

Jorge Carreño's graphic satire and the politics of "presidentialism" in Mexico during the 1960s*

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This essay explores the graphic artwork of the Mexican caricaturist Jorge Carreño, who despite his acclaim in his own country is little known outside it, and the significance of his illustrations for the influential Mexican newsmagazine, *Siempre!* throughout the turbulent 1960s. "At its peak," writes visual historian John Mraz, "*Siempre!* was probably the best magazine in the Americas."¹ This was also a critical juncture for Mexico. On the one hand, the authoritarian practices of a modernizing state conflicted with the democratic aspirations of civil society. On the other, the radicalism of the Cuban revolution helped crystallize the contours of a polarizing debate concerning the future of Mexico's own revolutionary process. From the early 1950s when it was established, *Siempre!* played an important role in testing the boundaries of "presidentialism," the unwritten rules of media censorship which defined the parameters of acceptable impropriety and constituted the substratum of the ruling party's political hegemony.² Carreño's cover graphics for *Siempre!*, which appeared virtually every week without interruption from 1961 onwards, adhered to a phantasmagoric aesthetic that employed images open to ambiguous interpretation, thus contributing to a gradual erosion of presidentialism. Nevertheless, by mirroring the regime's official ideological stances—for example, an obvious solidarity with Cuba—both *Siempre!* and Carreño helped uphold the ruling party's legitimate role as defender of Mexican nationalism, while also creating new possibilities of critical discourse and democratic questioning. By the end of the 1960s, *Siempre!* was an integral part of the political establishment but had also, as Jorge Volpi argues, "become an indispensable element for the democratization of the country."³

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The Founding of *Siempre!*

The story of *Siempre!*'s creation out of controversy in the summer of 1953 is by now well-known.⁴ Jose Páges Llergo, *Siempre!*'s founding editor, was at the time the director of the important news magazine, *Hoy*, for which he had also been a wartime correspondent in Germany and Japan.⁵ In the spring of 1953, a photograph came across the wires which Pagés Llergo felt merited publication: It depicted ex-President Miguel Aleman's son-in-law ogling a scantily-clad Parisian nightclub dancer, while his new bride (the ex-President's daughter) looked on in mortified dismay. This image transgressed (albeit, indirectly) the unwritten but clearly understood cardinal "rule" governing the press that accompanied the rise of presidentialism in the 1940s: an unmitigated reverence for the president as the supreme arbiter of political disputes and the standard bearer of the Mexican body politic. The historian and intellectual Daniel Cosío Villegas once described Mexico's political system as being headed by a "president who is actually a king"; politics was "not made at the public plaza, at the parliament or by newspapers, at sensational debates or controversies," he lamented, but rather via "courtier intrigue."⁶ Mexico's president indeed sat atop the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional's (PRI) complex, pyramidal bureaucratic structure; he was the symbolic head of the "revolutionary family" and therefore the irreproachable father figure of the nation. As the historian Enrique Krauze has succinctly summarized, under the presidentialist regime one "could write what they feel like writing but stay clear of the President of the Republic or the Virgin of Guadalupe."⁷

Despite his earlier pro-Axis leanings, Pagés Llergo was an ardent believer in freedom of the press, so he refused to conform to the dictum that henceforth all materials were to be submitted for prior review. Instead, he announced his resignation. With him went several of the top reporters and staff from *Hoy*. Six weeks later, the first issue of *Siempre!* was born, and with it a commitment to "overcome partisanship, to have nothing to do with ideological groupings and to rise above intolerance."⁸ Pagés Llergo also vowed to shake off "the golden chains of slavery"—a direct allusion to government subsidies of the media, a practice that underpinned presidentialism—and to establish *Siempre!* as a new form of independent journalism, "whose only dogma is loyalty to Mexico."⁹ Although in fact paid government inserts continued to appear,¹⁰ Mraz has noted that the magazine quickly assumed a stature that placed it in a category apart from the rest of the "'depolticized' monotony" that typified other nationwide media of that era. For Mraz, *Siempre!* represented "the first lasting challenge to presidentialism."¹¹

Siempre! invigorated the discourse regarding Mexico and its role in the world, thereby making room for debate over national identity and the post-revolutionary direction the state should take precisely at the moment when the country reached a critical juncture. Páges Llergo sought to foster such debate through an explicit commitment to ideological pluralism, a principle already established by *Siempre!*'s first issue. Alberto Domingo, a later co-editor of *Siempre!* and one who remains part of the editorial collective to this day, explained that Páges Llergo established the magazine with "two essential points" in mind. First, it would be dedicated to addressing the pressing issues facing the country, "to concern [*preocupar*] the public, not to entertain or make it pleasant for them." Secondly, journalists and commentators "would maintain distinctive points of view, distinctive ideological perspectives and political inclinations . . . in order to fully feel and reflect national and international reality."¹² The result was a weekly newsmagazine dedicated to editorials rather than news reporting *per se*, and one in which the polemics of the time had pride of place. It soon became a highly influential forum where intellectuals could propound upon the central intellectual and political debates of the time: revolutionary identity, Mexico's role as world leader and the challenges of living in the shadow of the United States.¹³

Historically, intellectuals had played an important role as exponents and interpreters of Mexico's nationalist consciousness. By the 1950s, however, and following a conservative turn to the right after 1940, some intellectuals—especially a younger generation who had come of age after the Mexican revolution had consolidated itself politically—began to question the self-referential solipsism of official nationalism on one hand and the commitment of the ruling "revolutionary" party to fulfill the promises of social justice and political democracy as mandated by the Constitution of 1917 on the other.¹⁴ And by the end of the decade, especially in the wake of a series of nation-wide strikes that directly confronted the regime's corporational control over labor (and thus, the prerogative of the PRI to dictate the terms of democratic practice and economic modernization), some intellectuals began to publicly ponder the "death" of the Mexican revolution.¹⁵ The triumph of the Cuban revolution against Batista in 1959 coincided with this questioning and the hope of new utopian possibilities for Latin America and the developing world in general. "With the West in crisis," writes Deborah Cohn, "Mexico, Latin America and the periphery in general were viewed as having the chance to become agents, rather than objects, of historical and cultural change."¹⁶ Together, these twin processes—a domestic challenge to the entrenched authoritarianism of the PRI and a new Latin American left-wing idealism inspired by the Cuban revolution—contributed to an intense intellectual awakening in Mexico, which manifested itself in the arts, literature and

politics. Writing presciently at a moment when the Cuban revolution was still in its infancy and a crackdown on the working classes had not yet taken place, analysts in the U.S. Embassy in Mexico argued that “[n]ew trends appear to be developing in Mexico today” which point to a “wave of restlessness, particularly among students, teachers and labor organizations.”¹⁷ This restlessness was being exploited by “the liberal and leftist writers, intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals” whose criticism posed a “potential danger to cordial U.S.-Mexican relations.”¹⁸ Many if not all of those same “intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals” singled out by the Embassy would expound their opinions in *Siempre!*, which after 1960 became unabashedly pro-Cuban in outlook and opposed to U.S. encroachments on Latin American sovereignty in any form.¹⁹

By the mid 1960s, *Siempre!*'s weekly distribution had reached some 25,000 copies, distributed throughout the nation and beyond.²⁰ The magazine had difficulty recruiting advertisers and was kept under surveillance by Mexico's national intelligence agency, the Departamento Federal de Seguridad (DFS). However, Páges Llergo's political astuteness allowed him to enjoy the benefits of political protection denied to other independent journals—which faced violence, paper shortages and other government incursions—thus allowing *Siempre!* to have a vastly larger circulation than any other Mexican news journal up to that point.²¹ Whereas some of the columnists were clearly to the left of the political spectrum, Páges Llergo ensured that the magazine did not deviate from the ruling party's official stance regarding domestic and international politics. Thus a DFS report from 1965 identified various contributors to the magazine as “from the extreme left and communists,” while Páges Llergo was “not considered of the extreme left, but rather of the moderate left.”²² *Siempre!*'s weekly editorial (written by Páges Llergo) was a prominent two-page spread and invariably addressed, in terms that were constructive yet laudatory, the authority of the president to shape or respond to the particular issue at hand. These editorials were always accompanied by the graphic of a man (never a woman) looking respectfully upwards toward the presumed “ultimate” audience: the President, as always beyond reproach. In return for reinforcing presidential authority, the magazine received a constant flow of newsprint from the government paper monopoly, PIPSA, and public praise on the part of government officials.²³ Revealingly, Páges Llergo yearned for still closer ties with the political hierarchy, patronage he evidently felt was due him in exchange for the magazine's ideological support of the regime. During the presidency of Gustavo Diaz Ordaz (1964-70), for instance, Páges Llergo made an almost desperate effort to “get closer to the President” and once complained under the influence of alcohol that “he felt under-appreciated by the government and specifically by the President.”²⁴

While *Siempre!* did not shun discussion of revolutionary transformation (the Cuban revolution was a central theme throughout the 1960s), it simultaneously praised Mexico's own liberal traditions and never officially supported socialism in Mexico itself. Still, the magazine's anti-U.S. polemics (expressed particularly through Carreño's cover graphics) and pro-Castro-ism made it anathema to conservatives and residents of outlying areas. This was a period when "*¡Cuba sí, yanquis no!*" was counterbalanced from church pulpits with "*¡Cristianismo sí, comunismo no!*"; in this shouting match, it was clear what *Siempre!*'s affinities were.²⁵ For example, one letter writer from the conservative provincial city of Guanajuato asserted that "priests, having received instructions from high up, [had] unleashed a repressive campaign" against the magazine. Vendors received anonymous death threats and thus "preferred to stop selling [the magazine]."²⁶ Similar letters from other readers in the provinces confirmed this backlash, nor was it limited to Mexico. In 1963, the anti-communist Attorney General of California, Stanley Mosk, reportedly petitioned Attorney General Robert Kennedy to study "the danger represented [by *Siempre!*] for the well-being of the United States," arguing that it was "a magazine that praises the Cuban Revolution, criticizes the government of the United States and mocks [the U.S.] President."²⁷

In reality, *Siempre!* had evolved not so much into an opposition organ, but rather into one that enabled the educated urban middle classes, students and intellectuals to express their support for the progressive traditions of Mexican revolutionary nationalism, especially vis-à-vis the United States. While *Siempre!* did help transform the terms of public discourse by legitimizing a left-wing impetus towards putting Mexico's revolutionary principles into practice (particularly with regard to Cuba, which became the litmus test of revolutionary purity), it did so while simultaneously reinforcing respect and exaltation of the presidency itself, for it was the president who assumed responsibility for defense of national "honor" in international affairs.²⁸ Denouncing Cold War geopolitical rivalry, defending the Cuban revolutionary government's sovereign rights and asserting Mexico's claim to leadership in Latin America and the Third World were all dominant themes that appeared on the pages of *Siempre!* as positive and "natural" extensions of Mexico's revolutionary traditions.²⁹ In effect, the highly charged political climate of the early 1960s forced even the conservative president Gustavo Díaz Ordaz to embrace these ideas. By mid-decade, it was well understood within the U.S. State Department that left-wing rhetoric and the occasional open disagreement with U.S. policies were actually beneficial to Mexican political stability and, in any event, a political reality that the United States needed to accommodate.³⁰

Graphic Satire under Presidentialism

Graphic satire has played a prominent role in the shaping of public opinion in Mexico dating from the establishment of the republic. During the mid-19th century, the fierce ideological struggle between Liberals and Conservatives provided especially fertile ground for the evolution of political caricature as opposition discourse.³¹ After the turn of the century, as the dictatorship of General Porfirio Díaz limited opportunities for political participation, political caricature again assumed an important role, both as a reflection of growing middle-class political discontent and as a vehicle for the articulation of nationalist-centered tropes and popular cultural values.³² By the time of the revolution of 1910, political caricature had assumed an important role in the creation of a middle-class rationale for the overthrow of the dictatorship. “Caricature is the foundation for the creation of popular political culture,” writes the contemporary Mexican caricaturist Rafael Barajas (“*El Fisgón*”). With wry wit and a disregard for established hierarchies, the best of the graphic satirists “have de-sanctified positions of prestige and institutions, and have gestated some of the [important] transformations of the nation.”³³

In the aftermath of revolution, graphic satire established itself as an intrinsic element of popular revolutionary consciousness. In fact, certain caricaturists who gained renown during the period of revolutionary struggle, such as Ernesto García Cabral, were officially recognized by the new state and given their due within an expanding pantheon of national heroes.³⁴ In turn, the blatant polemical style and savage irreverence that had formerly constituted the essence of political caricature gradually diminished. Much like the arts in general, graphic satire became the victim of a collective awareness that it was necessary to collaborate in the construction—rather than the undermining—of a unified revolutionary project, and was reflective of the increasing use made of intellectuals and artists by the State.³⁵ During the 1940s, the rise of the ideological regime of presidentialism further dulled the critical edge of graphic satire. By that point, the nation’s caricaturists had become an intrinsic element in a government-influenced press, which was increasingly beholden to the dictates of the ruling party and the discourse of “revolutionary unity” espoused by the political establishment.³⁶ Thus, emulating the conservative content of the news media during the Cold War, caricaturists made foreign-influenced “*rojillos*” (i.e., communist-inspired subversives) the perennial scapegoats for Mexico’s troubles, whether labor-based or not, and raised the alarm concerning alleged Soviet designs on the region.³⁷ Mraz’s comment concerning the transformation of photojournalism during this same period could equally apply to caricature as well, for both had become

"almost always reactionary in political terms, aesthetically conservative and thematically monotonous."³⁸

In late 1955, a series of articles appearing in the magazine *Mañana* announced that the long and venerable tradition of Mexican caricature was in a state of crisis. Contemporary caricature, the series stated, lacked "the vigor that [had] characterized it in the last century, and the latter part of the Porfiriato and the beginnings of the Revolution of 1910."³⁹ García Cabral, "the master [and] . . . one of the most solid pillars [of caricature] in Mexico,"⁴⁰ noted with irony how the famed Posada had been able to freely publish his acerbic attacks on the ruling political class during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, while in the present climate "that [was] not possible. It simply [could not] be done!"⁴¹ Cabral, despite his own willingness to embrace (and be embraced by) the ruling party, was assuredly correct: it was no longer conceivable that the President himself would come within the range of political satirists. While caricaturists attacked socially relevant themes such as political corruption or the still unfulfilled goals of the revolution, the messages conveyed through graphic satire almost always revolved around formulaic tropes. Rather than challenging a hegemonic narrative of the Mexican revolution as incomplete, these affirmed that the promise of revolutionary redemption was always in an "eternal future," a future necessarily entrusted to the PRI, or at least to the President.⁴² As the series in *Mañana* pointed out, caricature had come to rely upon "the perpetual use of trite symbols, such as the ever-present octopus, with the label 'imposed,' 'monopolizer,' '[corrupt] leader,' etc., while in the same way a stock figure of an over-burdened man is used with the label 'voter,' 'pueblo,' 'worker,' . . . [and] a numerous variety of other equally infantile, profusely used symbols."⁴³ By the early 1960s, however, a veritable renaissance of graphic satire was already underway. Led by a younger generation, these artists' sardonic interpretations of Mexican political culture, nationalism and Mexico-U.S. relations helped lay the foundations for highly critical and culturally (and politically) subversive cartoons from the 1970s onwards.⁴⁴ *Siempre!* provided a prominent early platform for these caricaturists, both on its inside pages and—in the case of Jorge Carreño—on the cover itself.

While much has been written about the artistic and sociopolitical significance of political caricature in Mexico and elsewhere, the graphic artwork of cover illustrators has been largely overlooked.⁴⁵ Most if not all cover illustrators started off drawing the smaller "*monitos*" (from the pejorative *monero*, roughly translated as "apish"), single-frame pen-and-ink caricatures that dominated the society and editorial pages of the national press; many caricaturists would continue to publish these *monitos* even after they began drawing cover illustrations. Ernesto García Cabral, who during the late 1930s created vibrantly colored film posters for the newly established cinema industry, helped to initiate the transition

to magazine cover art; his illustrations appeared on various magazine covers in the 1930s and 1940s. By the 1940s certain other caricaturists, notably Antonio Arias Bernal and Rafael Freyre, had embraced the stylistic opportunities and broader platform for exposure offered by cover illustrations.⁴⁶ In contrast to the *monito*, covers (known as “*carátulas*,” presumably from the notion of the “*cara*” being the face of the magazine) often employed color wash (with an acrylic texture) as well as other color-based techniques; they paid great attention to detail and relied less on written text.⁴⁷ Magazine cover art, in fact, grew to resemble mural art in that both used symbolic visual language to reach a broad, often semi-literature population. One did not need to purchase the magazine to “read” the editorial content expressed by the cover, since magazines were sold from street-corner kiosks and could be browsed by ever passerby.

During the 1950s, Mexico’s foremost *caratulista* was undoubtedly Antonio Arias Bernal.⁴⁸ His painterly approach showed clear influences of García Cabral, yet his greater concern with sociopolitical content distinguished him from other artists and led one reviewer to suggest that “each of his pictures has the strength and valor of an editorial text, and sometimes more.”⁴⁹ Indeed, many of his covers are quite compelling, though they hardly ever openly questioned the prevailing ideology of presidentialism or an inexorable revolutionary progress under the guidance of the PRI.⁵⁰ Arias Bernal’s covers had helped establish *Mañana* as one of the most popular weekly magazines in the 1940s. After leaving *Mañana* in 1953 to help start *Siempre!*, he would play a similarly important role there. When he died unexpectedly at the age of 47 in late 1960, there was concern that it would be difficult if not impossible to fill his shoes.⁵¹ As it turned out, however, a young caricaturist was waiting in the wings whom Páges Llergo had the foresight to recruit as Arias Bernal’s replacement, namely Jorge Carreño.

The Graphic Satire of Jorge Carreño

In 1952, when he was barely 23 years old, Jorge Carreño was already being described somewhat exaggeratedly as “one of the greats of Mexican caricature.”⁵² Despite the inchoate nature of his artistic sensibility, an early reviewer identified Carreño as someone who rendered “the political [comic] strip vigorous, intentional, current, funny and incisive.”⁵³ Featured in the later (1955) series by *Mañana*, Carreño sought to establish himself in the tradition of graphic artists such as García Cabral and Arias Bernal, emphasizing that caricature should transcend the objective of “making one laugh”; it should rather “help in the progress of [the] society in which it emerges.”⁵⁴ Perhaps not unsurprisingly, he likened the role of the graphic satirist to that of the mural artists by suggesting

that caricature was "the best way of reaching the great masses of our population, who assimilate best on the basis of imagery"⁵⁵ Indeed, murals, he argued, were "in a certain respect, caricaturistic" in that they "precipitate emotion and have a natural great strength."⁵⁶ Carreño's stated affinity with the muralists was not in the realm of grandiloquence. Already a formally trained artist working in charcoal, watercolor and *sanguina*, as well as in oil, Carreño expressed at the time that his "ideal is to paint, because painting outlasts caricature and it is within closer reach of the people [*pueblo*]."⁵⁷ In that, however, he may have been mistaken.

Jorge Carreño was born in the conservative provincial town of Tehuacán, Puebla in 1929.⁵⁸ Orphaned at age 10, he was raised by an uncle who encouraged his interest in drawing and understood his evident yearning for a world beyond the confines of provincial village life.⁵⁹ His uncle sent him to secondary school in the state capital, but already inclined towards drawing (he had earlier received a correspondence certificate), Carreño decided to enroll in a degree program in caricature offered by the Instituto de Industrias y Bellas Artes in Puebla. Although only 14 and despite the concerns of his uncle, Carreño was enamored with the idea of a career in caricature, an indication of how the art was already defined as "official" popular culture by the 1940s. In 1943, bringing with him his portfolio of drawings, he decided to travel to *la capital*, Mexico City, in search of work. Despite his determination, youth and lack of journalist experience kept him from finding a job, so he was soon forced to return to Tehuacán. But the experience opened his eyes to a world of new possibilities and to an urban, cosmopolitan sensibility unlike anything he had encountered back in Puebla, much less in Tehuacán.⁶⁰ A year later, he returned to Mexico City and this time through sheer perseverance located a position with the newspaper, *La Prensa*, where he was offered an assistantship in the art division; in due time, he became official caricaturist for the paper's editorial page. Meanwhile, he entered the prestigious and nationalistic art institute, La Esmeralda, where he imbibed the spirit of revolutionary muralist culture and no doubt took part in impassioned discussions concerning the need to nurture and defend Mexican cultural identity in the face of foreign intrusion.⁶¹ "It's essential that like the painter [muralist], the caricaturist must study in depth the most authentic and profound roots of our own culture," he later articulated in his interview with *Mañana*. "We must drink from that fountain, take from our ancestors all of the good they had. Once in possession of that cultural legacy, we must project it into the present, keeping in mind the reality of how our autochthonous culture fuses with the European, and never allowing ourselves again to become subjugated to cultural forms that are foreign to us."⁶² By that point, he was already working full-time for the newspaper *Novedades*, "doing political caricature, and [drawing] for the sports and

social sections.”⁶³ In a few more years he would be promoted by Páges Llergo to the position of cover illustrator for *Siempre!*, and this at a pivotal moment in *Siempre!*'s own rise to national and international importance.

The shift from drawing *monitos* to illustrating full-colored *carátulas* came naturally to Carreño, and his aesthetic indebtedness to Arias Bernal assured a degree of artistic continuity in wake of the latter's illness and death. As Carreño gained greater self-confidence in his new role, his illustrations revealed an artistic imagination that broke free of others' approaches in terms of both style and message. The genius of Carreño's work was his ability to delicately and often ambiguously tread the line between expressing nationalist pride and respect for presidential leadership on the one hand, and a deep cynicism regarding the PRI's claims of fulfilling the revolution's mandates of democratic participation and economic redistribution on the other. Frequently, for instance, his images openly celebrated the unifying force of the presidency or, when the President was under attack by domestic critics, he had the ability to “outsmart” or “manage” those critics. In a meta-discursive sense, Carreño thus stood explicitly inside the parameters of the presidentialist ideological regime. But at the same time, his iconoclastic treatment of nationalist symbols and allegorical tropes from the nationalist consciousness produced images that subverted their original meanings and in turn generated a space for interpretative ambiguity.⁶⁴ Indeed, this ambiguity became Carreño's hallmark. Textually, his cover illustrations often contained multiple layers of cross-referencing to elements in popular as well as political culture, reassembled in such a way (literally, “fantastically”) that these original references were destabilized, thus opening them up to multiple interpretations. As his son, Luis Carreño reflected:

My father was someone who was very subtle in making his intentions known. . . . It's not fair to label this cowardice, or self-censorship. Simply, there was a different way of doing things [back then]. It required much more ingenuity, to develop the idea at great length; one couldn't be explicit about it. ‘How to call someone a thief without putting a label or cap over his face?’ So, it was a question of looking for a way to call someone a thief. . . . And sometimes it seemed that the covers my father drew, well they might have more than one interpretation, and sometimes those interpretations not only were different from one another, but radically opposed, or even opposite—it all depended on how one viewed them. You were always guessing what was the ‘actual’ message of the caricature.⁶⁵

The result was a reconstituting of imagery and symbolism that might simultaneously mirror the regime's official ideological stance while calling into question the "explicit" meaning of the text itself, hence opening new spaces for critical discourse and democratic questioning.

Readers were frequently left pondering the "actual meaning" of a particular illustration. Other caricaturists, such as Abel Quezada or Eduardo del Río ("Rius), catered primarily (at least during this period) to the literate middle class and conveyed messages that were generally unambiguous. In Carreño's case "you didn't need to know how to read in order to understand [his] caricature. . . Everything is symbolic, [the symbols] substitute for words, they are ideas, they are like proverbs, parodies, metaphors."⁶⁶ In one instance, a reader commented on a caricature of President López Mateos that showed the president as a powerful "*charro*" (cowboy) pulling a heavy wagon of (presumably, corrupt and inefficient) *políticos* behind him. "What did Carreño intend to mean?," the reader asked in a letter to the editor, noting that "various of my friends and I have been having a heated discussion in response" to the cover. "The majority of us are inclined to believe that President López Mateos can't get his horse to run because he's caught with the heavy load that he needs to drag behind him: all of those rotten bureaucrats. So if that's the case, why not use the caption: 'Cut the cord'!?"⁶⁷ Week after week, Carreño's work reveals a densely textured imaginary whose inter-textual references—to cinema, music and other forms of popular culture, on one hand, and to political violence, corruption and militarism, on the other—provided a rich interpretative experience for readers. Another image from later in the decade showing out-going President Díaz Ordaz with a stethoscope pressed to the belly of a heavily pregnant woman, presumably bearing the "*tapado*"—the future presidential candidate, "fathered by" Díaz Ordaz—prompted this letter in *Siempre!*: "What does it mean that the baby will obviously arrive before November [when the "*tapado*" would normally be revealed]? Is the gesture of President Díaz Ordaz one of reflection or worry? Is it that he already hears the kicking [*patadas*, ie., of the baby but also of the protests]?"⁶⁸ Indeed, Carreño's images relating to domestic politics were often the most open to interpretation, reflecting his simultaneously circumventing and whittling away at the presidentialist regime.

In contrast, those images dealing with the United States, militarism in Latin America and other international themes were often dealt with far less ambiguously. For example, he used an image of a rifle with a U.S. flag bayoneting a map of Panama during the "flag riots" of 1964 and employed the image of a gorilla to symbolize militarism in Latin America or elsewhere. In fact, it was mostly when the themes touched directly on Mexico that he employed ambiguity, in one case (it would appear) by a ruse. On the eve of President Lyndon Johnson's

visit to Mexico in 1966—a visit that played an important role in reaffirming the bilateral strategic partnership between the two countries at a time of considerable tension between the U.S. and Latin America—Carreño’s cover showed France’s President Charles De Gaulle writing the popular graffiti, “Yanquis, Go Home” on a wall. This led one letter writer to remark, “You aren’t going to have me believe that [this cover] was sheer coincidence, given the arrival of President Johnson. . . . Or one of two things: Either Carreño was very rushed, or you already knew what apparently the rest of us did not: that Johnson was about to honor us with a visit. . . . Well, at least when . . . the [U.S.] president arrived, someone from the streets was shouting: ‘Yanquis Go Home!’ That voice was *Siempre!*, coming from the newsstands.”⁶⁹

While it was not uncommon for his covers to refer directly (or indirectly, as the case may be) to a news item presented in the magazine itself—for example, the visit by a head of state—more frequently, his illustrations stood on their own as self-contained commentaries. In fact, it was this *lack* of connection between Carreño’s illustrations and the actual content of the magazine that helped assuage at least some in the U.S. government’s concern regarding the strong, anti-U.S. flavor of certain of Carreño’s illustrations. As related to me by a former CIA employee working in Latin America who was briefly in Mexico in 1966:

I remember reading *Siempre!* and looking at covers by Carreño, because of the quality of the illustrations, in the presence of [other] CIA officers in Mexico. There was really no connection between what was on the covers and what was in the magazine, so in the end we didn’t address this [anti-American polemic] in any specific way. . . . By the same token, I knew that if [the CIA] was worried about it, they certainly would have found some way of putting up some alternative to it . . . And I knew that [PRI] wouldn’t be shy in recommending withholding newsprint, if they felt that that would be to [their] advantage [since] their main tradition was to do everything they could to combat communism in Mexico.⁷⁰

To be sure, Carreño’s drawings were always done in consultation with Páges Llergo. “They would agree on a theme,” Alberto Domingo recalled, with Páges Llergo reserving the right to make editorial changes if the outcome did not suit him; “Jorge made the suggestions and Páges made modifications or not, all depending.”⁷¹ Luis Carreño, Jorge’s son, recalls a similar process, but in reverse. “So, [Páges Llergo] would choose the theme and my father would draw up a sketch.”⁷² In either case, Carreño had artistic license, though not necessarily full autonomy. As Luis Carreño recounted:

Their interests didn't really conflict. On one occasion, Páges didn't like one of the covers my dad made and he really dug into him. . . . And well, so my father told him 'Hey, no problem' and took back the image and ripped it up. Well, Páges's response was to try and patch it back together—but it was too late! I think that that kind of instance is what earned my father respect, on one hand, and at the same time, it reinforced the idea that as owner of the magazine, [Páges Llergo] was going to make the final decisions about what was published. As a collaborator with the magazine, one needed to understand that sometimes one's interests coincided [with the Director] and other times, not.⁷³

An examination of Carreño's covers over a nine-year period (1961-69) reveals an interesting distribution of themes and stylistic approaches that says much about *Siempre!*'s mediating role with leftist students, intellectuals and the middle class. Most striking is the division between foreign and domestic themes. Of the nearly 500 illustrations, more than half deal with international themes, personalities or events, while roughly a third reflect domestic concerns and issues; the remainder address more consistent themes, such as the New Year or the magazine's anniversary.⁷⁴ Moreover, of the illustrations focusing on international affairs, approximately 50% relate to Cuba and Vietnam. Carreño almost always portrays these in a positive light, either as the victim of U.S. aggression or as a defiant defender of sovereignty. The United States is referred to in nearly a third of these images, generally as the aggressor (especially under Presidents Johnson and Nixon). More than 10% of all internationally-oriented images deal with the Cold War, with the vast majority of them designating it as a conspiratorial "partnership" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in which Mexico and other Third World nations are trapped as victims. (In one dramatic image, Mexico is literally defecated upon by Soviet and U.S. roosters.) Carreño also often invoked Mexico's own "pacifist" and "non-interventionist" traditions. Arguably, by doing so he mirrored the PRI's efforts to deflect criticism from domestic conflict toward the realm of international politics, and thus contributed to a reification of nationalist sentiment which tended to support presidential authority.

Of Carreño's covers dealing with domestic issues, approximately one-third attack repression, corruption and a cynical disregard of democratic processes. Carreño (following a lead established by the caricaturist, Abel Quezada) helped to popularize key phrases from Mexico's peculiar political lexicon, such as the notion of the "*tapado*" (literally, "covered one"), "*dedazo*" (the "fingering" of a future candidate for office) and other aspects of the "futurist" system of Mexican authoritarian politics. While Carreño viciously lampooned the workings of

the political system, he was careful to always depict the President himself in a “winning” position—triumphing over his critics or seeking the “correct path” for Mexico. Still, ambiguous interpretations were often invited, for instance of President Díaz Ordaz in a bathing suit with a protruding *panza* (belly), allowing Carreño to slyly push the boundaries of presidentialism without explicitly overturning them. That would be left to the student demonstrators of 1968, whose open irreverence for the president was a matter of governmental concern.⁷⁵ At the same time, however, it was on rare occasions that Carreño directly referred to specific social disputes. In fact, not once during the 1960s did his covers depict student or labor protests (such as the doctors’ strike in 1965 or the violent repression of the students’ movement in 1968). Indeed, one of Carreño’s most well-known illustrations, that of a Neanderthal man emerging from the plaza of Tlatelolco, appeared a full three weeks after the massacre of students there in the fall of 1968.

Choosing from Carreño’s vast repertoire is extremely difficult and the three images presented below provide a useful though very limited glimpse into his oeuvre. The first image, from early 1962, addresses the “death” of the revolutionary Constitution of 1917. It offers a good example of the layering of meanings and interpretative ambiguity that characterized Carreño’s domestic themes. At one level, the image conveys a sense of tragic nostalgia for the loss (death through neglect?) of revolutionary ideals and juridical process. The fact that this image appeared just over a month before the violent assassination of the peasant leader Ruben Jaramillo at the hands of government forces was prophetic, if coincidental. For those on the left who felt the Constitution had been literally hounded to death by a corrupt and conservative regime (note the “vote” ballot in the colors of the PRI attached to the headstone), the image would not doubt have resonated with their outrage. Yet read in another way, perhaps Carreño was suggesting that the Constitution had lost its aura of respect in an ideologically divided country (“*Cristianismo sí, comunismo no!*”) with a shallow sense of national purpose (“Lalo was here”), and one which was drunk on popular culture (“Katanga”). Only the (*mestizo* male) peasant (under an Aztec sun), embodying the “heart and soul” of Mexican nationhood—the one legitimate mourner—seems to know how to pay his proper respects at such a loss.

The image is also a good example of how Carreño imposed a gender-based interpretation of Mexican nationhood and politics in general. Almost always in his caricatures, the nation is represented as female (here, perhaps the “wife” or “daughter” of the male mourner), though oftentimes this visage is surprisingly presented as a light-skinned blonde or a redhead. “She” is almost always depicted as either a victim or a potential victim (vulnerable to assault by corrupt officials, foreign interests, etc.); often, there is a subtext of *malinchismo*—the cultural



Source: *Siempre!*, 7 February 1962.

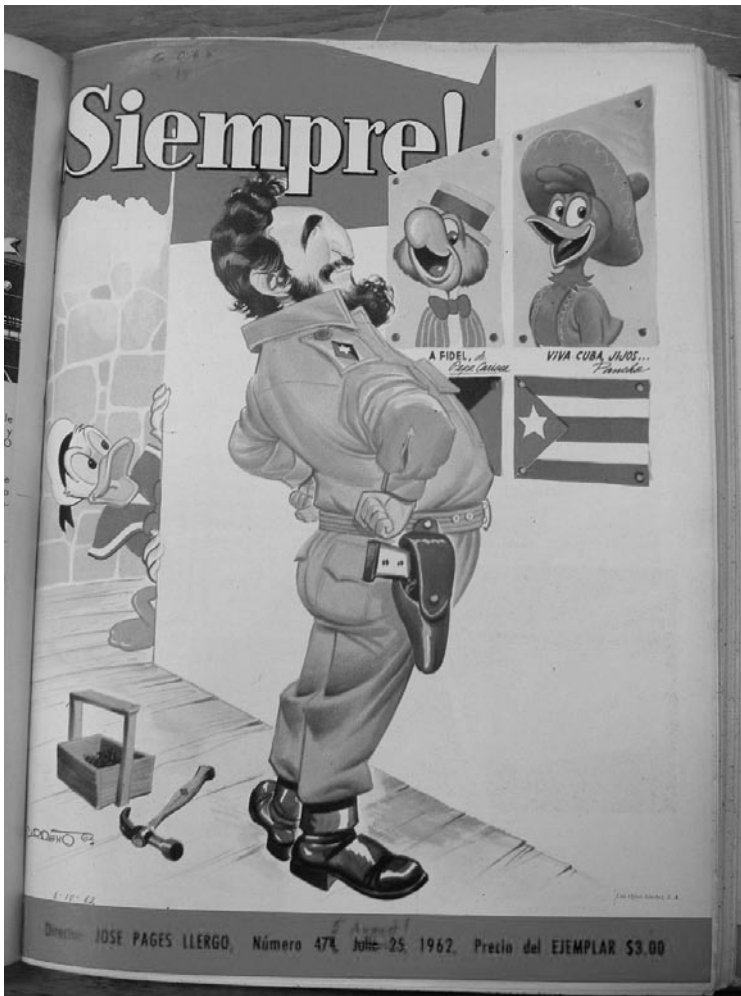
“selling out” of nationhood. On the other hand, power and politics—both of the corrupt and courageous kind—are always depicted by Carreño as masculine. However, unlike his females (who are always “adults” in some form), the men are frequently infantilized, thus perhaps conveying a sense of the “juvenile” antics of power and political actions.

Carreño’s ardent support for Castro’s Cuba was another recurring theme throughout this period. In 1965, Carreño was invited as Castro’s special guest and spent a month touring the island.⁷⁶ In fact, his many images of Castro had already made Carreño somewhat famous in Cuba.⁷⁷ Among the many that de-

pict revolutionary Cuba, the one below from 1962 exemplifies the strengths of Carreño's artistic sensibility, in particular his playful iconoclasm and the inter-textual referencing that created the layers of meanings in many of his images. Here, Carreño inverts the theme of *The Three Caballeros*, a USIA sponsored Walt Disney feature-length cartoon. It was made in 1945 at the height of the Good Neighbor period as part of U.S. efforts to "re-write" the history of Pan-American cooperation in an attempt to gain popular Latin American support for the Allied war effort.⁷⁸ In the original, Mexico ("Pancho"), Brazil ("Joe Carioca") and the United States ("Donald Duck") become road buddies on their travels to Brazil and Mexico where, along with sightseeing, they test their macho mettle in friendly competition with one another for the attention of local women. Mexicans would have certainly been familiar with the film and its cartoon characters representing national archetypes; readers would have apprehended the inversion of the traditional narrative. Moreover, at a time when Mexico was fast becoming the "last Good Neighbor" in Latin America, the symbolism of U.S. displacement in the image was especially daring. In Carreño's storyline, Fidel Castro has in effect replaced Donald as the "Third" Caballero—suggesting not only a rupture of the Mexican-U.S. Good Neighbor policy, but a fundamental realignment of the Pan-American axis. Donald is surprised by his marginality among supposed "*amigos*," while a smug Fidel Castro gloats over the good wishes sent by Pancho and Joe Carioca—representing Mexican and Brazilian public support (under presidents López Mateos and Joao Goulart respectively) of Castro's revolutionary project.

Some of Carreño's most powerful images are those lambasting the United States, especially regarding the Vietnam war and U.S. support of militarism in Latin America. As Luis Carreño notes, "Our number one enemy was the North Americans; they were the supposed cause of all our maladies: abuse, exploitation, invasion, accumulation of transnational wealth, military coups in South America, the CIA. . . . Basically, my generation developed a political consciousness and way of seeing the world in which, well, it was the fucking gringos that were screwing us all, no?"⁷⁹ Jorge Carreño was relatively generous in his representations of the United States under President Kennedy (whose reception in Mexico in the summer of 1962 was met with overwhelming enthusiasm by the middle classes, despite the above-mentioned caricature). But following Kennedy's death and the intensification of political divisions throughout Latin America and in Vietnam, Carreño became increasingly merciless in his portrayals of Uncle Sam.

This one, depicting the recent overthrow of democratically-elected leftist President João Goulart in Brazil in 1964 again inverted Good Neighbor-era iconography to drive home the messages of Latin American subjugation to a



Source: *Siempre!*, 5 August 1962.

U.S. “master.” The layers of meaning are complex. Carmen Miranda was in the 1940s Brazil’s “Good Will Ambassador” to the United States, and yet was also accused by Brazilians as having “sold out” because of her stints on Broadway and in Hollywood film. There, speaking broken English and wearing an oversized fruit bowl on her head, she was transformed into a caricature of Brazilian other-ness. Depicted here, Carmen Miranda, as the dancing “Salome,” delivers the head of “John the Baptist”(Goulart) to the waiting “King Herod” (Uncle Sam). Here Carreño blends Christian allegory with Good Neighbor cynicism to create a powerful image of the presumed U.S. backing of the recent bloody coup against Goulart and his deposition.⁸⁰



Source: *Siempre!*, 22 April 1964.

Conclusions

During the 1960s, political caricature once again assumed its function as a mirror of social and political concerns and as a wedge that helped open up a space for critical discourse. Jorge Carreño was certainly not the only caricaturist to take part in this resurgence, but he was arguably the most familiar and highly regarded because of his affiliation with *Siempre!* The fact that Carreño became an accepted part of the political establishment—he traveled with presidential

candidate Luis Echeverría in 1969 during a campaign tour, at a moment when Echeverría was widely vilified for his association with the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre⁸¹—says as much about the regime's dependency on *Siempre!* as a bridge to intellectuals in the context of a radicalization of Mexican politics as it does about the intellectuals' avowed eagerness to gain recognition from a regime that continued to espouse revolutionary principles. It was a hegemonic arrangement that dated back to the immediate post-revolutionary period and which in essence would continue until the demise of the PRI as a viable political project.

Graphic satire during the 1960s, however, also contributed to a reification of key tropes that came to define nationalist positions, for example, with respect to Cuba, the Cold War and a Mexican cultural "essence." In certain matters, such as U.S. imperialist influence, such reification reflected a reversion to tropes dating back to the 1920s and thus the undoing (permanently, I would argue) of the narrative framework of Pan-American cooperation established during the Good Neighbor era. At the same time, the distorted caricaturization of political personalities (including the president), themes, and even ideological positions generated a unique opportunity for interpretative ambiguity—and this, at a moment when the demand for ideological clarity and "loyalty" to a particular political project was at a premium. Thus graphic satire in general helped to introduce a vital element of humor and self-mockery within the political left at a time when the left was marked by "rigidity, dogmatism, the absence of democracy and closed-mindedness . . . even in the most lucid of personalities."⁸² Carreño's emphatic anti-imperialism helped reaffirm a traditional (and thus, hegemonic) nationalist identity, while his coyly subversive caricatures of Mexican political life simultaneously debunked the aura of presidential omnipotence and thus directly contributed to the demystification of the ruling party during the 1960s.¹⁸³

NOTES

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1. John Mraz, "Photographing Political Power in Mexico" in Wil Pansters, ed., *Citizens of the Pyramid: Essays on Mexican Political Culture* (Amsterdam, 1997), 171.

2. For a useful discussion on Siempre! and “presidentialism,” particularly with respect to photo journalism, see John Mraz, “Today, Tomorrow, and Always: The Golden Age of Illustrated Magazines in Mexico, 1937-1960,” in Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov, eds., *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 116-58.
3. Jorge Volpi, *La imaginaci?n y el poder: Una historia intelectual de 1968* (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1998), 51.
4. Mraz, “Today, Tomorrow, and Always”; Enrique Krauze, *Mexico: Biography of Power. A History of Modern Mexico, 1810-1996*, translated by Hank Heifetz (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 615; Rosa Castro, “Y As? Naci? Siempre!: Bajo el Signo de la Tempestad!,” *Siempre!*, 27 June, 1953, 54-9.
5. Krauze argues that Pag?s Llergo exaggerated his exploits as a correspondent, while at the same time revealing pro-Axis sympathies. Krauze, “Mexico: Biography of Power,” 501-2.
6. Daniel Cosío Villegas, “Politics and Mexican Intellectuals,” in H. Malcolm MacDonald, ed., *The Intellectual in Politics* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 34.
7. Krauze, *Mexico*, 501
8. “La libertad como destino,” *Siempre!*, 27 June, 1953, 8.
9. *Ibid.*, 8, 9.
10. Mraz notes that official media events were placed on the back pages of the magazine, “...this identified them as paid insertions rather than, as was common in *Hoy* and *Ma?ana*, presenting them as if they were news.” (“Today, Tomorrow, and Always,” 141).
11. *Ibid.*, 135, 141.
12. Personal interview with Alberto Domingo, 11 July, 2003, Mexico City.
13. Other than the work by John Mraz, there has been almost nothing written about the role of *Siempre!* during this period. Much more critical attention has been given to the cultural supplement brought under Siempre!’s wing in 1961, *La cultura en M?xico*, and the important role this supplement played in advancing cosmopolitan discussion of arts and letters, especially, during the 1960s. See for instance Volpi, *La imaginaci?n y el poder*; Deborah Cohn, “The Mexican Intelligentsia, 1950-1968: Cosmopolitanism, National Identity, and the State,” *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 21:1 (Winter, 2006): 141-82.
14. See Cohn’s superb discussion, “The Mexican Intelligentsia, 1950-1968.”
15. Important outlets for these discussions were the “C?rculo de Estudios Mexicanos” (a kind of left-wing think tank established in 1954 which published a truculent journal), the short-lived yet intellectually vibrant news weekly, *el espectador* (1959-60), its more strident successor, *Pol?tica* (1961-7), and the highly influential weekly supplement, *La Cultura en M?xico*, published by *Siempre!*
16. Cohn, “The Mexican Intelligentsia, 1950-1968,” 151-2.
17. American Embassy (Mexico City) to Department of State, “Potential Role of Intellectuals in Mexican Politics,” 30 January, 1959, RG 56, 812.06, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, Maryland.
18. *Ibid.*

19. Prior to this point, U.S. officials maintained cordial and direct relations with *Siempre!*, as reflected in a U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, Robert Hill's 1958 visit to the offices of magazine, which received Hill's accolades ("Visita a *Siempre!* el Embajador de E.U., Mr. Robert Hill," *Siempre!*, 19 March, 1958, 14-15.) *Siempre!* also published a letter, purportedly sent by the then Senator John F. Kennedy, praising the magazine for an article on Kennedy's Latin American proposals ("Carta de Kennedy," *Siempre!*, 11 May, 1960, 5).
20. Departamento Federal de Seguridad, 9 March, 1965, expediente 11-150-65, Legajo 1, Hoja 37, Galería 1, Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter, AGN), Mexico City.
21. For advertising: a personal interview with Alberto Domingo, 11 July, 2003, Mexico City; "Una Pregunta Ingenua" (letter to Editor), *Siempre!*, 29 August, 1962, 5. The critical news magazine, *el espectador*, was violently shut down in 1959; its successor (*Política*) met with constant harassment from the authorities throughout the decade. For an example of Páez Llergo's overt relations with the regime see, "Un Gesto de Señorío de López Mateos," *Siempre!*, 24 June, 1959, 26-8. Krauze notes that during the labor disputes of 1958, "*Siempre* [sic] took the side of the institutional enterprise and the President" (Krauze, *Biography of Power*, 615), an editorial position that surely accrued support for the magazine on the part of the authorities.
22. Departamento Federal de Seguridad, 9 March, 1965, expediente 11-150-65, Legajo 1, Hoja 37, Galería 1, AGN, Mexico City.
23. In wake of its vehement denunciation of the assassination of Ruben Jaramillo and his family in early 1962, President Lopez Mateos was reportedly so outraged that he "arranged for *Siempre!* to lose all government advertising" (Krauze, *Mexico: Biography of Power*, 642.) But this outburst was short-lived and perhaps overcome by *Siempre!*'s otherwise dedicated support of López Mateos. On the occasion of the magazine's anniversary or during the annual "Freedom of Press Day" (a tradition creation under former president Alemán), *Siempre!* dutifully published the numerous written accolades that had been received from various government officials, including those of the President. Even the arch conservative Governor of Michoacán, Agustín Arriaga Rivera, sent his congratulations on the magazine's ninth year of publication, "for [*Siempre!*'s] exemplary journalistic work, at the service of Mexico" (*Siempre!*, 4 July, 1962, 110.)
24. Departamento Federal de Seguridad, 18 June, 1966, expediente 65-148-66, Legajo 1, Hoja 1, Gallery 1, AGN.
25. Eric Zolov, "¿Cuba sí, yanquis no!: el saqueo del Instituto Cultural México-Norteamericano en Morelia, Michoacán, 1961," in Daniela Spenser, ed., *Espejos de la guerra fría: México, América Central y el Caribe* (Mexico: Porrúa/CIESAS, 2004), 175-214.
26. "*Siempre!* y el Gobierno" (Letter to Editor), *Siempre!*, 18 October, 1961, 5.
27. "*Siempre!* ¿Un peligro para Estados Unidos?" (Letter to Editor), *Siempre!*, 1 May, 1963, 4. See this same issue for various letters attesting to the repressive vigilance of *Siempre!*, especially in Los Angeles.
28. Jürgen Buchenau, "Por una guerra fría más templada: México entre el cambio revolucionario y la reacción estadounidense en Guatemala y Cuba," in Daniela Spenser, ed., *Espejos de la guerra fría: México, América Central y el Caribe* (Mexico: Porrúa/CIESAS, 2004), 119-49.

29. See for example, "M?xico, Como Gu?a de Am?rica," *Siempre!*, 28 October, 1959, 22-3.
30. Sergio Aguayo, *Myths and [Mis]Perceptions: Changing U.S. Elite Visions of Mexico*, trans. Juli?n Brody (La Jolla: Center for US-Mexican Studies/UCSD, 1998), "Toward an Analytical Framework for Assessing the Impact of the 1968 Student Movement on U.S.-Mexican Relations," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 9:2 (December, 2003): 41-68.
31. Rafael Barajas, *La historia de un pa?s en caricatura: Caricatura mexicana de combate (1826-1872)* (Mexico: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000).
32. An important example of this was the work by Jos? Guadalupe Posada, the printmaker whose images purportedly celebrated the underprivileged while lampooning the decadence of Porfirian society, using the figure of the *calavera* (living skeleton) whom Posada appropriated from popular culture. By appropriating imagery associated with popular cultural representations of death and mourning, Posada invigorated Mexican graphic artwork while demonstrating that non-elite culture could be fused with literary text to generate a modern political (and cultural) form of opposition discourse that was eminently Mexican in character. See Ron Tyler, *Posada's Mexico* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1979). Certain long-held assumptions about Posada's political leanings are now being questioned (Arturo Jimenez, "Desmantela *El Fisg?n* el mito de Posada como un revolucionario," *La Jornada*, 8 September, 2005.)
33. Barajas, *La historia de un pa?s en caricatura*, 19-20.
34. The heroic role accorded the nation's caricaturists and the celebration of political caricature as intrinsic to the Mexican revolutionary spirit were reflected in two publications in the post-1950 period: Rafael Carrasco Puente, *La caricatura en M?xico* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1953) and Manuel Gonz?lez Ram?rez, *Fuentes para la Historia de la Revoluci?n Mexicana. Tomo II: La caricatura pol?tica* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Econ?mica, 1955).
35. Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); Roderic A. Camp, *Intellectuals and the State in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985).
36. It was not necessarily the case that all political and social criticism disappeared, but a willingness to engage in irreverence for political authority was greatly suppressed.
37. Elisa Serv?n, "Propaganda y Guerra Fr?a: la campa?a anticomunista en la prensa mexicana del medio siglo," *Signos Hist?ricos* 11 (January-June, 2004): 8-39.
38. Mraz, "Today, Tomorrow, and Always," 138.
39. Ernesto Alvarez Nolasco, "La caricatura mexicana est? en crisis," *Ma?ana*, 31 December, 1955, 46.
40. Rafael Solana, "La caricatura, un arte mexicano," *Siempre!*, 11 May, 1955, 30.
41. Ernesto Alvarez Nolasco, "Confidencias del 'Chango' Cabral," *Ma?ana*, 5 November, 1955, 34.
42. I wish to thank Arthur Schmidt for this insight and suggesting the phrase "eternal future." See an historiographic discussion in his essay, "Making It Real Compared to What? Reconceptualizing Mexican History Since 1940," in Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein and

- Eric Zolov, eds., *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 3-22.
43. Ernesto Alvarez Nolasco, "La caricatura en el psicoanálisis," *Mañana*, 19 November, 1955, 46.
 44. Abel Quezada was one of several new caricaturists featured in the series. By 1960, he was joined by Eduardo del Río ("Rius"); together they would rejuvenate the format of the monito and help transform political caricature in general during the 1960s. The term "graphic satire" is from Barajas, *La historia de un país en caricatura*, 18. For discussions of Rius see, Charles Tatum and Harold Hinds, "Eduardo del Río (Rius): An Interview and Introductory Essay," *Chasqu?* 9:1 (November, 1979): 2-23; Bob Agnew, "¡Viva la Revolución! *Los Agachados* and the Worldview of Eduardo del Río (Rius)," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 23 (2004): 1-20. For Abel Quezada see, Roderic Camp, "The Cartoons of Abel Quezada," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 4 (1985): 125-38.
 45. One exception is Eleanore M. Dial and John Dial, "Cartoons and Covers: The World of Luis de la Torre in *Hoy* [Today] in the 1970s," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 2 (1983): 131-40. For a useful recent discussion and overview of Mexican political caricature in particular with reference to the United States see Stephen D. Morris, *Gringolandia: Mexican Identity and Perceptions of the United States* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), especially chap. 4. For a comprehensive discussion see Armando Bartra and Juan Manuel Aurrecochea, *Puros Cuentos: la Historia de la Historieta en México*, 3 vols. (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes/Grijalbo, 1988).
 46. This shift coincided with the boom in photo-magazines (an important outlet for the nation's photojournalists); several of these magazines chose, perhaps for reasons of cost as much as aesthetics, to feature caricatured depictions of scenes from national and international life on their covers.
 47. Many though not all of these cover illustrators had formal training in painting.
 48. Arias Bernal (1913-1960) was from Aguascalientes, Mexico and cartoonist for numerous magazines and newspapers throughout his career, as well as the cover illustrator for *Mañana* (1944-53) and *Siempre!* (1953-60). In 1952 he received an honorary doctorate from Columbia University and was also awarded the "Maria Moors Cabot" prize for caricature. ("Historia de la caricatura en México. Exposición-Homenaje a Antonio Arias Bernal en Aguascalientes," *Plural* 180 [September, 1986], 92-3.) Perhaps unsurprisingly, since he had just left *Mañana* to take over as cover illustrator for *Siempre!*, he was not interviewed as part of the *Mañana's* series.
 49. Rafael Solana, "La caricatura, un arte mexicano," *Siempre!*, 11 May, 1955, 70.
 50. Certain examples in fact stand out, but more for their exceptionalism than their commonality. For instance, a 1944 cover for *Mañana* marked the anniversary of the Mexican revolution by depicting a *campesino* soldier felled on the battlefield, a pamphlet in one hand with the text "*Sufragio Efectivo*" (Effective Suffrage) clearly visible. The image's caption, "¿Y Para Qué?" (And for what?) sliced through the rhetoric of revolutionary progress and laid bare popular cynicism toward the ruling party's pledge of democratic process. (*Mañana*, 18 November, 1944.) Two years later, another cover illustration by

- Arias Bernal depicted a battered (female) “*Revoluci?n*” dancing with her thug partner (labeled “*Pol?tica Professional*”) in a bar-like setting, over the caption “*Amor apache*,” underscoring the perception that the goals of the revolution were being battered by political opportunists. (*Ma?ana*, 19 January, 1946.) Curiously, despite his evident anti-communism Mexico’s secret police (DFS) later identified him as “[de] filiaci?n comunista,” Gallery 1, DFS, Legajo 1, Expediente 65-148-73, Hoja 17, AGN. For examples of his anti-communism see his contributions to Victor Velarde (Introduction), *Siete dibujantes con una idea* (Mexico: Libros y Revistas, 1954).
51. “Arias Bernal: Genio y Profeta del Periodismo Mexicano,” *Siempre!*, 13 March, 1954, 35; “Ira Ausencia en 24 A?os,” *Siempre!*, 3 August, 1960, 7; “Arias Bernal, el Profeta,” *Siempre!*, 3 January, 1962, 35-8.
 52. “Nace una caricatura,” *Ma?ana*, 20 September, 1952, 69.
 53. Ibid.
 54. Alvarez Nolasco, “No debemos dejarnos avasallar por formas culturales ajenas,” *Ma?ana*, 17 December, 1955, 45.
 55. Ibid. “La sanguina es una t?cnica que se usa en dibujo y cuyo acabado final es de color rojizo, por el que le viene el nombre. La sanguina es una variante del pastel, es decir, una barrita de pigmentos secos en polvo. Lo que la diferencia respecto del pastel es el origen de los pigmentos que le dan ese color caracter?stico. Se trata de un ?xido de hierro, conocido como hematites.”
 56. Ibid.
 57. Alvarez Nolasco, “No debemos dejarnos avasallar,” 45. Cabral had also painted a mural in Toluca.
 58. Biographical information comes largely from *Carre?o: Caricatura, arte e ingenio* (Mexico: Jorge Carre?o y Herederos, 1988), 13-4.
 59. Carre?o was born on March 8, 1929; he died on October 29, 1987.
 60. Jorge Carre?o’s son described Tehuac?n as “a province in all of its nature, though not entirely marginalized since it was an important crossing point for the highways between Oaxaca-Puebla and Mexico City-Veracruz, which meant that it had a certain commercial significance.. Still, it didn’t have much at all in terms of journalism and wasn’t cosmopolitan [din?mica], like here in Mexico City where there’s so much information.” Personal interview with Luis Carre?o, 14 July, 2003 (Mexico City).
 61. For a critique of the closed nationalist aesthetic and attitude imparted through La Esmeralda see Jos? Luis Cuevas, “The Cactus Curtain: An Open Letter on Conformity in Mexican Art,” trans. by Lysander Kemp, *Evergreen Review* 2 (1959): 111-120; see also Cohn, “The Mexican Intelligentsia.”
 62. Alvarez Nolasco, “La caricatura mexicana est? en crisis,” 47.
 63. *Carre?o: Caricatura, arte e ingenio*, 14.
 64. The creation of ambiguous space in political caricature is something discussed in Silva Molina y Vedia, “El discurso esc?ptico: su expression en la caricatura pol?tica,” *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Pol?ticas y Sociales* (October-December, 1993): 79-89. See also Chris Lamb, *Drawn to Extremes: The Use and Abuse of Editorial Cartoons* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).
 65. Personal interview with Luis Carre?o, 14 July, 2003 (Mexico City).

66. Interview with Luis Carreño, 14 July, 2003 (Mexico City).
67. Letter to Editor (Armando Mora), *Siempre!*, 14 June, 1961, 5.
68. Letter to Editor, *Siempre!*, 5 March, 1959, 4.
69. Letter to Editor, *Siempre!*, 4 May, 1966, 69.
70. This quote is based on direct conversation and email correspondence with a former CIA officer, who wishes to remain anonymous and who worked on the CIA/State Department's "Focus on Youth" program (mostly in the Andean region). (4 November 4 2005; 3 December, 2005; 21 December, 2005).
71. Personal interview with Alberto Domingo, 11 July, 2003 (Mexico City).
72. Personal interview with Luis Carreño, 14 July, 2003 (Mexico City).
73. Personal interview with Luis Carreño, 14 July, 2003 (Mexico City). Alberto Domingo echoed this relationship; "If there was a dispute about something . . . [Carreño] would leave a note on his desk saying that if they couldn't work it out, that he would have to quit. And P?ges always in those situations found a way to work things out" (Personal Interview).
74. Categorizing Carreño's work is difficult since many images cover overlapping themes and subject matters. This breakdown is thus an approximation that nevertheless permits us to gather an idea of his subject matter. I have placed into the category of "domestic politics" the subject of US-Mexican relations. The remaining illustrations fall into other categories, such as: marking the New Year, religious celebrations (e.g., Pope/Three Kings Day), anniversary commemorations (which always featured the magazine's standard bearer, Don Quixote), and iterations of the motif, "ogre of war."
75. Zolov, "Toward an Analytical Framework"; A DFS report in 1971 logged concern over an image by Carreño of President Echeverría "taking off a mask accompanied by the text 'Masks Off' but behind the figure of the President they [sic] had added a hat in the style of 'Uncle Sam,' representing the neighbor country to the North." (Departamento Federal de Seguridad, 23 March, 1971, Expediente 11-4-71, Legajo 125, Hoja 246, Gallery 1, AGN.)
76. See "Antecedentes de Jorge Carreño Alvarado," Departamento Federal de Seguridad, July, 1973, Expediente 65-148-73, Legajo 1, Hoja 17, Gallery 1, AGN.
77. Communication between Cuba and *Siempre!* was sustained through Cuba's Prensa Latina news agency. Later the DFS would note that "Every arriving flight from Cuba [brings] a bag for [*Siempre!*] and once it is opened, different people start getting phone calls instructing them to come by and pick up envelopes and small packages that have arrived for them from Havana." (Departamento Federal de Seguridad, 7 April, 1970, Expediente 65-92-70, Legajo 3, Hoja 239, Gallery 1, AGN. Luis Carreño related the following anecdote about how his father's images reached high officials in Cuba: "My father took people in good faith and one day a man came to the house and told him that he wanted to do an exposition in Cuba of all of the covers my father had done relating to Fidel and the Revolution, and that this was something P?ges Llergo knew about. Well, my dad took out his collection of covers and this guy chose the ones he wanted and left. But he stole them and only later he found out that his covers were hanging in the offices of different ministries in Cuba. . . . We never learned who this guy was [who stole them]. . . . My father later went to Cuba and met Comandante Castro; my dad appreciated [Castro's]

- work and Castro also appreciated that of my dad. On some occasions, people from the magazine who were headed to Cuba would later take copies of the covers with them to give to Castro.” Personal interview with Luis Carreño, 14 July 2003 (Mexico City).
78. See Gerald K. Haines, “Under the Eagle’s Wing: The Franklin Roosevelt Administration Forges an American Hemisphere,” *Diplomatic History* 1 (1977): 373-88; Eric Zolov, “Discovering a Land ‘Mysterious and Obvious’: The Renarrativizing of Postrevolutionary Mexico,” in Gilbert Joseph, et. al., *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), esp. 236-41.
 79. Personal interview with Luis Carreño, 14 July, 2003 (Mexico City).
 80. For recent declassification of documents linking U.S. support for the coup see The National Security Archive (“Brazil Marks 40th Anniversary of Military Coup”), <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB118/> [December, 2005].
 81. Departamento Federal de Seguridad, July, 1973, Expediente 65-148-73, Legajo 1, Hoja 17, Gallery 1, AGN.
 82. René Avilés Fábila, *Memorias de un comunista: Maquinuscrito encontrado en un basurero en Perisur* (Mexico: Ediciones Gernika, 1991), 27.