Collection (ABC), University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

<sup>504</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 54-169.

devoted only to African art.<sup>505</sup> This Cultural Olympics event also allowed these nation-states more consultation on the artwork they wished to display rather than allowing their former imperial rulers to make the selection of what represented their artistic traditions.

Although anthropologist Ignacio Bernal made the most direct connection between Malraux's work and the "Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art," other artistic events of the Cultural Olympics similarly demonstrated this effort to question the nature of what defines art. The "International Meeting of Sculptures" that brought together artists, engineers, and city planners to display large sculptures along a main beltway in Mexico City sought to create an opportunity for individuals to enjoy art in their day-to-day lives such as their commutes around the capital city.<sup>506</sup> At the "International Olympic Philatelic," organizers displayed stamps provided by forty participating nations to commemorate the Games demonstrating the many different styles as well as the artistic value of the stamps and expanding on the theme that art existed outside of museums to surround individuals in their everyday lives.<sup>507</sup> Finally, the event called the "Exhibition of the History and Art of the Olympic Games," focused on not only the artwork that depicted the connection between the Modern Olympics and the Ancient Greek sporting tradition, but also nations' connections to the history of sports and athletic games in societies such as pre-Hispanic Mexico and Ancient Egypt.<sup>508</sup> Thus, with this artwork, they demonstrated an appreciation for both art and sport outside of Europe.

The members of the Organizing Committee worked to go beyond offering audiences a chance to question art and provided them with examples of many different types of productions

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<sup>505</sup> André Malraux, *Museum Without Walls*, trans. Stuart Gilbert and Francis Price (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1967), 225.

<sup>506</sup> Mathias Goeritz, "'The Route of Friendship': Sculpture" *Leonardo* 3:4 (1970): 402.

<sup>507</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 640.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.*, 647-659.

from as many places and periods as possible.<sup>509</sup> They aimed to bring art out of geographic seclusion by working with galleries and not limiting representations by the period when artists produced them.<sup>510</sup> In fact, the members of the Organizing Committee could not have planned the “Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art” without the aid of private and national galleries. Since many National Olympic Committees could not send parts of their nations’ museum collections, galleries and private collectors in Mexico and the United States as well as other parts of the Americas, Africa, and Asia provided representations of nations’ artistic traditions.<sup>511</sup> This allowed for pieces of many different styles and from many different eras.

Additionally, the planners organized a range of events including ones with folk art as well as performance art and public arts projects. One of these, the “World Folklore Festival” brought together fifty-four folkloric groups from twenty-five countries.<sup>512</sup> These included dance and music as well as reenactments of traditional festivals and rituals.<sup>513</sup> In the Official Olympic Report, the members of the Organizing Committee argued that the importance of folklore was that it served to bring those living in modern societies closer to insular communities.<sup>514</sup> They noted that semi-isolated societies who remained separate from modern life made folklore possible; nevertheless, this isolation and the fact that some guarded these rituals and pieces from outsiders could mean the loss of traditions.<sup>515</sup> Moreover, because of museums’ emphasis in the middle part of the twentieth century on visual arts rather than performance art, other individuals such as artists, students, and governments had to take up the task of preserving these traditional

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<sup>509</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 52.

<sup>510</sup> Ibid.

<sup>511</sup> Ibid., 52-53.

<sup>512</sup> Ibid., 420.

<sup>513</sup> Ibid.

<sup>514</sup> Ibid., 419.

<sup>515</sup> Ibid., 419-420.

examples of art in the same way as museums did for the fine arts.<sup>516</sup> The Cultural Olympics also provided an opportunity to put on display these rituals in a program that included the fine arts that most museums housed. Thus, this event demonstrated an arbitrariness to the separation between folk art and the fine arts. Like the Cultural Olympics more generally, the “World Folklore Festival” allowed for demonstrating the skills and strengths of participating nations rather than requiring them to fit into the narrow rubric of Western European-dominated forms.

Like Malraux, the Cultural Olympics planners argued that a museum without walls would demonstrate both the larger context of world art and shared characteristics among societies in a myriad of locations in a multitude of epochs.<sup>517</sup> An emphasis on mutual understanding through the gathering of participating nations’ cultural productions served as the binding principle of the artistic events of the Cultural Olympics. To add to this international meeting, the Organizing Committee used part of their budget to offer support for some of the dance and musical groups who agreed to come to the country. Moreover, they used the opportunity of having such a diverse group of performance artists to spread the benefits of hosting the Olympics beyond the host city and encouraged performers to travel throughout the Republic. This included not only foreign artists, but also ones from within the nation.<sup>518</sup>

The Swedish gymnastics group called the “Idla Olympic Ballet” who participated in the “International Festival of the Arts” serves as an example of this effort to offer support for participants to come to the host city. To this group, the Organizing Committee gave funds for the transportation costs of the director and performers from Stockholm to the host city, and like the other participants in the Cultural Olympics, the Committee provided them with lodging and

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<sup>516</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 420.

<sup>517</sup> Malraux, “Museum Without Walls,” 19 and 24.

<sup>518</sup> Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, Departamento de Publicaciones, *Programa artístico y cultural de los juegos de la XIX olimpiada* (Mexico: Miguel Galas), 11.

transportation within the country during their stay.<sup>519</sup> Director of the Idla Olympic Ballet, Ernst Idla, both provided the choreography for the event called “The Reception Offered by Mexico’s Youth” and a series of performances during the month of October that featured his troupe of rhythmic gymnasts.<sup>520</sup> These gymnasts were also members of Idla’s group called the “Ernst Idla Girls” and had toured the world promoting Idla’s theories in kinesiology. These theories held that educators should include dance in physical education curriculum and that they could modify fitness routines to adapt techniques to the age and sex of students and other practitioners.<sup>521</sup> Although the members of Idla’s group were all women, they were not young professional dancers. They worked in many different occupations thus demonstrating the adaptability of Idla’s method that included dancing while using lightweight equipment such as rubber balls and hoops. In this way, they showed the value of dance in achieving physical fitness for a range of individuals.<sup>522</sup> Idla’s events both provided a wider lens to consider what constituted art, and demonstrated how bringing together different conceptions of art allowed for proving its utility in different initiatives.

Performances and demonstrations such as Idla’s Olympic Ballet show how the members of the Organizing Committee worked to use their events to push past the assumptions that many had about art and culture. During the Olympic Year of 1968, the Cultural Olympics’ planners took advantage of the large numbers of domestic and foreign tourists as well as athletes,

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<sup>519</sup> Letter from Luis Aveleyra Arroyo, Director of Artistic and Cultural Activities, to Ingrid Idla of the Idla Ensemble, November 25, 1967, Gallery 7, Box 773, Folder 41-323, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City.

<sup>520</sup> Comité organizador de los juegos de la XIX olimpiada, “Ballet Olympique Idla--Idla Olympic Ballet--Ballet Olímpico Idla” *Mexico 68: Programa cultural de la XIX olimpiada* (Mexico: Miguel Galas, circa 1968), unpaginated; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 214 and 317.

<sup>521</sup> “Swedish Troupe to Perform,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1965, 53; Comité organizador de los juegos de la XIX olimpiada, “Ballet Olympique Idla,” unpaginated; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 214 and 317.

<sup>522</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 214 and 317.

journalists, and Games' officials to transform their city into a museum that surrounded residents and visitors. Not only did this allow participating nations to offer definitions of art and culture to spectators, but also it gave planners an opportunity to provide a specific vision of Mexican culture. In this sense, the events that focused on their nation's cultural and artistic tradition also represented a museum without walls that gathered representations of Mexican history and art in an effort to create greater understanding of the country to spectators.

### **Mexican Culture on Display in the Museum Without Walls**

The planners of the Cultural Olympics did more than put on display how the artistic and cultural expressions of participating nations related to one another, they also worked to show specifically how their nation's culture related to artistic traditions around the world and across time. In this way, they promoted understanding and created a larger context for their styles and rituals by allowing an audience from all the participating nations to view the spectacle and draw their own connections between their home cultures and Mexico. This effort to educate the Olympic audience about the host city included the video shorts on the country for the event called "The Games of the XIX Olympiad in Motion Pictures and Television" that used the technology of broadcasting to their advantage in a way similar to the rise of photography that Malraux described in "Museum Without Walls". This included the direct connections the Organizing Committee made between Mexican and Ancient Greek history and culture with regards to the Olympic flame and torch relay as well as demonstrations of national interpretations of foreign art forms.

While the lighting and maintenance of a flame for the duration of the athletic events served as a tradition of the Ancient Olympics, the flame did not become a part of the Modern Movement until 1928 when the organizing committee of the Games in Amsterdam added a stone cauldron to the marathon tower in the Olympic stadium.<sup>523</sup> In the cauldron, they lit a flame as an indication to passersby that the Games were taking place.<sup>524</sup> The iconic relay that takes the flame from Olympia, Greece to the host city did not begin until the 1936 Games and came to represent the connection the Modern Olympic Movement and the host city have to the Ancient Greeks.<sup>525</sup> After 1936, organizing committees used the torch relay and the lighting to communicate aspects of national identity. For instance, in the 1964 Games in Tokyo, the young athlete who lit the cauldron, Yoshinori Sakai, was born on the same day in 1945 as the US bombing of Hiroshima.<sup>526</sup> He represented, therefore, the post-war Japan born out of the destruction and loss of life of the Second World War.

In 1968, the relay retraced the symbolic path from Veracruz to the host city-- the same route that the Spanish conquistadors led by Hernán Cortés took during the march to the Aztec seat of power in Tenochtitlan whose location the Spanish transformed into the heart of the capital of New Spain: Mexico City.<sup>527</sup> This route thus demonstrated the most salient parts of Mexican identity: the union of European-- particularly Spanish-- and pre-Columbian indigenous culture brought on by the conquest and colonization of the peoples of Mesoamerica, especially those

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<sup>523</sup> The Netherlands Olympic Committee, *The Ninth Olympiad being the Official Report of the Olympic Games of 1928 Celebrated at Amsterdam*, ed. G. Van Rossem, trans. Sydney W. Fleming (Amsterdam: J.H. De Bussy, circa 1928), 189.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>525</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 627; Organisationskomitee für die XI, *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin, 1936: Volume I*, 562.

<sup>526</sup> The Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVIII Olympiad, *The Games of the XVIII Olympiad Tokyo 1964: The Official Report of the Organizing Committee*, (Tokyo: Kyodo Printing Co., 1966), 222.

<sup>527</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 627.

who had inhabited the areas claimed by the Aztec Empire. When the torch reached the host city on October 12, 1968, a young woman with mestizo features such as olive skin and straight dark hair carried the flame for the last leg into the Olympic Stadium and lit the cauldron.<sup>528</sup> The flame bearer, Norma Enriqueta Basilio, represented the end of her nation's trajectory from conquest, to colonization, to cultural and biological blending, and finally to revolution that had all worked to forge a modern country that had enough international esteem to host one of the most important global events.

The night before the flame arrived in the host city, the Cultural Olympics event called the "Arrival of the Flame at Teotihuacan" took place at the site of the pre-Columbian Mesoamerican pyramid complex located approximately forty kilometers (25 miles) outside of the host city.<sup>529</sup> Beginning at dusk, the spectacle of 3,000 dancers attracted an estimated 20,000 spectators who watched as the performers recreated the ritual of New Fire that pre-Hispanic peoples once celebrated every fifty-two years.<sup>530</sup> The *Plaza de la Luna* (Plaza of the Moon) served as the site of both the 1968 event and the Aztec ritual that commemorated the conquering of life and light over death and darkness.<sup>531</sup> Similar to the tradition of producing the Olympic flame with a mirror and sunlight in Olympia, Greece, the ceremony of New Fire reinforced the idea that fire came from the divine. Individuals in both cultures additionally understood fire's life-giving power as one of the connections that humans had to the cosmos and thus required its own ceremonies in both Ancient Greek and Mesoamerican tradition. Therefore, as Malraux noted, bringing cultures into contact with one another would highlight similar histories and aesthetics

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<sup>528</sup> Celeste González de Bustamante, "1968 Olympic Dreams and Tlatelolco Nightmares: Imagining and Imaging Modernity on Television," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 26, no. 1 (2010): 20-21.

<sup>529</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 627-630.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*, 627.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*, 630.

between societies. The “Arrival of the Flame at Teotihuacan” illustrated that the pre-Columbian peoples of Mexico also had a history and mythology as glorious as the Ancient Greeks’.

Other events in the Cultural Olympics served to display Mexican culture and the nation’s interpretation of cosmopolitan art forms particularly in the emphasis on pre-Columbian features. For example, the choreography for the event “Ballet of the Five Continents” neither strictly adhered in form to the French style of dance nor solely drew upon European instrumentation. Instead, the choreographer for the Mexican sections of the event, Amalia Hernández, used themes based on dance and music indigenous to the country. The event “The Reception Offered by Mexico’s Youth” also took a foreign form, Swedish gymnastics, while bringing in national elements including using music from the country including folk songs and orchestral pieces. Similar to using the “The Games of the XIX Olympiad in Motion Pictures and Television” in order to broadcast both the Games and aspects of everyday life throughout the Republic, these cultural events that featured performers from the nation took advantage of the international audience --both tourists and television viewers-- to illustrate Mexican values and demonstrate their connections with other societies around the world and throughout time.

### **Establishing the Purpose of Science in the Cultural Olympics**

Malraux’s “Museum Without Walls” provides for a way to connect the scientific events to the artistic program because of similarities between the art world and scientific research. Like the fine arts, the question of what qualifies as science tends to operate by universal standards without accounting for cultural difference. This definition of science tends to favor Eurocentric understandings despite arguments that these standards are without a cultural component. While in art, this meant a dominance of Western European forms, during the Cold War, the US and

Soviet Union tended to predominate and set the terms of the conversation about what met the standards of the scientific and technological innovations worthy of celebration. Researchers, governments, and professional organizations similarly held up the successes in these fields as examples of genius without regard to the larger social and historical context that allowed for the innovations. Finally, as with the confraternal and artistic events, the scientific ones shared the goal of revealing shared values and mutual understanding regardless of race, nationality or political affiliations. Thus, like the other meetings, performances, and exhibitions, the Cultural Olympics' planners attempted to use the scientific events to move away from ideas about universal norms of progress and development and demonstrate a connection between science and culture.

Considering the cultural sides of science and technology serves as one of the most striking departures in the Cultural Olympics as compared to previous programs. This conceptualization of science and technology occurred within the historical milieu of the post-World War II period when scholars, politicians, and social activists worked to consider the place of science in the aftermath of a second global war and the new prospect of nuclear war. Throughout the late-1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, various treaties, resolutions, and conferences such as the International Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Geneva Convention (1949), the United Nations' First Conference on Population (1954), and the Treaty of Tlatelolco (Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America) (1963) tried to put into policy governments' duties to those who lived within the nations they controlled and how nations should treat one another during war and peacetime including with regards to science, medicine,

and technology.<sup>532</sup> These efforts resembled those that took place after World War I with the notable difference that in the decades following the Second World War, more of the voices came from the representatives of Asian and African nations whose countries had begun the effort to end colonial rule.

As with the debates over amateurism in the Olympic Movement that arose after the late-1940s, new participating nations called into question many of the presumptions about modernity and in this way demonstrated that much of what seemed to industrial nations as fundamental characteristics of progress had roots in Western European culture.<sup>533</sup> In this context, social scientists began to question if science and technology also had a cultural element. Philosopher Thomas Kuhn, for example, argued, in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) that rather than considering science as an accumulation of research and achievement that led toward truth, scholars had to understand developments in these fields as occurring in a specific historical and cultural context of paradigms and traditions that allowed for certain types of research in a given moment.<sup>534</sup> Thus, rather than thinking about science as a straight line away from superstition, scholars who researched this history should consider how cultural moments influenced scientific thought and methodologies.<sup>535</sup>

The Cultural Olympics' scientific events reflected these larger debates with the organizers' assertion in their cultural program that the gathering of both art and science from the

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<sup>532</sup> Alison Bashford, "Population, Geopolitics, and International Organizations in the Mid Twentieth Century" *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 327-347; Matthew Connelly, *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

<sup>533</sup> For a discussion of the changes in understandings about science and technology particularly after the First and Second World Wars, see Michael Adas, *Machine as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1989), 380-418.

<sup>534</sup> Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*

participating nations represented the greatest expressions of peace.<sup>536</sup> In the Official Olympic Report, the planners noted that the purpose of the scientific exhibitions was to display both the economic and cultural progress that scientific and technological advancements had offered societies around the world.<sup>537</sup> The architectural events reflect well the bridge between science and culture because not only did the construction of buildings require trained architects and engineers, but also unlike many other scientific and technological fields, there existed less of an assumption that buildings in every city should look the alike as compared to biology or chemistry where researchers expected that the scientific method would produce the same results and applications around the world regardless of cultural context.

Many within and outside of architecture think of the field along cultural lines and expect to some degree that city planning, buildings' interior and exterior designs, and the types of structures to differentiate one city from another even if constructing the framework utilizes the same methods. For example, skyscrapers came to define cities in the United States during the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The style and materials drew on European schools, but the height made the United States unique, and from 1884 to 1998, the world's tallest building was located in either New York City or Chicago.<sup>538</sup> Thus, buildings' appearances did not always differentiate early-twentieth century New York City from Berlin, but skyscrapers allowed for a uniquely American mark on Beaux-Arts design.<sup>539</sup>

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<sup>536</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 731-732.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*, 661.

<sup>538</sup> Angela M. Blake, *How New York Became American, 1890-1924* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Sarah Bradford Landau and Carl W. Condit *Rise of the New York Skyscraper, 1865-1913* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

<sup>539</sup> Arnold Lehman, "New York Skyscrapers: The Jazz Modern Neo-American Beautilitarian Style," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* New Series 29, no. 8 (1971): 363-370.

Similarly, the design of the *Palacio de Bellas Artes* (Fine Arts Palace) in Mexico City, where many of the performances for the event “The International Fine Arts Festival” took place, has a mixture of Neoclassical and Art Nouveau whose materials and architects came from Europe (Appendix B: Figure 4). The interior nevertheless reflects a nationalistic fervor that swept the nation after 1911 and includes statues that represent pre-Columbian civilizations including the Maya.<sup>540</sup> The theater in the Fine Arts Palace has cosmopolitan style elements including a funnel shape typically found in Wagnerian theaters throughout Europe and the United States.<sup>541</sup> On the other hand, although made by Tiffany in New York City, the stage’s glass curtain has a painting of the Valley of Mexico by one of the country’s great muralists, Dr. Atl.<sup>542</sup> Those in the field of architecture and enthusiasts, therefore, seek and praise not only the ability to recreate faithfully international design movements, but also to include culturally specific elements. In this spirit, the 1968 architectural events featured buildings of all types from participating countries. The featured projects for the architectural events had in common that they had the purpose of addressing patrons’ spiritual and cultural needs not necessarily that the buildings were technologically remarkable.<sup>543</sup>

The Organizing Committee, with the support of Ibero-Americana University and National Polytechnic Institute, held the architectural event called the “Exhibition of Sites for

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<sup>540</sup> See Juan José Bremer, Rosa Ma. Sánchez Lara, Susana Varagnolo, Rafael Cruz Arvea, Carlos Flores Marini, Roberto de la Torre S., Guadalupe Salcedo Patiño, Tomás Zurián Ugarte, and Luis González Villega, “Palacio de Bellas Artes,” *Artes de México* 191 (1976/1977): 3-100.

<sup>541</sup> Rosa Ma. Sánchez Lara and Susana Varagnolo, “Sketches of Bellas Artes” in Juan José Bremer, Rosa Ma. Sánchez Lara, Susana Varagnolo, Rafael Cruz Arvea, Carlos Flores Marini, Roberto de la Torre S., Guadalupe Salcedo Patiño, Tomás Zurián Ugarte, and Luis González Villega, “Palacio de Bellas Artes” *Artes de México* 191 (1976/1977): 88.

<sup>542</sup> Sánchez Lara et al., “Sketches of Bellas Artes,” 89.

<sup>543</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, “Exhibit on Spaces for Sports and Cultural Activities,” Gallery 7, Box 753, Folder 41-2 Leg. 2, AGN.

Sports and Cultural Activities” in the exhibit hall of the Polytechnic Institute.<sup>544</sup> The event included plans, models, photographs, and film of theaters, museums, auditoriums, sports centers, scientific institutions, libraries, and schools produced by 175 independent architects and firms from thirty-nine countries.<sup>545</sup> Beyond these exhibitions, the Committee hosted another three sections for the event: a conference by young architects, a study of the installations underway for the 1972 Games in the German Federal Republic, and a review of Mexico’s architectural history. This final section considered the designs of structures erected for the XIX Olympiad.<sup>546</sup>

As in previous years, the 1968 manifestation had the goal of displaying venues that worked toward developing citizens’ bodies including not only sports installations, but also camping sites, beaches, and swimming resorts.<sup>547</sup> The “Exhibition of Sites for Sports and Cultural Activities” differed from previous years because it included sites that the organizers argued tended to residents’ spiritual and cultural needs such as research centers, theaters, museums, and universities. Prior architectural exhibitions and competitions’ international aspect had mainly displayed sports complexes while giving visitors the everyday feel of a city’s architecture was only possible for the host city where the urban landscape surrounded tourists. The 1968 event served as an opportunity for other cities to exhibit their architecture beyond stadiums and gymnasiums to incorporate models of engineering marvels and iconic buildings such as the Sydney Opera House.<sup>548</sup> Additionally, the venue featured sites of cultural production and leisure such as the Escuela de Arte de Cubanacán-- an activity center outside of Havana

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<sup>544</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 707.

<sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*, 707.

<sup>546</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*, 712-729.

<sup>548</sup> *Ibid.*, 714.

where young Cubans studied art.<sup>549</sup> Some of the exhibitions had buildings that represented national projects and priorities such as the Soviet submission of photographs of a hotel for retired government workers in the resort city of Pitsunda, then a part of the USSR.<sup>550</sup>

While architecture serves as a clear bridge between science and culture, the effort to make malleable the line separating the arts and the sciences pervaded all the scientific events. This approach allowed audiences to consider science and technology as fields with a cultural nature depending on national characteristics. Like music or dance, each community could take fields such as engineering and use them to match their own sensibilities. Thus, not all nations had to approach scientific fields in the same manner with identical results. Advancement or underdevelopment did not mean a direct connection to what a nation could add to international conversations in fields such as medicine and nuclear research.<sup>551</sup>

The effort to demonstrate the value of all scientific contributions matches the observation that anthropologist Ignacio Bernal made about the “Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art” that they constituted a museum without walls. Similar to the artistic events, the scientific exhibitions and conferences demonstrated that this process had already begun, and the planners of these events additionally worked to push forward this process by bringing together many different examples. Committee members argued that in doing this, they could demonstrate the shared values of participating nations across geographic and political borders.

The process of making scientific and technological advances more readily available to a larger population had already begun through a number of international initiatives of the 1950s and 1960s that emphasized cooperation rather than competition. Organizations, such as the IOC

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<sup>549</sup> “Cuba en el programa cultural” *México 68* Reseña 29, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (1968), unpaginated.

<sup>550</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 728.

<sup>551</sup> Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, “Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee at Opening of 67th Session of the IOC,” Oct. 7-11, 1968, Pg. 6, Box 88, ABC.

and the 1968 Organizing Committee, facilitated this cooperation and support across political ideologies by focusing on similarities. These calls for cooperation went beyond the Olympic Movement to efforts to promote other points of unity such as shared interests and regional connections. For example, the 1967 Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) sought to bring together the nations of the Americas to agree not to produce or acquire nuclear weapons. The basis of this cooperation came not from shared political or economic systems but despite these differences.<sup>552</sup>

The event called the “Program on Human Genetics and Biology” that invited researchers from participating nations, with the majority from Mexico, to study Olympic athletes fit well into the emphasis on exchange across geographic, economic, and political boundaries in a way similar to the artistic events. As event coordinator, Dr. Alfonso de Garay, noted in his report, the separation between nation-states meant that there were few opportunities for gathering and admiring accomplishments across societies, and this prevented the ability to recognize common features.<sup>553</sup> Moreover, the event allowed for the pooling of resources to achieve the best outcome for the most individuals. The research and conferences for this event brought together biologists, geneticists, and anthropologists to take advantage of the presence of Olympic athletes from around the world and share their research methods and findings.<sup>554</sup> Organized under the country’s Nuclear Administration, the goal of the event was to create a method for more easily isolating genetic selectors that would predict the sports where athletes would excel.<sup>555</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> For a discussion of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, see William Epstein, “The Making of the Treaty of Tlatelolco,” *Journal of the History of International Law* 3, no. 2 (2001): 153-179; Davis R. Robinson, “The Treaty of Tlatelolco and the United States: A Latin American Nuclear Free Zone,” *The American Journal of International Law* 64, no. 2 (1970): 282-309.

<sup>553</sup> Alfonso L. de Garay *Genetic and Anthropological Studies of Olympic Athletes*, Alfonso L. de Garay, Louis Levine, JE Lindsay Carter, ed. (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 229.

<sup>554</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 699.

<sup>555</sup> Garay *Genetic and Anthropological Studies of Olympic Athletes*, 231.

From a practical standpoint, these researchers' findings could potentially allow nations to sort young sportsmen and women into the contests that best suited them and make it unnecessary to devote scarce resources on the process of fitting athletes to the most appropriate activities.<sup>556</sup> The other aim of the "Program on Human Genetics and Biology" was to create the best methods for coaches, educators, and health specialists to use when training athletes with specific hereditary traits.<sup>557</sup> The event's participants ultimately did not isolate the genetic components that predicted athletic success.<sup>558</sup> They additionally could not differentiate the attributes of successful athletes that came from environment and the ones that had a genetic component. For example, the program's final report noted that the sample itself was not representative of all populations because some groups such as those from urban environments had more representation in the study.<sup>559</sup> Nevertheless, the event allowed for sharing resources such as Olympic athletes and infrastructure such as labs and provided an opportunity for participating in an international study.

The organizers of the scientific meetings and exhibitions worked to make the research more available to a larger number of individuals and thus widen the opportunity to benefit from the findings. This type of study of athletes was not new in the world of sports and continues to the present day, but it typically occurs in a competitive atmosphere with countries, universities, and private teams hoarding the pieces of knowledge that they gain in order to create an advantage. In the case of the "Program on Human Genetics and Biology", organizers asked participating nations to share their resources and knowledge. These resources included premier

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<sup>556</sup> Garay *Genetic and Anthropological Studies of Olympic Athletes*, 231.

<sup>557</sup> Ibid.; Dirección de actividades artísticas y culturales del Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, "Eventos culturales," Gallery 7, Box 753 41-2 Leg. 2, AGN.

<sup>558</sup> Garay *Genetic and Anthropological Studies of Olympic Athletes*, 230.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid., 231.

Olympians from the most athletically powerful delegations who researchers from countries with fewer medalists, particularly Mexico, had the opportunity to study.<sup>560</sup>

This type of collaboration offered another path for cooperation beyond shared political ideologies and instead argued for sharing information across boundaries and focusing on providing the greatest amount of benefit to the largest number of countries and individuals. The post-World War II process of decolonization made these types of efforts all the more important. Leaving the empires and spheres of influence of economically and politically dominant countries oftentimes meant losing access to research infrastructure-- and the professionals required to operate them-- through the process of brain drain that frequently accompanied the exchange of power. For example, in 1962, when Algerians won their independence from France, their country lost a large population of French professionals including those in the medical field.<sup>561</sup> Cuba-- who had recently experienced the loss of US support as well as a large number of the physicians, engineers, and investors who went into exile after 1959-- came to the aid of Algeria, with the country's leader, Fidel Castro, sending Cuban doctors and medical supplies.<sup>562</sup>

This type of mutual aid among decolonizing countries served as one strategy that nationalists advocated for shaking off capitalist imperialism, but it could mean losing the assistance of other nations. In the case of Cuba, the island nation offered more than medical support to other members of the so-called Third World also providing their sports facilities to Latin American nations, so they would not have to turn to the US. For some nations, accepting this support amounted to trading one foreign influence for another as well as outside

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<sup>560</sup> Dirección de actividades artísticas y culturales del Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, "Eventos culturales," AGN; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 700.

<sup>561</sup> See Piero Gleijeses, "Cuba's First Venture in Africa: Algeria, 1961-1965," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 159-195.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*,

ideologies.<sup>563</sup> This was especially complicated for nations such as Mexico who did not wish to alienate potential allies and powerful neighbors such as the United States and Cuba.<sup>564</sup> Venues such as a cultural Olympics with goals of peace and mutual understanding allowed for smaller nations to benefit without the requirement to choose one set of allies to the exclusion of others.

Even though conferences such as the “Program on Human Genetics and Biology” provided a chance for countries with fewer resources to engage in beneficial research, the members of the Organizing Committee noted that international collaboration also served to benefit nations with a surplus of resources because at some point research would move beyond the capabilities of any single state.<sup>565</sup> This mutual benefit paralleled to Malraux’s argument that the ability to include more types of artwork would improve the understandings about art both for societies without a museum tradition and those with one because it would provide for more works to establish the necessary context for better appreciating artistic movements and styles.

In their discussion of scientific exhibitions, the Committee argued that economically and politically powerful nations should also make cooperation across borders a priority. Partially, this could come from focusing on the everyday uses of even the most spectacular scientific research and technological innovation. The event called the “Exhibition on the Application of Nuclear Energy for the Welfare of Mankind” accomplished this by emphasizing collaboration in a field typically discussed primarily in terms of national power. For example, these nuclear exhibitions demonstrated how investigations in atomic energy could revolutionize farming and

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<sup>563</sup> Wolf Kramer-Mandau, “Our Young People are not to Participate in Sports Merely as Spectators but as Protagonists: Sports in Nicaragua in the Times of the Revolution,” *Physical Education Review* 15, no. 2 (1992): 133-147; Trevor Slack and David Whitson, “The Place of Sport in Cuba’s Foreign Relations,” *International Journal* 43, no. 4 (1988): 596-617.

<sup>564</sup> Renata Keller, “Foreign Policy for Domestic Consumption: Mexico’s Lukewarm Defense of Castro, 1959-1969,” *Latin American Research Review* 47, no. 2 (2012): 100-119.

<sup>565</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 679.

the treatment of diseases such as cancer instead of focusing only on the aspects of the research that immediately roused public interest and fear.<sup>566</sup> By showing the worth of these fields for all human populations, the organizers and participants offered a reason for smaller nations to join international research projects.

The “Exhibition on Space Research” provides a useful example of how the Organizing Committee used an international exhibition to demonstrate the power of cooperation over competition. Rather than emphasizing only the accomplishments of powerhouses such as the United States and the Soviet Union in their explorations and investigations beyond Earth’s outermost layers of atmosphere, the “Exhibition on Space Research” included displays of efforts at international cooperation and the use of space technology for communication that brought the societies of the world closer together. Thus, instead of focusing on what constituted genius, the event emphasized providing a larger context to place US and Soviet accomplishments.

The Organizing Committee held the “Exhibition on Space Research” in the Museum of Science and Art of the National University.<sup>567</sup> At the inauguration on October 10, 1968 not only did prominent members of Mexican society and the Olympic Movement attend, but also heroes in space research and exploration such as Astronaut Michael Collins, a member of the 1966 manned Gemini 10 mission into space, and Cosmonaut Gherman Titov, the second person ever to orbit Earth.<sup>568</sup> Despite the inclusion of pioneers in space exploration, the focus of the event went beyond the impending moon landing instead displaying everyday uses of space

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<sup>566</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 661.

<sup>567</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, Departamento de las publicaciones, “Programa artístico y cultural de los juegos de la XIX olimpiada,” ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, circa 1968): 69.

<sup>568</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 681; “Gemini 10 Goes Walking and Docking” *Science News* 90, no. 5 (1966): 71; Bradley B. Shreve, “The US, the USSR, and Space Exploration, 1957-1963” *International Journal on World Peace* 20, no. 2 (2003): 79.

investigations such as satellites for communication.<sup>569</sup> This exhibition brought together research that seemed quotidian and demonstrated the reasons why they deserved the same celebration as the advances that drew the most international attention. In this way, the Organizing Committee challenged ideas about which research and technologies were important in the same ways that the artistic events posed the question of which types of pieces belonged in the art museum without walls.

Participating nations' displays illustrated aspects of their space research including international coalitions and cooperation. The US exhibition called "The Challenge of Space" documented the history of its space program.<sup>570</sup> On the other hand, the Organizing Committee also paid special attention to the collaborative project of the European Organization for Space Investigation where nations from the continent shared resources and exchanged knowledge in order to work toward their common good rather than competing against each other.<sup>571</sup> Finally, Mexico's participants displayed a model of the rocket-- named Tlaloc after the Aztec god of rain-- that the nation used to conduct meteorological research.<sup>572</sup> They also presented a small-scale replica of the satellite communication station that transmitted the 1968 Games.<sup>573</sup> These displays demonstrated how all nations could take advantage of space research in smaller ways than putting citizens into space.

In addition to redirecting the conversation on scientific and technological achievements' direct connection to progress, the "Exhibition on Space Research" also worked to take the focus on the field beyond the realm of competition to focus instead on cooperation. When using the

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<sup>569</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 676-696.

<sup>570</sup> *Ibid.*, 679.

<sup>571</sup> *Ibid.*, 692.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid.*, 693.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid.*

European Organization for Space Investigation as an example, the planners noted in their official report that while wealthy, powerful nations like the US, Soviet Union might have the financial abilities, and well-trained scientists required to reach the moon, interplanetary research would involve resources beyond that of any single nation.<sup>574</sup> Thus, international cooperation benefitted more than the nations who could not afford a robust space program because all nations could go farther when they worked together.

Finally, the exhibition demonstrated more than the most spectacular aspects of scientific and technological research and its militaristic capabilities. This research had everyday uses thus showing all in attendance how the research could improve the lives of individuals in every nation. For example, when discussing the lunar landing, those who compiled the 1968 Olympic Report-- writing in 1969-- noted the accompanying technological feat of the system of satellites that provided a global audience with television coverage of the launching of the Saturn rocket and the successful landing of the lunar module, *Eagle*.<sup>575</sup> Therefore, the accomplishment included both human exploration of space and the ability to project it so viewers around the world could witness the achievement.

Together, these characteristics of the “Exhibition on Space Research” served to take the field beyond the realm of competition, to reflect on the accomplishments of countries other than the US and USSR, and to focus on cooperation instead of ranking national efforts. Looking to the cosmos for quotidian matters such as satellite communication and meteorology demonstrated their usefulness and the need to invest in these space technologies. This approach had the potential to draw in more nations who might otherwise not become part of the worldwide effort

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<sup>574</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 679.

<sup>575</sup> *Ibid.*, 677.

to explore and research the solar systems of the Milky Way and beyond. These types of collaborations would serve to make it more affordable for smaller countries and extend the reach of even the wealthiest nations. Collective work also had the opportunity to make science into a field where the accomplishment of one individual became a cause for celebration for the global community in much the same way as the artistic exhibitions worked to create a space for recognizing the cultural achievements of all communities and the contributions that they could make to international conversations about national identity and cultural preservation.

Emphasizing the cultural side of science and creating an atmosphere that favored cooperation rather than competition served to promote the ideal that understood the accomplishment of one nation or individual as one for all of humanity because with the theme of exchange of knowledge among the peoples of the world, the achievements of one could improve the lives of everyone. Scientific exhibitions allowed for the celebration of successes as productions of humankind for all to share as Malraux argued was the future of art museums. A year later, in 1969, astronaut Neil Armstrong captured this spirit when he became the first person to set foot on the moon and declared his achievement not in the name of the US but for all of humankind. Additionally, the 1966 UN resolution and subsequent 1967 Outer Space Treaty that prevented nations from claiming territory in outer space reflected the attitude that these types of achievements did not belong to any single country.<sup>576</sup> The resolution also meant the US flag that Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin mounted on the moon could only have a ceremonial meaning. This emphasis on sharing rather than claiming successes reflected what Malraux identified as the

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<sup>576</sup> United Nations: Office for Outer Space Affairs, "Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies," signed at Washington, London, Moscow, January 27, 1967, *United Nations Treaties and Principles on Outer Space, Related General Assembly Resolutions and Other Documents* 610, No. 8843  
[http://www.unoosa.org/pdf/publications/ST\\_SPACE\\_061Rev01E.pdf](http://www.unoosa.org/pdf/publications/ST_SPACE_061Rev01E.pdf).

ultimate outcome of collecting examples in a shared space: an ability to witness the accomplishments of societies across national and cultural boundaries. Similarly, the Cultural Olympics' exhibition on nuclear energy focused on the mutual benefits of the field.

The Organizing Committee held the event called the "Exhibition on the Application of Nuclear Energy for the Welfare of Mankind" at the Cultural Center on the campus of the National Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City. The exhibition went from September 12 to November 30, 1968 and focused on the field's history, implications, and possible uses.<sup>577</sup> The historical sections included the work that Italian physicist Enrico Fermi conducted at the University of Chicago as well as that of the Polish-born French physicist and chemist Marie Sklodowska Curie and her husband French physicist Pierre Curie.<sup>578</sup> Despite the destructive potentials of Fermi's and Marie Curie's work in the field such as the atomic bomb and radiation poisoning, the Cultural Olympics event focused on the peaceful uses of the atom in the fields of space exploration, medicine, agriculture, and manufacturing as well as energy to replace the diminishing supply of organic matter for fossil fuels.<sup>579</sup> These many uses, the Organizers argued, would make harnessing atomic power essential for every nation to modernize.<sup>580</sup> The environment of exchange rather than competition meant that instead of ranking nations by their mastery of nuclear potentials, the "Exhibition on the Application of Nuclear Energy" offered instead a space for all participating nations to see the incredible potentials for nuclear research. Moreover, the investigations undertaken in the field became not just an accomplishment for a single nation but for all of humanity who could benefit together.

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<sup>577</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *Programa artístico y cultural*, 67; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 661-662.

<sup>578</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 661.

<sup>579</sup> Ibid.

<sup>580</sup> Ibid.

Demonstrating the many ways that nuclear energy could build up human populations rather than destroy them, the exhibition included photographs of farming equipment and techniques influenced by atomic research and nuclear plants. Additionally, nations displayed models of equipment fueled by nuclear energy such as a full-scale model of a NERVA (Nuclear Engine for Rocket Vehicle Application) rocket whose producers bragged an efficiency for the vessel that was twice that of chemically-propelled ones and would allow for missions farther into space including to Mars.<sup>581</sup> As another example of the use of atomic energy for space exploration, the exhibition included a photograph of the SNAP 3 (Systems for Nuclear Auxiliary Power), the first nuclear-powered generator used in space.<sup>582</sup> The generator powered the US Navy's 1961 experimental navigational satellite, and as proof of the efficiency of nuclear energy, it lasted two years beyond its projected lifespan.<sup>583</sup> Although this type of nuclear technology did not go on to replace batteries in daily life, it did go on to power the 1969 Apollo 11 mission to the moon.<sup>584</sup>

To create this atmosphere of shared accomplishments, the Organizing Committee used universalist language such as humanity and mankind when discussing the scientific research rather than always deferring to national divisions. In describing nuclear research, the Official Olympic Report referred to the successes in the field as humanity's "mastery of the atom".<sup>585</sup> Similarly, space exploration became "man's conquest of space"-- not belonging to any one nation, or even the international space race, but only to the growing knowledge that the peoples

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<sup>581</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 668; For a discussion of NERVA technology and research, see: Mark D. Bowles, "Going Critical with NERVA" in *Science in Flux: NASA's Nuclear Program at Plum Brook Station, 1955-2005* (Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 2006), 79-117.

<sup>582</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 669.

<sup>583</sup> Ibid.

<sup>584</sup> Ibid.

<sup>585</sup> Ibid., 661.

of the world had gained about their planet and the larger universe.<sup>586</sup> In the case of the nuclear exhibitions, humanity and not the citizens of any nations conducted work in atomic research. Moreover, despite the fact that the organizers divided the exhibitions by nation, they still utilized the language of human accomplishment. For example, with the Belgian display that featured a power plant, the organizers' description of the site focused on the accomplishment itself and not just the geographic setting.<sup>587</sup> Success in the scientific and technological fields, therefore, were not endemic to any part of the world, but had the potential to be anywhere for much the same reason that the cultural events did not have medals: all humans shared the same capabilities and what separated them was only access to resources.

Like the artistic events, the scientific exhibitions and meetings that made up the Cultural Olympics provided audiences and participants with a museum without walls. They did this by demonstrating the cultural aspects of science, emphasizing the collaborative work of nations, displaying this research in a common space, and promoting the idea that scientific advances belonged to all the peoples of the world. These themes provided an overarching argument that the achievement of any individual or nation was one for all and thus the idea that science should be for the benefit of all and the harm of no one.

### **Concluding Remarks**

As a reaction to the Cultural Olympics event the "Selected Works of World Art," anthropologist and director of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, Ignacio Bernal, commented that the Organizing Committee had created a museum without walls in the

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<sup>586</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 677.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*, 671.

tradition of Andre Malraux's work of the same name. Malraux's essay provides a way to understand the unifying goals of the artistic and scientific events as well as the ones that focused on showcasing Mexican history and culture. These themes included a focus on the efforts already underway by participating nations to emphasize sharing knowledge and cooperation across ideological, political, and geographic boundaries. The second of these themes was the call to bring many different examples of artistic expression and scientific research together to allow for a celebration of the achievements of many different societies. Finally, these events shared the view that the ultimate outcome of this environment of cooperation would be both to offer a larger historical and cultural context for these accomplishments and to highlight the values shared by nations around the world.

In many ways, these goals fit in well with many of initiatives of the 1950s and 1960s to focus on bringing about peace through mutual understanding. Nevertheless, what makes the Organizing Committee different is the large emphasis that they put on articulating these goals through the Olympic movement, particularly their planning of such an extensive artistic and scientific cultural program.

## **The Legacies of the 1968 Cultural Olympics: Cultural and Artistic Summer Events, 1972-1996**

Four years after the 1968 Cultural Olympics ended, the 1972 organizing committee carried out a program of its own to create a festive atmosphere in Munich, West Germany that provided an artistic and scientific complement to the athletic events. They held one project in the host city's Olympic Park-- a site located in a neighborhood that bordered the Stadium.<sup>588</sup> The planners not only sought to produce a less competitive atmosphere than the sporting events, but also to allow those who attended to engage with these events rather acting as passive spectators.<sup>589</sup> They called this effort "Total Theater" and wanted it to provide an opportunity for audience members to play rather than watching others. "Total Theater" was part of a larger project called the "Avenue of Entertainment" that featured performances by musicians, artists, and actors as one of the events in the 1972 cultural program.<sup>590</sup> Donations and low-cost rentals made the effort possible as did appointing special advisers to aid in planning and implementation.<sup>591</sup> During the two weeks of the Games, the 1972 organizing committee wanted the featured artists, musicians, and actors to perform every day at the "Avenue of Entertainment" with a schedule of their hours and locations but allowing for enough flexibility to move with short notice if needed.<sup>592</sup>

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<sup>588</sup> The Organizing Committee of the Games of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report of the Organizing Committee for the Games of the XXth Olympiad, Munich 1972, Volume 1*, ed. Herbert Kunze (pro Sport München), 246.

<sup>589</sup> Ibid; Kay Schiller and Christopher Young *The 1972 Munich Olympics and the Making of Modern Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 124.

<sup>590</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 246.

<sup>591</sup> Ibid., 251.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid.

Allowing for this festive atmosphere for the large number of visitors arriving for the Olympics, the organizing committee took into account logistical concerns such as noise and linguistic diversity. The close proximity of the “Avenue of Entertainment” to the Olympic Stadium made the acoustics of the musical and theatrical performances a primary concern that required testing to ensure that they would not distract athletes’ attentions.<sup>593</sup> To accommodate an audience who spoke a multitude of languages, the committee put a special emphasis on generating media that allowed for enjoyment through sight and non-verbal sound including dance, music, and pictures.<sup>594</sup> The close vicinity of the athletic venue also meant that the “Avenue of Entertainment” would attract many sports enthusiasts and other tourists. Those who visited had the opportunity to engage with live performances and demonstrations by actors, painters, sculptors, and musicians. For those who did not have tickets for the Olympic events, they had the chance to share in the experience of the Games without attending the sporting competitions.<sup>595</sup> Prior to its abrupt discontinuance five days before the scheduled close, the “Avenue of Entertainment” had a reported 1.2 million visitors.<sup>596</sup> Additionally, 200 hundred artists as well as 250 organizers and planners participated in the effort.<sup>597</sup>

The “Avenue of Entertainment” ended five days early on September 5, 1972 when members of the Palestinian terrorist group Black September took eleven athletes and officials from the Israeli Olympic delegation hostage in the Olympic Village. Twenty hours later, all eleven of the hostages had been killed, and five of the hostage takers as well as a German police

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<sup>593</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 251.

<sup>594</sup> Ibid.

<sup>595</sup> Ibid., 252.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid.; David Clay Large, *Munich 1972: Tragedy, Terror, and Triumph at the Olympic Games* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 216.

<sup>597</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 252.

officer had also died during a failed rescue attempt by law enforcement.<sup>598</sup> In response to the tragic events, IOC President, Avery Brundage (1952-1972), allowed a brief period for a memorial service but declared that the Games would continue twenty-four hours after their initial suspension due to the hostage crisis. Brundage had previously announced that the Munich Games would be his last, but the events of September 5 and 6 served as an ignominious end to Brundage's lifetime spent within the Olympic Movement-- first as an athlete, later as the president of the American Olympic Committee, and finally as the president of the IOC. His twenty-year tenure as president of the IOC had met with much criticism at the end with many calling for his retirement. His commitment to amateurism and the effort to keep commercialism and politics separate from the Games had put him out of step with younger generations who read his efforts to keep the Olympics apolitical as tantamount to condoning practices such as legally-mandated racial segregation of South African and Rhodesian athletics. The end of Brundage's presidency would profoundly change the Games concerning amateurism, corporate sponsorship, and the place of politics in sports.<sup>599</sup>

The Olympic Movement in the years after Brundage's retirement, transformed in many ways, and this included changes to the cultural and artistic aspects of the Games. While the requirement for organizing committees to hold cultural events continues, changes in the Movement brought the aesthetic to the forefront especially in the Opening and Closing Ceremonies. These Ceremonies became the place to join sports and culture for an international audience. This coincided with the increased inability to separate politics and athletics even in a symbolic sense with two large-scale boycotts at the 1980 and 1984 Games. In the years after the

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<sup>598</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 252.

<sup>599</sup> Large, *Munich 1972*, 18; Erin Elizabeth Redihan *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2017), 213-218; Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 256-257.

Fall of the Berlin Wall and dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Movement took another shape with the Games serving more often as a way to showcase the modern face and potential of host cities and, in some cases, their nations.

### **A Period of Transition: 1972-1976**

The 1968 Games marked the beginning of a transition with many of the tensions and concerns of the Cold War spilling over into the Olympics despite continued attempts to keep the nominal separation of athletics and politics. These changes did not occur all at once, but instead took shape over the next twenty years. Thus, the 1972 and 1976 celebrations of the Games formed part of this transition.<sup>600</sup> The organizers for both of these years kept some aspects of the 1968 Cultural Olympics for their own artistic programs, particularly the use of folk arts and traditions to entertain and educate audiences. Nevertheless, larger geopolitical events and changes within the IOC served to push the Olympic Movement away from some events and themes the 1968 organizers attempted to make into mainstays of future programs.

Both the 1972 and 1976 programs included events focused on folklore with goals and characteristics similar to the 1968 Cultural Olympics. As representatives of regionally important cities rather than national capitals, the organizers of the events for Munich and Montreal used folklore to demonstrate aspects of their culture and traditions that differed from their capital cities and made them unique within their countries while at the same time reaffirming certain connections to the larger national milieu. Thus, similarly to Mexico City, these programs used folklore both to inform foreign visitors and nationals and to provide them a festive atmosphere.

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<sup>600</sup> Large, *Munich 1972*, 17-18.

The organizers in 1968 worked to move past the perception of their city as the capital of a slow-paced country that still lacked many of the characteristics of modernity. The 1968 folkloric events presented Mexico's attachment to the past as an integral part of its identity rather than an impediment to development.<sup>601</sup> In the case of Munich and Montreal, their folklore events focused on Bavarian and Quebecois art forms demonstrated the diversity of German and Canadian culture as vital contributors to the national atmosphere. Nevertheless, they differed from one another because the 1972 festival was an international event with participants from twelve countries including West Germany, while the 1976 occasion focused only on Canadian art, history, and traditions.

The organizing committee of the 1972 Games with the support of local agencies held their folklore festival from mid-August to early September with the event drawing large crowds.<sup>602</sup> Like much of the atmosphere in Munich, organizers worked to show a contrast between the 1936 Berlin Games and their own program.<sup>603</sup> Rather than trying to demonstrate the superiority of the German *volk* and their traditions, the 1972 folklore performances and exhibitions brought together many different examples of popular and fine arts in an effort to demonstrate the similarities between German cultural expressions and those from other parts of the world.<sup>604</sup> Moreover, planners echoed the goals of the 1968 Organizing Committee in their effort to allow for non-athletic events, especially the folklore festival, to create a place for all

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<sup>601</sup> See Luis M. Castañeda, *Spectacular Mexico : Design, Propaganda, and the 1968 Olympics* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, "Hacia México '68: Pedro Ramírez Vázquez y el proyecto olímpico," *Secuencia*, 56 (2003): 37-73; Kevin Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympics* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University, 2008); Eric Zolov, "'Showcasing the Land of Tomorrow': Mexico and the 1968 Olympics," *The Americas*, 61, no. 2 (2004), 159-188.

<sup>602</sup> Large, *Munich 1972*, 156-157.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid.; Schiller and Young, "The Legacy of Berlin 1936 and the German Past: Problems and Possibilities," *The 1972 Munich Olympics*, 57-83.

<sup>604</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 233; Large, *Munich 1972*, 10.

nations to contribute to the Games and stand as equals in a way that the athletic events did not allow.<sup>605</sup>

Participants from twelve countries took part in the festival in 1972, including groups from Munich's state, Bavaria.<sup>606</sup> This program paralleled the 1968 effort to gather examples of performing and visual arts from many different countries in a single place to provide an international audience for cultural forms that the larger global community might not have experienced. The 1972 event also served to educate tourists about the specific characteristics of the German state of Bavaria.<sup>607</sup> Folkloric groups from Europe, North Africa, East Asia, and Latin America including the *Ballet Folklórico de México* performed in the event.<sup>608</sup> Each group did shows for four consecutive nights in the Circus Krone Building and as in 1968 participants received free accommodations.<sup>609</sup> In these ways, the program provided a space to celebrate international achievements other than athletics; moreover, because the planners did not limit contributions to European art forms, the festival became a celebration of the national variety that art could take.

Many different groups including the Institute of Folk Art of the University of Munich and the Bavarian State Association for Preserving Regional Traditions under the direction of the Bavarian State Administration collaborated to produce its contributions to the folklore festival program.<sup>610</sup> With the festival, these groups worked to move beyond the stereotypical images of the region as rural and out of step with the rest of West Germany that may have been more

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<sup>605</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 233.

<sup>606</sup> Ibid.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid.

<sup>609</sup> Ibid.

<sup>610</sup> Ibid., 233-234.

familiar to Olympic tourists and emphasized instead the cultural richness of the region.<sup>611</sup> One project called “*Vita Bavarica*”-- “A Bavarian Picture Book”-- exhibited native art and demonstrated regional customs associated with seasons, holidays, and rites of passage.<sup>612</sup> Unlike the other folkloric groups, the Bavarian performers were all amateurs of different ages and various professional backgrounds who represented many municipalities within the state.<sup>613</sup> Other performances, coordinated by the University of Munich, focused on regional folk music and dance.<sup>614</sup> Like the rest of the program, organizers of this section made great efforts to emphasize the visual aspects of Bavarian folklore in order to allow a multilingual audience to enjoy the events.

As in 1968, the 1972 planners tried to move beyond stereotyped images of different nations. Whereas the Mexican Organizing Committee found itself in the narrative of modernization that kept many from seeing it as a full member of the international community, the Munich planners were caught in comparisons between their Olympics and the 1936 Games.<sup>615</sup> Nevertheless, by embracing folkloric art and dance, Mexico demonstrated the artistic worth of their traditional music and dance even though they differed from European forms. Munich’s welcoming of many folk forms from around the world painted a picture of inclusivity to contrast with the Berlin Games and the Third Reich’s legacy of racism and prejudice.<sup>616</sup>

In contrast to the international programs in 1968 and 1972, the 1976 organizers held a Canadian festival; nonetheless, they shared the goal of putting on display the host city’s culture

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<sup>611</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 233-234.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

<sup>613</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>614</sup> *Ibid.*, 233-234.

<sup>615</sup> EJ Kahn, “Letter from Munich,” *The New Yorker*, September 16, 1972),

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1972/09/16/letter-from-munich-5>; Large, *Munich 1972*, 10-14.

<sup>616</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 233-234.

to educate both international and even domestic tourists. The conception of Canada that they emphasized reflected the contributions of Montreal's--and more broadly Quebec's-- French Canadian population to the larger national artistic and cultural atmosphere. They focused on presenting their nation as multicultural and multilingual in a way that pervaded many aspects of their planning.<sup>617</sup> For example, two fifteen-year-old torchbearers, Stéphane Préfontaine, a French Canadian from Montreal, and Sandra Henderson, an Anglophone from Toronto, lit the Olympic cauldron that year.<sup>618</sup>

While the Canadian festival did not have an event devoted solely to folklore, organizers incorporated folk music and dance throughout their program. This included the popular arts section of the program where almost 2,000 performers did a series of shows at the *Place des Nations*--a site within the space created for the pavilions from the Expo 67 World's Fair in Montreal.<sup>619</sup> Coordinated by the Canadian Folk Arts Council, the popular arts section focused primarily on traditional songs and dances.<sup>620</sup> In front of an audience of around 200,000 spectators, participants performed dances from American Indian communities and western Canadian groups as well as the traditional songs of trappers and the folk songs of the country's eastern coast.<sup>621</sup>

The organizers of these folkloric productions; sought to provide an opportunity for an international audience to learn about the diversity of the Canadian experience including the indigenous populations and early European settlers who lived on the frontier prior to the

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<sup>617</sup> Bruce Kidd, "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics" *Sport in Society* 16, no. 4 (2013): 472-481.

<sup>618</sup> Montreal Olympic Organizing Committee, *Games of the XXI Olympiad: Montreal 1976 Official Report, Volume 1 Organization* (Ottawa: COJO 76, 1978), 300-301.

<sup>619</sup> *Ibid.*, 601.

<sup>620</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*

annexation of the territories into the British Empire.<sup>622</sup> They worked to push past the image of Canada as only an Anglosphere nation.<sup>623</sup> This perception may have persisted with spectators even as they were in the bilingual city of Montreal because of the omnipresence of the British monarchy including the fact that Queen Elizabeth II declared the opening of the Games. This education went beyond folklore and involved the performance of popular art forms such as a jazz ballet by the renowned dancer, choreographer, and artistic director, Eddy Toussaint.<sup>624</sup> While Toussaint had adopted Montreal as his home, he had migrated to the city from Haiti with his family as a child. Thus, he represented the diverse immigrant population of the country.

Finally, this folklore also appeared in the Opening Ceremony itself during the exchange of an official Olympic flag from Munich's care to Montreal's. Passing the flag was a traditional part of the Ceremony with the mayor of the previous host city handing the so-called Antwerp Flag to the mayor of the new host city, and the flag remained in an important municipal building such as city hall for the next four years.<sup>625</sup> In 1972 as a part of the exchange, planners included a performance by nearly 3,000 Munich children between the ages of 10 and 14 that highlighted Bavarian culture and physical education that they called the "Salute to Youth" that served to welcome athletes to the city.<sup>626</sup> The 1976 exchange incorporated a performance by two groups representing both Montreal and Munich. The production involved 64 dancers, 16 musicians, and 8 singers in traditional Bavarian costumes and an equal number of Canadian dancers, musicians, and singers in costumes associated with settlers from the St. Lawrence River Valley. It began

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<sup>622</sup> Montreal Olympic Organizing Committee, *1976 Official Report, Volume 1*, 579.

<sup>623</sup> Kidd, "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics," 472-481.

<sup>624</sup> Montreal Olympic Organizing Committee, *1976 Official Report, Volume 1*, 594-595.

<sup>625</sup> Comité International Olympique, "Olympic Rules Bye-Laws and Instructions" (1976), pg. 38, <https://library.olympic.org>.

<sup>626</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 82.

with a dance and polka music by the representatives of Munich.<sup>627</sup> Next, the Canadian participants performed to an arrangement of music and dance from Quebec.<sup>628</sup> Finally, the two groups came together to perform a waltz to music associated with the regions of each city.<sup>629</sup> This inclusion of artistic elements into the Opening Ceremony anticipated the shift to the growing importance of the spectacle resulting from the union of culture and sports.

Like the Opening Ceremonies in Munich and Montreal, the 1972 and 1976 Olympics marked a transition in many ways from the last Games of the Brundage Era to the first without him as the IOC president. Brundage had held the line on the effort to keep politics out of sports and the promotion of amateurism in athletics.<sup>630</sup> Brundage left office at the low moment of the murder of Israeli athletes and officials at the Munich Games, and he held out so little hope for the future of the Movement that he reportedly said that he believed the Modern Olympics would not last much past his retirement.<sup>631</sup> The next IOC president, Lord Killanin (1972-1980), did not have the same ability to influence the Movement as Brundage and faced a number of crises in his eight-year term including questions about the economic viability of the IOC.<sup>632</sup> Additionally, 1976 began the period of Olympic boycotts that did not end until the 1992 Games-- the first ones after the fall of the Soviet Union that ended the Cold War.

Despite their many successes, the first two Games after 1968 became cautionary tales for what could go wrong for a host city. The fact that the first Summer Olympics in Germany since the so-called Nazi Games became the site of the massacre of athletes from a predominantly

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<sup>627</sup> Montreal Olympic Organizing Committee, *1976 Official Report, Volume 1*, 300.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid.

<sup>629</sup> Ibid.

<sup>630</sup> See Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*.

<sup>631</sup> Large, *Munich 1972*, 18.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid.

Jewish nation led many to accuse organizers of ineptitude in the face of global affairs and even anti-Semitism.<sup>633</sup> These accusations belied the fact that planners in 1972 had tried to create an atmosphere with less of a security presence in order to prevent associations with the militaristic character of the 1936 Games in Berlin.<sup>634</sup> Even though the athletic events had been able to resume after a day of mourning, the massacre changed perceptions of the Games as a site free from politics. Munich's Olympic Village experienced violence that appeared on news programs around the world rather than the symbolic acts of dissent at the 1968 Games that included Czech gymnast, Věra Čáslavská, who looked down during the Soviet national anthem to protest the invasion of her nation by Warsaw Pact countries earlier in the summer.<sup>635</sup>

The 1976 Games marked the transition to boycotts and growing questions about the ever-increasing budgets required to host the Olympics. The first of these problems, the 1976 boycott of the Olympics by twenty-nine primarily African nations, came about when the IOC refused to punish New Zealand for its rugby team's tour in apartheid South Africa that included playing a series of matches in the country.<sup>636</sup> Taiwan also boycotted the Games because the Canadian government had recognized the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate China and would not allow Taiwan's delegation to call itself China at the Olympics.<sup>637</sup>

In addition to these boycotts, Montreal became one of the biggest financial disasters of the Modern Olympic Movement when the mayor of the city proposed a self-financing model that would not fund the Games through direct contributions from the federal government but instead through encouraging Canadians to buy consumer goods such as Olympic stamps, coins, and

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<sup>633</sup> Large, *Munich 1972*, 18, 10-13.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid.

<sup>635</sup> Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World*, 128.

<sup>636</sup> Donald Macintosh, Donna Greenhorn, and Michael Hawes, "Trudeau, Taiwan, and the 1976 Montreal Olympics" *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 21:4 (1991): 445.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid., 423-448.

lottery tickets that would generate revenue.<sup>638</sup> This allowed a reluctant Canadian public the chance to choose to finance the Games rather than requiring all citizens to pay for the Olympics through tax dollars, as had been the case with the Expo '67 World's Fair.<sup>639</sup> The self-financing scheme did not generate the revenues expected and the province of Quebec and the city of Montreal took on a combined one billion dollar debt to pay for the event.<sup>640</sup>

The 1972 and 1976 Games included cultural and artistic events whose planners sought to create a more cooperative environment free from many of the social, political, and economic tensions of the early-to-mid-1970s. Nevertheless, in both years, these struggles played out in the host cities. The following Games would only bring more of these tensions especially with regard to the number of boycotting nations and the ever-increasing costs. The 1968 program had a lasting impact despite this changing atmosphere at the 1972 and 1976 programs especially with the folklore festivals. Nevertheless, ideas about unity through sports and culture and creating a more economically sustainable event became less possible in the years after 1968.

### **The Union of the Aesthetic and the Athletic at the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, 1980-1988**

The planners of the 1980 Games prepared a Soviet-based cultural and artistic program to represent what they saw as the multicultural atmosphere of the USSR. The events included dozens of art groups--a mix of professional and amateur participants--from the fifteen Soviet republics.<sup>641</sup> These groups performed over 100 opera, ballet and dramatic pieces and almost 350

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<sup>638</sup> Estee Fresco, "Marketing Avery Brundage's Apoplexy: The 1976 Montreal Olympics Self-Financing Model" *International Journal of History of Sport* 33:4 (2016): 370.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*, 369-384.

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid.*, 370-372.

<sup>641</sup> Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, *Games of the XXII Olympiad Moscow 1980: Official Report of the Organising Committee of the XXI Olympiad, Volume 2*, (Moscow: Fizkultura i Sport Publishers, 1981), 402.

concerts.<sup>642</sup> In addition to these performances were art and museum exhibitions on local art forms and customs. While the program included arts festivals and displays in the host city that started in December of 1979, the bulk of the program spanned five weeks in the summer of 1980 beginning in Moscow in June.<sup>643</sup> This program had similarities with its three immediate predecessors especially the 1968 Cultural Olympics particularly with the effort to spread the artistic events beyond the host city and the emphasis on folkloric arts.

The 1968 Organizing Committee invited Cultural Olympics participants to travel to other cities within Mexico, and the planners of the 1980 artistic program similarly hosted parallel events in the Soviet cities of Minsk, Tallinn, Leningrad, and Kiev.<sup>644</sup> As in the three previous programs, folklore played a large role in influencing the music and dance performances. In Minsk, amateur folk groups performed traditional Belarusian music and dances.<sup>645</sup> Some of these folkloric festivals drew on existing traditions such as the Estonian song festival in Tallinn whose celebration went back to the nineteenth century that became a part of the Soviet program.<sup>646</sup> Fine arts also made up the events. In Moscow and Tallinn as well as Kiev and Leningrad, planners held museum exhibitions and theatrical performances.<sup>647</sup> The program reached to the Olympic Village and the International Youth Camp where the organizing committee worked to educate these visitors about local history and culture and promote friendship and mutual understanding among the young people gathered at the sites.<sup>648</sup> Finally,

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<sup>642</sup> Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, *Games of the XXII Olympiad Moscow 1980: Official Report of the Organising Committee of the XXI Olympiad, Volume 2*, (Moscow: Fizkultura i Sport Publishers, 1981), 402.

<sup>643</sup> *Ibid.*, 403.

<sup>644</sup> Comité Organizador de los Juegos de la XIX Olimpiada, Departamento de Publicaciones, *Programa artístico y cultural de los juegos de la XIX olimpiada* (Mexico: Miguel Galas), 11; Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games, *1980: Official Report, Volume 2*, 403-414.

<sup>645</sup> Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games, *1980: Official Report, Volume 2*, 403.

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid.*, 411.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.*, 403-406.

<sup>648</sup> *Ibid.*, 316-317.

the effort to display Soviet life included trips to visit industrial sites and meet with farmers for foreign guests from countries such as England, West Germany, Portugal, Mexico, and Brazil.<sup>649</sup>

The 1980 program had many similarities to the 1968 Cultural Olympics with venues outside the host city that displayed other urban centers and their customs and traditions. The trip to working sites demonstrated an effort to push audiences to question what makes up culture. Nonetheless, the biggest contribution the Moscow organizers made to bringing together the aesthetic and the athletic was in the artistic elements they added to the Opening Ceremony.

The crises of international terrorism and cost overruns at the 1972 and 1976 Games left their marks on the Olympic Movement as a whole and deterred cities from putting in bids to become the next host. Only Moscow and Los Angeles put in complete bids to host the 1980 Olympics, and for 1984, LA became the last viable candidate when Tehran dropped out because of the Iranian Revolution.<sup>650</sup> Additionally, the 1980 and 1984 Games experienced the biggest boycotts with a US-led boycott of the Moscow Games as a protest against Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and a retaliatory boycott by Eastern Bloc nations in 1984.<sup>651</sup> It seemed that former IOC president, Avery Brundage, had correctly predicted that Cold War politics might break the movement that had survived two world wars and outlived many nation-states and political regimes.

The Modern Olympics did survive with many changes including the increased importance of broadcasting for generating revenue and a new method for joining arts and sports:

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<sup>649</sup> Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games, *1980: Official Report, Volume 2*, 410.

<sup>650</sup> Mark Dyreson, "The Endless Olympic Bid: Los Angeles and the Marketing of the American West," *Journal of the West* 46, no. 4 (2008): 34; Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 32-45.

<sup>651</sup> See Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch*.

the Opening and Closing Ceremonies.<sup>652</sup> Generally, the artistic portions of these ceremonies made for better television programming than the multiple events in various locations over many days or weeks because they provided a single condensed statement on the host city's history and traditions and drew in large television audiences to what had previously been a relatively dry affair. The increased amounts of money garnered by broadcasting meant that the IOC relaxed regulations regarding the Opening and Closing Ceremonies over time to allow evermore-spectacular artistic performances to attract more viewers.<sup>653</sup> The ceremonies also allowed for joining arts and sports to educate TV audiences and create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confraternity in a way similar to what the 1968 Organizing Committee sought to accomplish with their cultural program. Moreover, events from the Cultural Olympics anticipated-- and possibly influenced-- this shift in the Opening and Closing Ceremonies.

Since the beginning of the Modern Olympic Movement in 1896, there had existed the desire and the problem of how to create a comparable space for the arts as existed for sports. Until 1912, this effort had included playing music during sporting events and making connections to the World's Fair-style exhibitions of research and technology.<sup>654</sup> The Concours d'Art, or art competitions, served this function from 1912 to 1948 with examples of the host city's culture used to provide excursions and other outlets for visitors.<sup>655</sup> In 1968, organizers

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<sup>652</sup> Mark Dyreson, "Global Television and the Transformation of the Olympics: The 1984 Los Angeles Games" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no.1 (2015): 172-184.

<sup>653</sup> Sandra Collins, "Mediated Modernities and Mythologies in the Opening Ceremonies of 1964 Tokyo, 1988 Seoul and 2008 Beijing Olympic Games" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 16 (2012): 2244-2263.

<sup>654</sup> Pierre de Coubertin, Timoleon J. Philemon, N.G. Politis, and Charalambos Anninos, *The Olympic Games: BC 776-AD 1896: Second Part: The Olympic Games in Ancient Times*, trans. A. v. K. (London: H. Grevel & Co., 1897): 65 and 75; The British Olympic Council, *The Fourth Olympiad Being the Official Report the Olympic Games of 1908 Celebrated in London under the Patronage of His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII and by Sanction of the International Olympic Committee*, ed. Theodore Andrea Cook (London: Spottswood & Co.), 399.

<sup>655</sup> Swedish Olympic Committee, *The Fifth Olympiad: The Official Olympic Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912*, ed. Erik Bergvall, trans. Edward Adams-Ray (Stockholm: Wahlstrom & Widstrand), 825-826; Xth Olympiad Committee of the Games of Los Angeles, U.S.A. 1932, *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932: Official Report* (Los Angeles: Wolfer Printing Company, 1932), 752-754 and 763.

proposed and celebrated parallel programs going so far as to use a second Olympic cauldron and even a separate set of pictograms for the artistic and scientific events to symbolize the equal standing of sport and culture.<sup>656</sup> The organizers of the 1972 and 1976 Games not only continued many of the legacies of 1968, but also included more cultural elements into their Opening and Closing Ceremonies. By 1980, the focus on the Opening and Closing Ceremonies to communicate ideas about local and national identities accelerated with longer and more elaborate programs.<sup>657</sup> Although the Games from 1980 to 1988 had artistic programs with exhibitions and performances, the artistic spectacles of the Ceremonies became a much more recognizable Olympic tradition.

The Olympic Charter has required since the early twentieth century that organizing committees complete certain aspects of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies with additions such as the lighting of the cauldron after the torch relay only happening over the course of many years. The regulations for the Opening, for example, require the Parade of Nations when the athletes from each participating country march into the Olympic stadium.<sup>658</sup> According to the rules dictating the ceremony, this parade must start with athletes representing Greece with the remaining nations following in alphabetical order based on the official language and alphabet of the host city.<sup>659</sup> The host nation's athletes enter the stadium last, taking their place on the field

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<sup>656</sup> Organizing Committee for the XIX Olympic Games, "Report presented by Mr. Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, Chairman of the Organizing Committee, to the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee in Mexico City," October 22, 1968, Pg. 2, Box 85, Folder, "IOC Meetings--Executive Board, Mexico--October 22, 1966," Avery Brundage Collection (ABC), University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

<sup>657</sup> Collins, "Mediated Modernities and Mythologies in the Opening Ceremonies," 2246.

<sup>658</sup> Comité International Olympique, "Olympic Charter 1980," Provisional Edition (1980), pg. 59, <https://library.olympic.org>.

<sup>659</sup> Ibid.

along with all of the other delegations.<sup>660</sup> Other requirements include the declaration of the opening and closing of the Games by a state leader, the lighting and extinguishing of the torch, and the raising and lowering of the official Olympic flag.<sup>661</sup> Prior to 1980, host cities primarily sought to add unique elements to the required touchstones of the ceremonies particularly with the use of music, the choice of the torchbearer who lit the Olympic cauldron, and the exchange of the Olympic flag.

Until 1980, the Olympic Charter, Rules, and By-Laws included requirements on the Opening and Closing Ceremonies that made them more uniform in nature; nevertheless, organizing committees made room in the ceremonies to allow for adding nationalistic or regional features.<sup>662</sup> In 1968, this included the use of pre-Columbian flutes and drums; to mark the arrival of the torch to the Olympic Stadium at the Opening; moreover, one thousand mariachi played traditional songs of farewell at the Closing Ceremony.<sup>663</sup> The rigidity of the Opening and Closing changed slowly in 1972 with the Bavarian folklore performance as a part of the exchange of the Olympic flags.<sup>664</sup> At the following Games, the dance with Quebecois and Bavarian performers at the 1976 Opening also provides an example of growing national specificity within the strictures of the Ceremonies. Another of these at the Montreal Games was the performance of gymnasts primarily from Canada, but including twelve from countries in Europe, Oceania, Asia, and South America.<sup>665</sup> Their routine utilized flags and gymnastic ribbon

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<sup>660</sup> Comité International Olympique, "Olympic Charter 1980," Provisional Edition (1980), 59.

<sup>661</sup> *Ibid.*, 59-60.

<sup>662</sup> Collins, "Mediated Modernities and Mythologies in the Opening Ceremonies," 2251.

<sup>663</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 3: The Games*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969): 22 and 503.

<sup>664</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 82-83.

<sup>665</sup> Montreal Olympic Organizing Committee, *1976 Official Report, Volume 1*, 303.

wands and had the primary purpose of welcoming the young people of the world to the host city.<sup>666</sup>

These performances in 1972 and 1976 took place on the Stadium's track, and athletes remained on the field, but at the 1976 Closing Ceremony, performers took over the field. The Ceremony began with a ballet-based show by young women dressed in white capes.<sup>667</sup> The lining of each dancer's cape and her dress were one of the Olympic colors.<sup>668</sup> After turning their capes inside out to display the color on the other side, they moved by color into a formation of the Olympic Rings and remained on the field as the playing of indigenous folk music began and 525 American Indians in traditional costumes escorted athletes into the stadium.<sup>669</sup> Once they had escorted the athletes to the Olympic Rostrum-- the platform from where officials preside over the ceremonies-- the American Indian participants put up wigwams inside each of the Olympic rings created by the dancers.<sup>670</sup> In 1972 and 1976, these artistic elements occupied a very limited amount of time in relation to the official protocols.

These changes in 1972 and 1976 accelerated this shift in the Opening and Closing Ceremonies that allowed for more of a cultural program within the official protocol, and by the time of the Moscow Games, the artistic elements had a much more central role. This coincided with the IOC's relaxation of the rules about the ceremonies themselves.<sup>671</sup> For example, the IOC rules and instructions from 1972 and 1976 had precise directions down to the language required

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<sup>666</sup> Montreal Olympic Organizing Committee, *1976 Official Report, Volume 1*, 303.

<sup>667</sup> *Ibid.*, 306-307.

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>669</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>670</sup> Montreal Olympic Organizing Committee, *1976 Official Report, Volume 1*, 306-307.

<sup>671</sup> Collins, "Mediated Modernities and Mythologies in the Opening Ceremonies," 2252.

for each section of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies.<sup>672</sup> Nevertheless, as the 1972 organizers noted, the rules did not preclude additions, and as a result, they sought and received the approval of the IOC to include a performance at the exchange of the flags.<sup>673</sup>

This approval for the 1972 Olympic flag exchange began a process by which the Ceremonies transformed to their present form with large and spectacular performances during the Opening and Closing. By 1980, the Charter, allowed for a program in the Opening of the Games as long as it took place after the required sections.<sup>674</sup> The 1984 Charter permitted the program to occur in any order as long as the mandated elements took place and if the whole ceremony took no longer than ninety minutes, and by 1992, the Charter only stipulated that the artistic portions of the ceremony had the approval of the IOC.<sup>675</sup> These changes allowed for a more extravagant display of national and regional culture. Like allowing professional athletes to participate in the Games, and the alternating two-year cycles of the Winter and Summer Olympics, unique Opening and Closing Ceremonies drew in larger television audiences and more revenue from advertising and broadcasting rights.<sup>676</sup>

The planners in 1980 consciously separated the artistic and official portions of the ceremonies with the cultural elements in the Opening Ceremony beginning after the mandated protocols and lasting for a full hour and a Closing artistic section that lasted thirty minutes.<sup>677</sup>

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<sup>672</sup> Comité International Olympique, *Olympic Rules and Regulations*, 1972, Pg. 41-45, <https://library.olympic.org>; Comité International Olympique, *Olympic Rules, Bye-Laws and Instructions*, 1976, Pg. 37-40, <https://library.olympic.org>.

<sup>673</sup> The Organizing Committee of the XX Olympiad, *The Organization: The Official Report, Volume 1*, 82.

<sup>674</sup> Comité International Olympique, *Olympic Charter*, Provisional Edition, 1980, 60, <https://library.olympic.org>.

<sup>675</sup> Comité International Olympique, "Olympic Charter 1984," January 1, 1984, pg. 20, <https://library.olympic.org>; Comité International Olympique, "Olympic Charter 1992," 1992, pg. 95, <https://library.olympic.org>.

<sup>676</sup> Andrew Zimbalist, *Circus Maximus: The Economic Gamble Behind Hosting the Olympics and the World Cup* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2016), 20-25; Collins, "Mediated Modernities and Mythologies in the Opening Ceremonies," 2251-2254.

<sup>677</sup> Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games, *1980: Official Report*, 280-281.

During the Opening performance in Moscow, the athletes did not remain on the field during the artistic portions and instead left the field completely to become a part of the audience and allowed these events to take center stage. The 1980 program emphasized certain aspects of Soviet culture including the importance of education particularly kinesthetics with physical education institutions and instructors coordinating parts of the Ceremonies.<sup>678</sup> This choreography showcased gymnasts doing dances and drill formations. Highlighting the multicultural makeup of the host city's country, some dancers wore the traditional costumes of the Soviet republics.<sup>679</sup> The show also featured gymnasts dressed as the mascot for the 1980 Summer Games-- a smiling bear called Misha.<sup>680</sup>

The planners of the 1984 LA Games sought to continue this trend of an artistic and cultural show during the Opening Ceremony except that they wanted to make their presentation an even bigger spectacle especially since, as the writers of the 1984 official report noted, Los Angeles had a reputation as the entertainment capital of the world.<sup>681</sup> Originally, they sought to work directly with Walt Disney Productions, but even when this did not come to fruition, the program still matched the pageantry of the Moscow Games' and communicated many aspects of the host city's identity as well as the values and history of the United States as a whole.<sup>682</sup>

Organizers broke up the ceremony into five acts including one called *The Pioneer Spirit* that celebrated the history of the westward expansion of the United States during the nineteenth century.<sup>683</sup> More than 400 dancers, gymnasts, and musicians performed in the act dressed in the

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<sup>678</sup> Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games, *1980: Official Report*, 280-281.

<sup>679</sup> *Ibid.*, 296-297.

<sup>680</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

<sup>681</sup> Los Angeles Olympic Committee, *Official Report of the Games of the XXIII Olympiad Los Angeles, 1984, Volume 1: Organization and Planning*, ed. Richard B. Perelman, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, 1985): 200; Dyreson, "The Endless Olympic Bid," 34-35.

<sup>682</sup> Los Angeles Olympic Committee, *Official Report, Volume 1*, 200.

<sup>683</sup> *Ibid.*

costumes of the Old West, and their props included movable covered wagons.<sup>684</sup> While the history of Manifest Destiny characterizes US national identity for many Americans, as a city on the Pacific Coast this narrative held special significance for LA residents.<sup>685</sup> Additionally, the emphasis on the stories of pioneers' spirit that allowed for the settlement of the Western frontier directly related to Americans' Cold War understandings of freedom and made LA the centerpiece of this vision of the promises of Western-style liberal democracy that American politicians and diplomats sought to spread around the world. It thus served to provide a clear political meaning to spectators in the stadium and television audiences around the world.<sup>686</sup>

The program included audience participation in card stunts with spectators given instructions to raise colorful cards that together made up different images throughout the stadium. While the Opening and Closing Ceremonies in Moscow included card stunts as well, they had been carried out only by Soviet athletes, and produced images such as the 1980 Summer Games' logo and mascot.<sup>687</sup> In 1984, the card stunt created images of all the flags of participating nations.<sup>688</sup> This celebration of the diversity of the athletes gathered to compete also reflected the calls to friendship and unity that the planners put forward. The organizing committee members argued that LA was especially suited to serve as the site of this unity because it was a multicultural metropolis, home to migrant communities from around the world who spoke approximately eighty different languages within the city.<sup>689</sup> This emphasis on the

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<sup>684</sup> Los Angeles Olympic Committee, *Official Report, Volume 1*, 200.

<sup>685</sup> Dyreson, "The Endless Olympic Bid," 35.

<sup>686</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 and 35.

<sup>687</sup> Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games, *1980: Official Report*, 202, 238, 295, 298.

<sup>688</sup> Los Angeles Olympic Committee, *Official Report Volume 1*, 202.

<sup>689</sup> *Ibid.*, 528.

diversity of LA reflected the US image as a nation of inclusion and openness that many used to contrast Eastern Bloc and Western countries.

By the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul, South Korea, an Opening Ceremony that displayed the host city's history and traditions had become a mainstay. That year, organizers planned a show with two parts that took place before and after the required Olympic protocol.<sup>690</sup> Altogether, the artistic elements of the program lasted 180 minutes and included 13,625 participants in 15 different presentations.<sup>691</sup> The performers were primary, secondary, and university students as well as members of professional organizations and the military.<sup>692</sup> The ceremonies complemented the 1988 Games' theme "Harmony and Progress" and focused on unity "Beyond Barriers".<sup>693</sup> Staged after two of the biggest boycotts in Olympic history, the 1988 organizing committee called on spectators and participating nations to find commonalities across ideological divisions.

Each of the sections of the opening program symbolized the theme of overcoming barriers by emphasizing peace, cooperation, and hope for the next generation. One section, named "A Great Day--Flower Dance" expressed what the organizers called a longing for peace.<sup>694</sup> The "New Sprouts" performance had 1,200 children playing games such as jumping rope.<sup>695</sup> It came after a segment called "Silence" that featured a single child rolling a wooden hoop.<sup>696</sup> The child, Yun Tae-ung, had this honor because he was born on the same day in 1981

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<sup>690</sup> Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Games of the XXIV Olympiad Seoul 1988 Official Report Organization and Planning, Volume 1* (Seoul: Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, 1989), 391.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid., 392.

<sup>693</sup> Ibid.

<sup>694</sup> Ibid., 393.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid.

<sup>696</sup> Ibid.

when the IOC awarded Seoul the Games.<sup>697</sup> Together these performances offered up Seoul as a site of reconciliation after the years of boycotts. Moreover, “New Sprouts” and “Silence” demonstrated the necessity of building a united world for the sake of future generations. On the other hand, the image of Seoul as a site of unity contrasted sharply with the separation of North and South Korea. In fact, North Korea boycotted the 1988 Summer Games, as did Cuba. The theme of “Harmony and Progress” thus also worked as a path forward for South Korea after the social trauma and tensions caused by their separation from North Korea after World War II and the political upheaval of the 1980 military coup d’état in South Korea.<sup>698</sup>

Even as elaborate artistic performances in the Opening and Closing Ceremonies became a more entrenched tradition in the Modern Olympic Movement and provided a more readily-accessible way for audiences to enjoy both athletics and the arts, this transition had many elements in common with the 1968 Cultural Olympics such as large choreographed spectacles that resembled the “Arrival of the Flame at Teotihuacan” and “Mexico’s Youth Welcomes World Youth.” Furthermore, the 1968 Organizing Committee’s “Arrival of the Flame at Teotihuacan” with its emphasis on the Olympic torch’s last leg of the relay and its large-scale choreography that recreated the Aztec ceremony of New Fire greatly resembled the Opening Ceremonies after 1980 in a display of national history and culture to celebrate the coming of the Games as represented by the Olympic torch.<sup>699</sup> The 1968 Organizing Committee also saw the event as an extension of the official opening as evidenced by the fact that the “Arrival of the

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<sup>697</sup> Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report, Volume 1*, 393.

<sup>698</sup> Collins, “Mediated Modernities and Mythologies in the Opening Ceremonies,” 2251.

<sup>699</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 3*, 22; Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 4*, 627-630.

Flame at Teotihuacan” had the same pictogram symbol as the official Opening Ceremony itself.<sup>700</sup>

Another example of this connection between the 1968 Cultural Olympics and the Ceremonies of the 1980s is the continued emphasis on folklore and popular culture as a way to represent national and local identities. In Moscow, the gymnastic drills included dancing around large floats of *Matryoshka* dolls (Russian nesting dolls) -- one of the most recognizable examples of Russian folk art.<sup>701</sup> The 1980 artistic performance also featured reenactments of traditional folk festivals.<sup>702</sup> The 1984 program emphasized US popular art forms particularly in the realm of music featuring gospel, jazz, and Big Band performances as well as marching bands whose music and movements resembled military styles and served as a mainstay at the halftime shows of gridiron football games throughout the United States.<sup>703</sup> Finally, the 1988 performances included traditional dances and forms such as demonstrations of taekwondo and local celebrations.<sup>704</sup> The 1988 Ceremony also had a segment called “One World” that incorporated not only Korean folk dance, but also folk dances from around the world performed by participants from thirteen nations.<sup>705</sup> In this way, they held up an appreciation for unity itself as an element of South Korean national identity.

Thus, even though the cultural and artistic programs continued to be a requirement for host cities, the Opening and Closing Ceremonies provided a new focal point that added to the pomp and circumstance of the Games. They also offered a way for international audiences to see

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<sup>700</sup> Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, *The Official Report: Volume 3*, 22.

<sup>701</sup> Committee of the 1980 Olympic Games, *1980: Official Report*, 303 and 306.

<sup>702</sup> *Ibid.*, 306.

<sup>703</sup> Los Angeles Olympic Committee, *Official Report*, 200 and 208.

<sup>704</sup> Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report, Volume 1*, 393.

<sup>705</sup> *Ibid.*

many of the most important characteristics of the host city in a condensed program rather than over the course of two or more weeks thus making these aspects of the city more available to television audiences and not just to the tourists and residents who could attend the cultural events and exhibitions in the host city. Finally, the artistic elements provided a way to emphasize friendship and unity in a moment of exchange and mutual understanding rather than athletic competition. These themes echoed the goals that the 1968 Organizing Committee set out for its own cultural program.

### **Artistic and Cultural Elements in the Opening Ceremony at the End of the Twentieth Century, 1992-1996**

In the summer of 1996, Atlanta hosted the centennial celebration of the Modern Olympic Movement. The Games had survived the challenges of the Cold War even if IOC founder, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, or even long-time IOC president, Avery Brundage, might not have recognized them. Hard lines over amateurism and commercialism had given way as professional athletes competed in events and even amateurs held sponsorship deals.<sup>706</sup> Moreover, during the IOC presidency of Juan Antonio Samaranch (1980-2001), broadcasting contracts came to provide the bulk of the IOC's budget.<sup>707</sup> Nevertheless, during the years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall, the Modern Olympic Movement continued some characteristics that the planners in 1968 had advocated-- namely the selection of more diverse host cities.

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<sup>706</sup> Zimbalist, *Circus Maximus*, 22.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid., 20-25; Dyreson, "Global Television and the Transformation of the Olympics," 172-184; Robert K. Barney, Stephen R. Wenn, Scott G. Martyn, "Confrontations Galore: Lake Placid, Moscow, and the 1980 Olympic Festivals" in *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002), 127-150.

Neither of the cities that hosted the 1992 or the 1996 Games were world capitals nor did they have the same global recognizability of Los Angeles. This effort to increase the types of cities who served as the venue for the Games grew after the centennial celebration. Although the Summer Games did not return to Latin America until 2016, between 1992 and 2016, only two of the cities had previously served as hosts. Some of these hosts also came from countries with less political presence, and events such as the cultural programs and the Opening and Closing Ceremonies became all the more important for informing the larger world about local and national identities.<sup>708</sup> The first two Summer Games of the post-Soviet era and last two Summer Olympics of the twentieth century demonstrate many of the changes that continued to influence the Movement and illustrate the lasting legacy of previous Games including the 1968 Olympics.

The Opening for the 1992 Games in Barcelona worked to educate and entertain audiences with the cultural offerings of Spain and specifically the host city's home region of Catalonia. Thus, the ceremony reflected not only Spanish national identity, but also the various regional histories and traditions within the country. For example, while the Spanish king, Juan Carlos I, declared the opening of the Games, the ceremony also included the raising of the Catalan flag along with the national one.<sup>709</sup> The ceremony introduced audiences in the stadium and television viewers to the Mediterranean city with gymnastic drills, dances, and music. Two hundred participants created drill formations of bunches of flowers representing the *Ramble de los Flores*, the flower market on the central street in Barcelona, while others dressed in red, blue, and yellow juggled and did acrobatic tricks.<sup>710</sup> Joined by still more participants, the performers moved into

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<sup>708</sup> Collins, "Mediated Modernities and Mythologies in the Opening Ceremonies," 2251-2252.

<sup>709</sup> Barcelona '92 Organising Committee, *The Games: Sixteen Days in Summer: Official Report of the Games of the XXV Olympiad Barcelona 1992, Volume IV*, ed. Roma Cuyas (Barcelona: COOB '92, 1992), 54.

<sup>710</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

formations that spelled out the word “hola” as well as one that formed the Olympic rings on the field.<sup>711</sup>

Catalan music played throughout the performances including folk tunes, but the show also displayed other regional cultures and the city’s connection to the Mediterranean including to Greece. One highlight was a gathering of 1,000 performers of folkloric music and dance from the many regions of Spain.<sup>712</sup> For this section, 360 drummers from Bajo Aragón and 300 more musicians from Catalonia and the region of Levant in southeastern Spain played for 200 performers dressed in white who danced flamenco-- the folkloric style of southern Spain.<sup>713</sup> The dancers and musicians formed a circle around a featured flamenco dancer dressed in black and a man in dark clothing astride a black stallion. Also in the center of the circle was famed tenor, Alfredo Kraus of the Canary Islands, singing Spanish love songs.<sup>714</sup>

Demonstrating the connection between the host city and Greek culture, the performance included a reenactment of the story of Hercules, the mythical demigod who, according to legend, both founded the Ancient Olympics and the city of Barcelona.<sup>715</sup> The display was complete with performers dressed as Ancient Greeks on a ship and others in costumes that resembled blue sea waves surrounding the vessel as it left Greece and ended with the founding Barcelona.<sup>716</sup> In this way, choreographers showed a shared history and tradition of the host city and the Ancient Olympics.<sup>717</sup>

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<sup>711</sup> Barcelona ‘92 Organising Committee, *The Games: Sixteen Days in Summer: Official Report of the Games of the XXV Olympiad Barcelona 1992, Volume IV*, ed. Roma Cuyas (Barcelona: COOB ‘92, 1992), 54.

<sup>712</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>713</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>714</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>715</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-61.

<sup>716</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>717</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

The 1996 Opening in Atlanta also worked to show off the host city and region as well as highlight connections with Olympic values and history. As the organizers noted, their program emphasized the themes of the celebration of youth, the cultural diversity of the American South, and the centennial of the Modern Games.<sup>718</sup> They accomplished the celebration of youth with the use of young performers including ones from Atlanta and its immediate suburbs. Young Atlanta residents participated in the symbolic release of the doves. While this tradition went back to the Antwerp Games in 1920, the use of actual doves ended after 1988 and future ceremonies utilized symbolic releases. In 1996, this involved 100 Atlanta children with 300 dove-shaped kites who moved amongst the athletes as they stood on the field for the raising of the Olympic flag.<sup>719</sup> During this release of the doves, portions of the “I Have a Dream” speech by Atlanta native and Civil Rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. played over speakers.<sup>720</sup> The speech itself, with its famous lines where King prophesied the day that future generations of American children would live in a United States without racial divisions, showcased not only a celebration of children as the future of the region and the country, but also a connection between the Olympic emphasis on peace and the host city itself. The many popular musical styles with connections to the region that played throughout the Opening performances exemplified the emphasis on the diversity of the American South and included hip-hop, country, and bluegrass.<sup>721</sup>

The Opening also included the history of the Olympics from the Ancient Greeks to the 1996 Centennial of the Modern Games. For it, organizers projected images onto a scrim that

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<sup>718</sup> The Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, *The Centennial Olympic Games: The Official Report of the Centennial Games, Volume II* (Atlanta: Peachtree Publishers, 1997), 57.

<sup>719</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-65.

<sup>720</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>721</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

encircled the playing field of the stadium and represented the Temple of Zeus.<sup>722</sup> These images began with silhouettes of Ancient Greek wrestlers, weightlifters, runners, archers, and discus throwers.<sup>723</sup> Pictures of Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who called for the renewal of Olympic Movement, came next.<sup>724</sup> The section ended with actual runners on the track carrying banners with the names of all the host cities over the first hundred years of the Modern Games followed by the entry of the athletic delegations.<sup>725</sup> Together, the Ceremony represented both the diversity of Southern culture, and the renewal of the Southern city after generations of racial and social strife to such an extent that not only did the Opening include the words from the Civil Rights Movement, but also the torch bearer who lit the cauldron that year was a black American-- gold medalist boxer, Muhammad Ali.<sup>726</sup> As the show emphasized, this process of renewal had culminated with a modern city who could display its new face on the world's stage as the host of the centennial anniversary of the world's biggest sporting events.

In these first two Games after the era of boycotts and the Cold War, artistic elements within the Opening Ceremonies continued to serve as a way to entertain and inform audiences. Additionally, they had many elements in common with the 1968 Cultural Olympics. Like the 1968 Organizing Committee, planners for Barcelona and Atlanta used hosting the Games as a way to teach audiences about their regions that had unique cultures and histories. They relied on folk and popular music and dance in their programs to display the diversity of identities within their countries to audiences within both the host city and those who watched the events on

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<sup>722</sup> The Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, *The Official Report of the Centennial Games, Volume II*, 62.

<sup>723</sup> Ibid.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid.

<sup>725</sup> Ibid., 62-63.

<sup>726</sup> Mark Dyreson, "Region and Race: The Legacies of the St Louis Olympics" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 14 (2015): 1701.

television. In Barcelona, the continued use of gymnastics formations to create Olympic symbols as well as ones of welcome such as “Hola” and the Olympic rings resembled the gymnastic drills in Munich, Montreal, Moscow, LA, and Seoul that in turn had many similarities to events in the 1968 program. Moreover, the emphasis on young people and peace in the 1996 Opening had these same connections. The 1968 program continued to anticipate if not influence the effort to bring together the athletic and the aesthetic even in the period after the Cold War.

Thus, as the 1968 organizers predicted, non-competitive events had much to offer cities, and they became especially important for cities that were not world capitals like Seoul and Moscow nor well-known around the world, such as the case of Los Angeles. Like Munich and Montreal, the first two cities to host the Summer Games after Mexico City, Barcelona and Atlanta were municipalities that represented culturally distinct regions. The members of the 1968 Organizing Committee repeatedly stated that a primary motivation for planning such an extensive program came back to providing countries such as theirs that were not athletic powerhouses a chance to focus on their cultural achievements. Moreover, this space would allow for an international audience for artistic and traditional exhibitions and performances that smaller countries might not otherwise have the opportunity to reach. This motivation has many similarities to how cities such as Atlanta and Barcelona used their programs to put their diversity and achievements on display in a way that was not always possible for regional capitals.

By the centennial celebrations of the Modern Olympic Movement, therefore, the artistic sections of the Opening Ceremonies had become a tradition as entrenched as the torch relay. The organizers in both Barcelona and Atlanta allowed for the continuation of providing larger place for the aesthetic in the athletic space of the Olympics’ Opening. On the other hand, rather than creating a space away from the competitive atmosphere of athletics, the Ceremonies became

a competition between host cities with each organizing committee attempting to upstage its predecessor. Rather than making the Games more affordable for less prosperous hosts like Mexico City, these artistic elements within the Ceremonies expanded costs. This trend did not change even in the years immediately after the Cold War. Many around the world watched the spectacle of order and unity that the 2008 Ceremonies communicated, and it offered a visually powerful opening for the People's Republic of China; nevertheless, the event had a reported cost of \$434 million.<sup>727</sup> A sum that would do little to spread the benefits of hosting the Games to more types of cities.

The Opening and Closing Ceremonies, therefore, have become part of the problem of keeping the hosting of the Games manageable. Each new host has to prove a capacity for larger groups of tourists, more facilities for athletes, and the economic capabilities to make up any shortfalls.<sup>728</sup> The budget for taking on the Olympics is thus out of the reach of many cities especially outside of economic powerhouses in Europe, North America, and Eastern Asia.<sup>729</sup> This became especially clear when in the summer of 2017, the IOC announced that Paris and LA, both two-time Olympic cities, would host the Summer Games in 2024 and 2028 respectively.<sup>730</sup> This decision came in part because financial pressures led other cities to withdraw their bids.<sup>731</sup>

In many ways, this diminishing pool of bids relates to an unwillingness to make allowances for hosts to come from less economically- and politically-dominant regions and

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<sup>727</sup> Collins, "Mediated Modernities and Mythologies in the Opening Ceremonies," 2254-2256; Zimbalist, *Circus Maximus*, 44-45.

<sup>728</sup> Zimbalist, *Circus Maximus*, 1-7.

<sup>729</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-144.

<sup>730</sup> Victor Mather, "Olympics 2024 (and 2028): Paris vs. Los Angeles," *New York Times*, June 8, 2017 <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/08/sports/olympics/ioc-summer-games-host-paris-los-angeles-2024-2028.html>.

<sup>731</sup> *Ibid.*

nations. For example, for the 1968 Games, the IOC approved Mexico City's organizing committee's plan to hold the Summer Olympics in October to give them more time to finish facilities. Without this type of support from the IOC, host cities have to fit into industrial nations' rubric of progress and development. The bidding process can be difficult even for cities in Western Europe and the United States as any promises to focus on sustainability and affordability get overshadowed by promising the biggest spectacle.<sup>732</sup> For example, the IOC overlooked Madrid's 2013 bid for the 2020 Games that emphasized working with existing infrastructure in favor of Tokyo's plans for brand-new facilities.<sup>733</sup>

There exists a paradox to the goals of the Movement in the first one hundred years of the Games. Joining the athletic and the aesthetic served as one of the chief concerns for IOC founder Baron Pierre de Coubertin. This union took on many forms, but until the Moscow Games, most had little lasting impact. With the artistic sections of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, the Olympic planners found a place to join sports and culture, but this union pushed the movement farther away from goals set out by Coubertin and his supporters to make the Games economically sustainable by spreading the costs of celebrating the Olympic Movement by rotating cities. It seems that this will be the challenge of the Games in the post-Cold War era.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Standing before the IOC session in Mexico City in 1968, the Mexican Organizing Committee president, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, outlined his vision of the future of the Olympic Movement. Two years earlier, he had assumed the position as leader of the Organizing

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<sup>732</sup> Zimbalist, *Circus Maximus*, 140.

<sup>733</sup> *Ibid.*

Committee arguing that the city could host the Games without assuming a great debt as its predecessor, Tokyo, had.<sup>734</sup> True to this vision, Ramírez Vázquez called for creating a more inclusive Olympic movement that had room for countries that were not athletic powerhouses to participate fully.<sup>735</sup> An emphasis on culture, confraternity, and a love of sports, he argued, would allow a place for all nations at the 1968 Summer Games.<sup>736</sup> This vision required rethinking seemingly universal truths about progress, development, and Cold War politics.

To challenge these truths, Ramírez Vázquez and his fellow Organizing Committee members planned a cultural program that would parallel to the athletic one. The planners of this program confronted the presumptions that many around the world had about art, science, and the purpose of the Games by drawing on their past experiences projecting their national identity domestically and to foreign audiences. The events included the popular arts as well as the fine arts to allow for celebrating national differences and cosmopolitan styles and artistic forms. Elements of the popular arts, particularly folkloric music and dance, continued as a focus of programs even after 1968. In science, the Organizing Committee challenged ideas about progress and development by celebrating cooperation rather than competition. Finally, when it came to the Games themselves, they maintained that the Movement was not only about competition, but also the meeting of young people despite their differences as a way to encourage unity and mutual understanding in the next generation.

With each of these challenges, the members of the 1968 Organizing Committee made a case for what Mexico and its citizenry could offer the international community. As

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<sup>734</sup> “El señor presidente de la república Licenciado Don Gustavo Díaz Ordaz concediera a los honorables miembros del Comité olímpico internacional, el viernes 2 (sic) de octubre de 1966,” October 22, 1966, Pg. 1-8, Box 85, “IOC Meetings--Executive Board, Mexico--October 22, 1966,” ABC; Rodríguez Kuri, “Hacia México '68,” 37-73.

<sup>735</sup> Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, “Proposed Text of Address by President of the Mexican Olympic Committee at Opening of 67th Session of the IOC,” Oct. 7-11, 1968, Pg. 4-5, Box 88, ABC.

<sup>736</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

representatives of a nation outside of the East-West divide, they argued that they had a special understanding of the needs of non-aligned nations particularly the ability to provide an opportunity to display all countries' achievements and identities on an international stage on their own terms. Moreover, as a country free from many of the most divisive international entanglements of the Cold War, it was in a unique position to create a neutral space for the gathering of participating nations. Most of all, what this generation raised after the Mexican Revolution offered was a picture of their nation as modern with deep indigenous roots. Mexicans Organizing Committee members called on their fellow participating countries to recognize these same themes in their own national traditions through participating in the cultural program.

At the same time, they educated outsiders and even Mexican citizens about their histories and identities that had their roots in the union of the European and the indigenous, the modern and the traditional, and the national and the cosmopolitan. Mexico City served as the best host city to teach about unity, the 1968 Organizing Committee argued, because these debates so deeply related to their country that even the heredity of its citizenry reflected this peaceful union that the philosopher and educator José Vasconcelos called the cosmic race-- one whose celebration became the basis of Revolutionary Mexico whose struggles gave birth to a modern country who came to acquire enough prestige two generations after the Revolution that they could host the Olympics.

Despite the fact that many would come to remember the 1968 Games more for political protests by young people such as the youth protest movement that culminated in the student massacre in the Tlatelolco neighborhood of Mexico City, the cultural and artistic program of that year anticipated and likely influenced the shape these events took in the Olympics that followed.

While the cultural programs of future Games did not achieve the same level of recognition as other Olympic traditions, many elements of the 1968 program became mainstays of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies that became evermore important in the Olympic Movement after 1980. In these ways, viewers can continue to see the legacies of the Cultural Olympics that the children of the cosmic race planned.

## **Appendix A:**

### **Department of Artistic and Cultural Activities of the Organizing Committee of the XIX Olympiad:**

#### **Directors and Coordinators:**

Arq. Oscar Urrutia—General Coordinator

Dr. Luis Aveleyra Arroyo de Anda—Director

Prof. Alfonso Soto Soria—Sub-Director for Exhibitions

Julio Prieto—Sub-Director for Major Productions

Gilberto Bosque—Administrative Sub-Director

Guillermo Arriaga—Director of the Artistic Program in the Provinces

<b><u>Cultural Olympics Events</u></b>	<b><u>Coordinators</u></b>	<b><u>Venues</u></b>	<b><u>Dates</u></b>
<b><u>The Olympic Games and Youth</u></b>			
Reception Offered by Mexico's Youth to the Youth of the World	Prof. Juan Figueroa Peralta  Rosa Reyna	Constitution Square (Zócalo), Mexico City	October 10, 1968
The Mission of Youth: International Film Festival	Alberto Isaac (Coordinator of the Cinematographic Review on the Mission of Youth)	Various screening sites including the Olympic Villages as well as auditoriums and museums in the host city and throughout Mexico.	Throughout 1968, an estimated four thousand projections during the year.
Mexican Olympic Camp for World Youth	Sra. Diana Salvat	Oaxtepec, Morelos	October 8-28, 1968

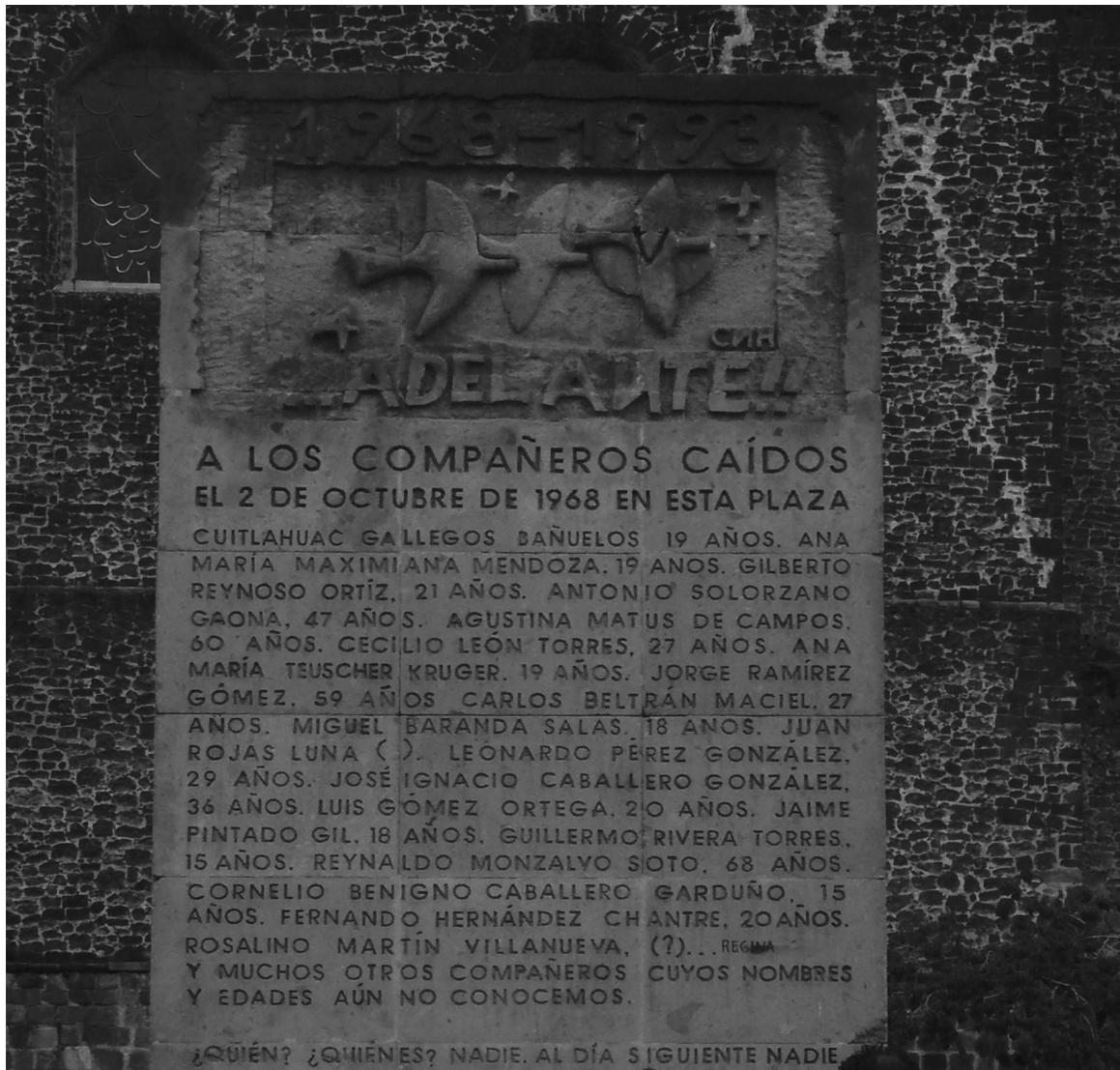
<b><u>Cultural Olympics Events</u></b>	<b><u>Coordinators</u></b>	<b><u>Venues</u></b>	<b><u>Dates</u></b>
<b><u>The Olympic Games and Arts</u></b>			
Exhibition of Selected Works of World Art	Dr. Daniel F. Rubin de la Borbolla  Modern section under the direction of Carmen Barreda	National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City  Mexico City's Museum of Modern Art	October 1-November 30, 1968—inaugural ceremony on Monday, October 7, 1968.
International Festival of the Arts	José Luis Martínez	Most performances held in the Palacio de Bellas Artes (Fine Arts Palace), Mexico City	January 19-November 20, 1968
International Meeting of Sculptors	Dr. Mathias Goeritz	Route of Friendship (Ruta de Amistad)-- 10.5 mile (17km) stretch of the beltway Periferico connecting the Olympic Village and the sports installations; statues about 1.5 km apart.	June 12-November 30, 1968; Conference held June 17, 1968. Sculptors arrived in June, 1968 and invited to stay for two months to supervise work
International Reunion of Poets	Lic. Agustín Yañez	Throughout the host city and Olympic venues including Chapultepec Park, the Olympic Village and the World Youth Camp.	October 12-October 30, 1968

<b><u>Cultural Olympics Events</u></b>	<b><u>Coordinators</u></b>	<b><u>Venues</u></b>	<b><u>Dates</u></b>
Festival of Children's Painting	Sra. Susana Esponda	International Exposition of Children's Painting—Foyer of the National Auditorium, Mexico City  Festival of Mural Painting—painting done in clearing of Chapultepec Park called "Angela Peralta"; murals displayed along Paseo de la Reforma in Mexico City.	October 3- November 25, 1968  International Exposition of Children's Painting—Open to the public: October 3-November 25, 1968  Festival of Mural Painting—October, 1968
<b><u>The Olympic Games and Popular Artistic Expression</u></b>			
World Folklore Festival	Ana Mérida	11 sites throughout Mexico City	October 9-26, 1968
Ballet of the Five Continents	Amalia Hernández	Multiple sites in Mexico City: Palacio de Bellas Artes (Fine Arts Palace), Arena México, Teatro del Bosque, Teatro Ferrocarrilero; Various cities throughout Mexico.	First performance at inauguration of the Cultural Olympics on January 19, 1968.  Two seasons: First from January to September, 1968 and second from October to December, 1968.
International Exhibition of Folk Art	Prof. Alfonso Soto Soria	Former San Juan de Dios Hospital in the Plaza de la Santa Veracruz (specially reconstructed by the Organizing Committee's before the Olympic Games)	October 10-December 7, 1968

<b><u>Cultural Olympics Events</u></b>	<b><u>Coordinators</u></b>	<b><u>Venues</u></b>	<b><u>Dates</u></b>
<b><u>The Olympic Games in Mexico</u></b>			
Arrival of the Olympic Flame at Teotihuacan	Julio Prieto Posada	Teotihuacan, State of Mexico	October 11, 1968
International Olympic Philatelic Exhibition	Ing. Marte R. Gomez	Ibero-American University, Mexico City	October 9-November 15, 1968
Exhibition of the History and Art of the Olympic Games	Ing. Marte R. Gomez	Ibero-American University, Mexico City	October 9-November 15, 1968.
Exhibition on the Application of Nuclear Energy for the Welfare of Mankind	Arq. Ruth Rivera	The Cultural Center of the National Polytechnic Institute, Mexico City	October 5-November 30, 1968
Exhibition on Space Research	Lic. Miguel Aleman Velasco-- over promotion for "Exposition on the Conquest of Space."  Gaston Garcia Cantú,  Lic. Jacobo Zabudovsky- - over promotion for "Exposition on the Conquest of Space."  Prof. Alfonso Soto Soria	Specially constructed building on Avenida Universidad No. 1331, Mexico City	October 10-November 30, 1968

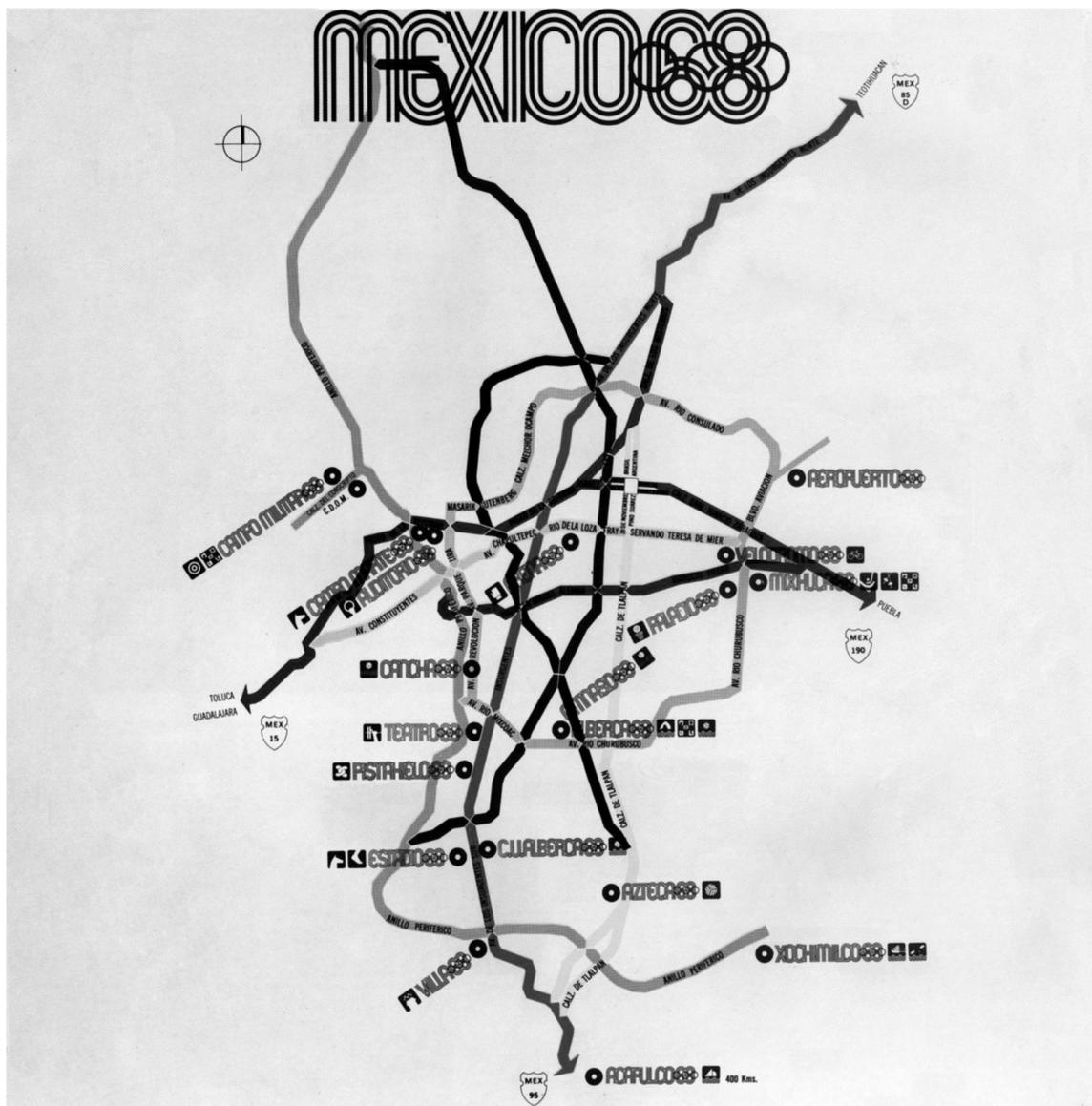
<u>Cultural Olympics Events</u>	<u>Coordinators</u>	<u>Venues</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Program on Human Genetics and Biology	Dr. Alfonso León de Garay	Olympic Village; Genetics Laboratory of the National Nuclear Energy Commission, Mexico City.	<p>First International Seminar, a Study of Olympic Athletes: July 17-July 21, 1967</p> <p>First review of research findings at Third International Sports Competition) in October, 1967</p> <p>Second International Seminar—March 25-29, 1968</p> <p>Second review of research findings—September-October, 1968</p>
Exhibition of Sites for Sports and Cultural Activities and the International Meeting of Young Architects	Arq. Ruth Rivera Arq. Vladimir Kaspé	National Polytechnic Institute, Mexico City	September 25-November 30, 1968
Advertising in the Service of Peace	Raymundo Cuervo Llórens	Billboards atop buildings and hundreds of public places around Mexico City and other cities throughout Mexico.	October 12-November 30, 1968
The Games of the XIX Olympiad in Motion Pictures and Television	Jorge Saldaña Alberto Isaac—director of <i>The Olympics in Mexico</i>	Filming throughout Mexico City and other Mexican cities; projection to audiences around the world	October, 1968-August 1972

## Appendix B: Figures



**Figure 1: Monument to Those Killed at Tlatelolco.**

Erected in 1993 and located in the Plaza of the Three Cultures, Mexico City. Photograph by author, 2013.



**Figure 2: Tourist Map of Mexico City.**

Example of maps used by the Organizing Committee to direct tourists to athletic venues throughout the city. Each of the main boulevard had decorations whose colors corresponded to the ones on the map. Image from *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 2: The Organization*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 340.



**Figure 3: Photograph of the Submission “Struggle” by Ruth Miller.**

Miller won second prize in the painting category for this work at the 1932 Concours d’Art. Image from, *The Games of the Xth Olympiad: Los Angeles 1932: Official Report* (Los Angeles: Wolfer Printing Company, 1932), 759.



**Figure 4: Photograph of the Fine Arts Palace (*Palacio de Bellas Artes*), circa 1968.**

Cultural Olympics events such as the “International Festival of the Arts” took place at this venue. Image from *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad: Mexico 1968: Volume 4: The Cultural Olympiad*, ed. Beatrice Trueblood (Mexico: Miguel Galas, 1969), 208.

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