SIX EMPTY SHELLS

Contextualizing the Aspirations of Mexican Modernity
Through the Tlatelolco Housing Complex.

by
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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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ABSTRACT

During the 1950's, the Mexican federal government pursued an ambitious plan to modernize the country. With the growing apparatus of government and facing a demographic explosion, the capital, Mexico City, faced a critical housing shortage in which the one-party regime saw an opportunity to embed its institutional ambitions. Looking north, towards the informal and marginalized boroughs of Tlatelolco, Peralvillo and Teptio, the first phase in the city's northern renewal plan was the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Housing Complex completed in 1963. It epitomized the emerging modern Mexico, extending for 95 hectares, containing 102 residential buildings with 12,000 dwellings, all the while boasting monumental buildings, squares, historical sites, and government offices, proposing a radically new urban lifestyle.

However, with the 1964 change in leadership, the later phases of the renewal plan never came to fruition. The new administration forsook social housing projects, causing serious financial issues for the upkeep and maintenance of Tlatelolco. This was further aggravated by tragic social and environmental events, leaving Tlatelolco an estranged monumental housing experiment in the informal northern city fabric, a reminder of failed public policies and promises. Despite this, the residents of Tlatelolco have found a way to appropriate modernism, and through a tightknit community, have saved the housing project from falling into complete disrepair. As Mexico City once again faces an urban housing crisis, it is vital to re-examine and reconcile with the modernist aspirations embodied in this housing project.

Positioning Tlatelolco within the discourse of its contemporary theorists, Josep Lluís Sert argues that "*monuments are only possible in periods in which a unifying consciousness and unifying culture exist. […] Monuments of recent date (1943) have with rare exceptions become, empty shells. They in no way represent the spirit or the collective feeling of the modern times.*" Given that the Mexican Miracle did not create a lasting unifying consciousness, Tlatelolco was left a virtual field of empty shells. The methodology proposed in this thesis targets interventions at six monuments—the empty shells—where the aspirations pursued by the modernist experiment are contextualized through site specific architectural interventions. Ultimately, rather than representing a 'spirit or collective feeling of modern times,' the shells become the containers of the collective memory of the site and the people who dwell in it.

1 Josep Lluis Sert, F. Léger, and S. Giedion, *Architecture You and Me* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1943).

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DEDICATION

A los vecinos de Tlatelolco, que pese a todo, lograron un hogar de una unidad habitacional.

To the community of Tlatelolco, who despite everything, made a home out of a housing complex.

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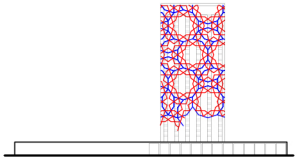
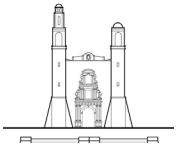
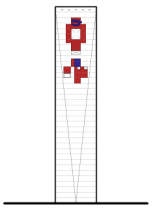






THE TLATELOLCO HOUSING COMPLEX

Fig. 0.1 Tlatelolco Segun los Dioses

Fig. 0.2 Conjunto Urbano Nonoalco-Tlatelolco, 1964

It is difficult to make sense of the convoluted fabric of Mexico City. It is a city of temporal and ideological conflict as shown through its diverse and sprawling form. When attempting to isolate a specific area of study, one will stumble upon a series of linkages which will uncover a rich cultural history and a complicated socio-political background. Monuments are tools through which we can thread the history of cities. They are storytelling strategies often used to simplify history, condensing complex and nuanced narratives into iconic statements of power. Through his writings on modernist monumentality, as observed through his works in Latin America, Josep Lluís Sert, states that "monuments are a connection between the past and the future,"[1] however, the contextualization of a monument as simple "connection" from past to present/future negates the paramount role they play through their sheer presence on a site. Despite their seemingly stoic presence, monuments are not immune to change, they are dynamic actors in the history-making and memory of the city. Monuments, both physically and symbolically, affect and are affected by changes in society.

A sequence of monumental urban ensembles were built in Mexico City between 1946 and 1964—dozens of government offices, schools, museums, hospitals and housing complexes built to cope with the demographic explosion and expansion of the state. To this day they remain prominent exceptions in the city's fabric.

The Revolution of 1910 which was reconceptualised through the armed struggle, and capitalized by the post-revolutionary regimes into the Constitution of 1917, was now entering into a phase of institutionalization under the national vision of the presidencies from 1940 to 1964.[2] This phase also marked the transfer of power from

1 Xavier Costa and Guido Hartray, eds., Sert: Arquitecto En Nueva York (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona ACTAR, 1997).

2 Luis E. Carranza, Architecture as Revolution (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).

General Manuel Ávila Camacho—the last *caudillo*[3] of the revolution—to the first *universitario*[4] president Miguel Alemán Valdés. The Alemán years sought to fulfil the social advances promised in the Constitution of 1917 by creating numerous state apparatus, solidifying Mexico City as the epicentre of the new modern Mexican state.

Alemán can be singled out due to his vision of the capital. The modern urbanization of Mexico City became a symbol of Mexico's resurgence. These years saw the creation of social institutions such as the Mexican Institute of Social Security in 1943 (IMSS), the Institute of Social Security and Services for the Workers of the State in 1959 (ISSSTE), the National Urban Mortgage and Public Works Bank in 1954 (later *Banobras*), the erection of monumental educational and healthcare facilities such as the National School of Teachers in 1945, the *Ciudad Universitaria* (UNAM) in 1954, the National Medical Centre in 1961, and the National Museum of Anthropology in 1964, and the construction of monumental government offices such as the Secretariat of Communications and Transports in 1955 and the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs in 1965.

However, the most radical insertions into the capital's urban fabric were several large-scale residential urban complexes erected in and around the periphery of the city. These housing projects were the physical manifestation of Article 123, section XII,[5] thus redeeming the Revolution's struggles and fulfilling of the Constitution's promises. Most notable of these projects was the Urban Complex President López Mateos in the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco borough (1964). Tlatelolco, for short, is the largest and last residential complex of its kind in the city.

The Tlatelolco site has a vast history whose foundation mirrors that of Mexico-Tenochtitlan in 1337.[6] However,

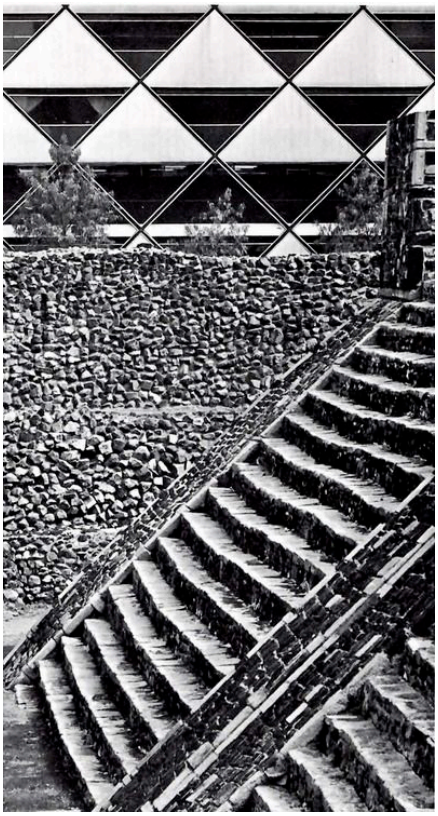


Fig. 0.3 Archaeological Zone Tlatelolco, 1964.

3 "Caudillos" refer to the surviving military generals of the Mexican War of Revolution who passed on the executive power following the constitutional abolition of re-election.

4 "Universitario" refers to an emerging political class of graduates of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Their emergence to power marked the end of the armed conflict, and the beginning of the institutional revolution. Enrique Krauze, La Presidencia Imperial (Maxi Tusquets Editores, 1997).

5 "In any agricultural, industrial, or mining enterprise or in any other kind of work, employers shall be obliged to furnish workmen comfortable and hygienic living quarters for which they may collect rent that shall not exceed one half percent monthly of the assessed valuation of the property. They also must establish schools, hospitals, and any other services necessary to the community. If the enterprise is situated within a town and employs more than one hundred workers, it shall be responsible for the first of the above obligations." Congreso Constituyente, Congreso Constituyente, "Constitución Política de Los Estados Unidos Mexicanos," February 5, 1917.

6 Jorge Pedro Uribe Llamas, "Zona Arqueológica Tlatelolco - Salvador Guillem Arroyo," Cuidad de Mexico, October 31, 2018.

Fig. 0.4 Tlatelolco Housing Complex c1965

Fig. 0.5 Tanks in the Plaza of the Three Cultures

Fig. 0.6 Arrested students in the Chihuahua building lobby

after undergoing multiple violent erasures, by the mid-twentieth century, most of the site was occupied by the National Mexican Railway yards, which had been ceded to the state following a repressive negation of the collective agreements with the Union of Railroad Workers of the Mexican Republic.[7] The site is located 2km north of the Zócalo main square, in an area which was, and continues to be, one of the most marginalized *barrios* in Mexico City.

The Tlatelolco Housing Complex embodied the monumental ambitions of social Mexican modern architecture, while at the same time marking the inevitable collapse of the so-called 'Mexican Miracle.' When completed, 'Tlatelolco City' comprised of 102 residential buildings and 45 civic buildings, providing 12,000 dwellings for an estimated population of 69,344 people. It spans for 2.0 x 0.5 kilometres extending for an area of 950,000 m^2.

The modern urban experiment in Mexico came to a halt with the presidency of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz in 1965. This period was marked with an ideological, political, and economical shift within the official state party. The social unrest in the summer of 1968 tested the tolerance to subversion by the 'modern' state. The tragic outcome of the student massacre on the 2nd of October of 1968 nullified the apparent social progress. The shockwave of 1968 destroyed all appearance of a virtuous paternalistic state, ending the age of innocence and the hope of the modern dream.[8] In the collective consciousness, the vast quantity of monuments erected during the institutionalization of the state have become forever stained by the rise of the official party's authoritarianism and bureaucratic corruption.

As for the public housing policy, the Ordaz administration withdrew commitment to the various Urban Housing Complexes causing serious financial issues for the upkeep and maintenance of Tlatelolco. The following administration, that of Echeverría, caused further crisis in 1974 as he derogated article 123, section XII, through the introduction of state-provided popular mortgage credits through the newly created National Workers' Housing Fund Institute (INFONAVIT). The radical change in policies left the Tlatelolco Housing Complex an estranged monumental experiment in the

7 Rubén Cantú Chapa, Tlatelolco. La Autoadministración en Unidades Habitacionales Gestión Urbana y Planificación, 1st ed. (Mexico DF: Plaza y Valdez S.A. de C.V., 2001).

8 Valerie Fraser, "From Rejection to Oblivion," in Building the New World - Studies in the Modern Architecture of Latin America 1930-1960 (New York: Verso, 2000), 22–84.

informal northern city fabric, a reminder of unfulfilled commitments.

Positioning Tlatelolco within the discourse of its contemporaries, Josep Lluís Sert argues in his 1943 Nine Points on Monumentality that "monuments are only possible in periods in which a unifying consciousness and unifying culture exist. […] Monuments of recent date have with rare exceptions become empty shells. They in no way represent the spirit or the collective feeling of the modern times."[9] Extrapolating this modernist critique to the present day, it is evident that many monuments conceived under the broad missions of the CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture) wound up becoming empty shells. The void of meaning left behind within the empty shell has presented a unique opportunity for the infill of new meaning and interpretation. Given that the Mexican Miracle was not able to generate and maintain a lasting unifying consciousness.

Ironically, the empty shells left behind by the monuments are in themselves more authentic storytelling devices of the prevalent consciousness of society, than the original monuments. We can then study a narrative of the Tlatelolco site, not through the 'official' narrative of its monumental artifacts, but rather through the anecdotal origin of the empty shells and their effect on the urban complex and the city at large. Since these artifacts were open entities, their meaning can be attributed to the social and political changes they have witnessed. These receptacles are slices though the memory of the city.

This thesis concentrates on six distinct empty shells: the Reforma Boulevard, the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, the Archaeological Zone, the Plaza of the Three Cultures, the 'C' type Building, and the Banobra's Tower. The methodology proposed targets interventions at these six monuments—now empty shells—where the aspirations pursued by the modernist experiment are contextualized through site-specific architectural interventions, which ultimately, rather than representing a 'spirit or collective feeling of modern times,' become the containers of the collective memory of the site and the community they dwell in.

Fig. 0.7 Collapse of the Nuevo Leon building

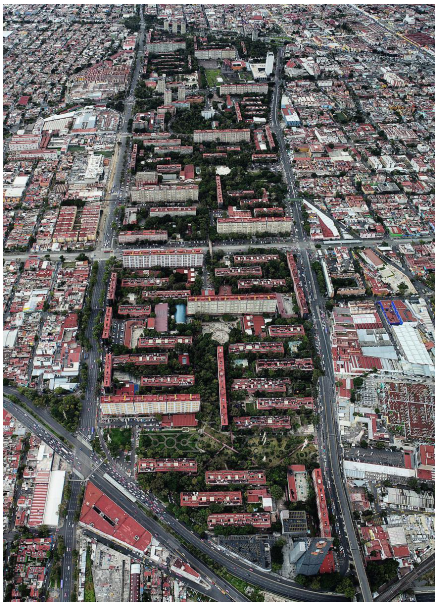


Fig. 0.8 Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Housing Complex

Fig. 0.9 (p. 5) Mario Pani's complete renewal strategy for the "hoseshoe of slums." The 4.10km² renewal called for the complete or partial demolition of the Tlatelolco, Peralvillo, Tepito, Lagunilla and Morelos neighbourhoods. The Tlatelolco Housing Project was the only phase completed.

9 Costa and Hartray, Sert: Arquitecto En Nueva York. (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona ACTAR, 1997).

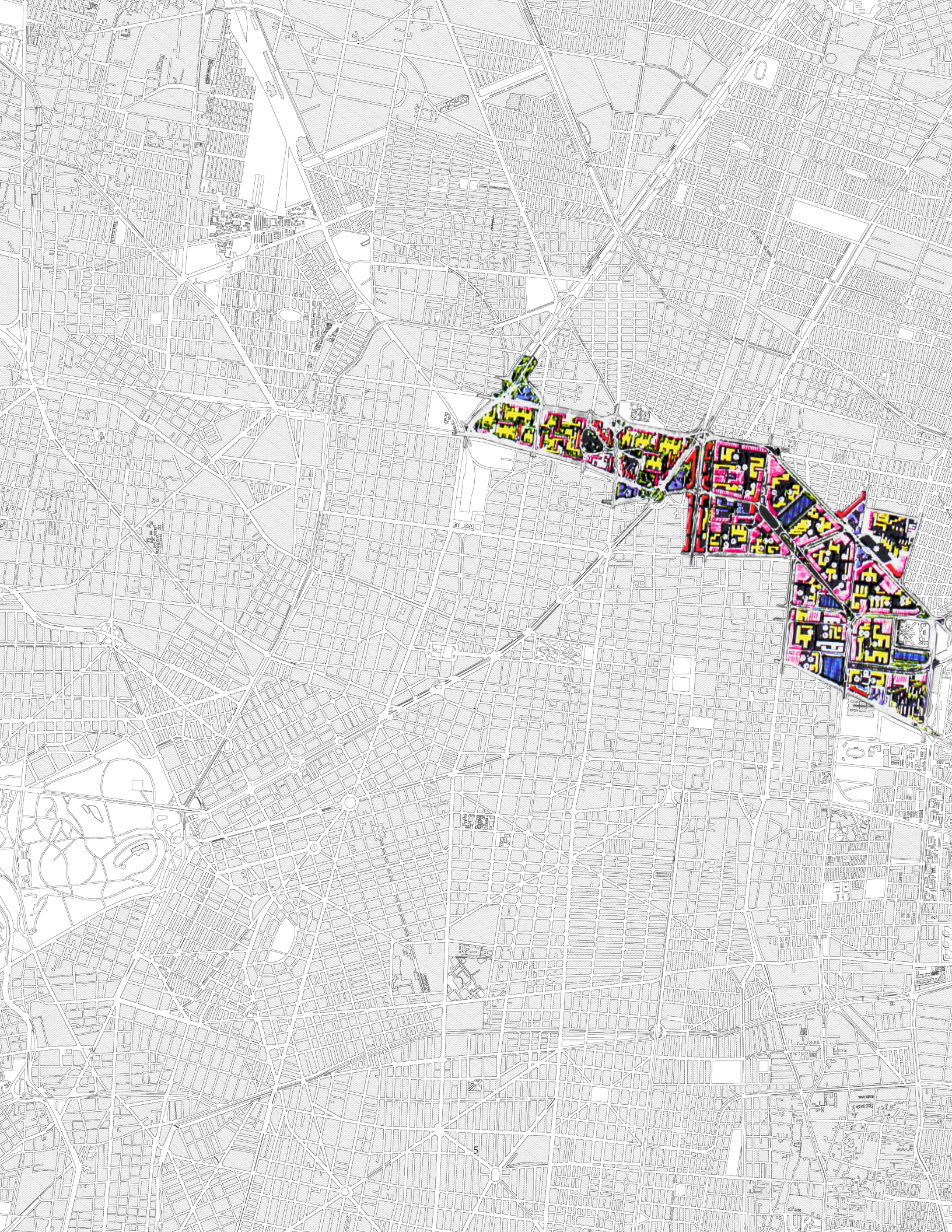


Fig. 0.10 *Extention of Paseo de la Reforma, 1964*
Fig. 0.11 *Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, 1965*
Fig. 0.12 *Plaza of the Three Cultures, 1964*
Fig. 0.13 *Archaeological Zone and Church of Sanitago , 1964*
Fig. 0.14 *Conjunto Habitacional Nonoalco-Tlatelolco, 1964*
Fig. 0.15 *Insignia Tower, 1964*

Fig. 0.16 *Paseo de la Reforma, 2018*
Fig. 0.17 *Secretariat of Foreign Affairs*
Fig. 0.18 *Plaza of the Three Cultures, 2011*
Fig. 0.19 *Archaeological Zone and Church of Sanitago, 2018*
Fig. 0.20 *Conjunto Habitacional Nonoalco-Tlatelolco, 2018*
Fig. 0.21 *Insignia Tower, 2018*

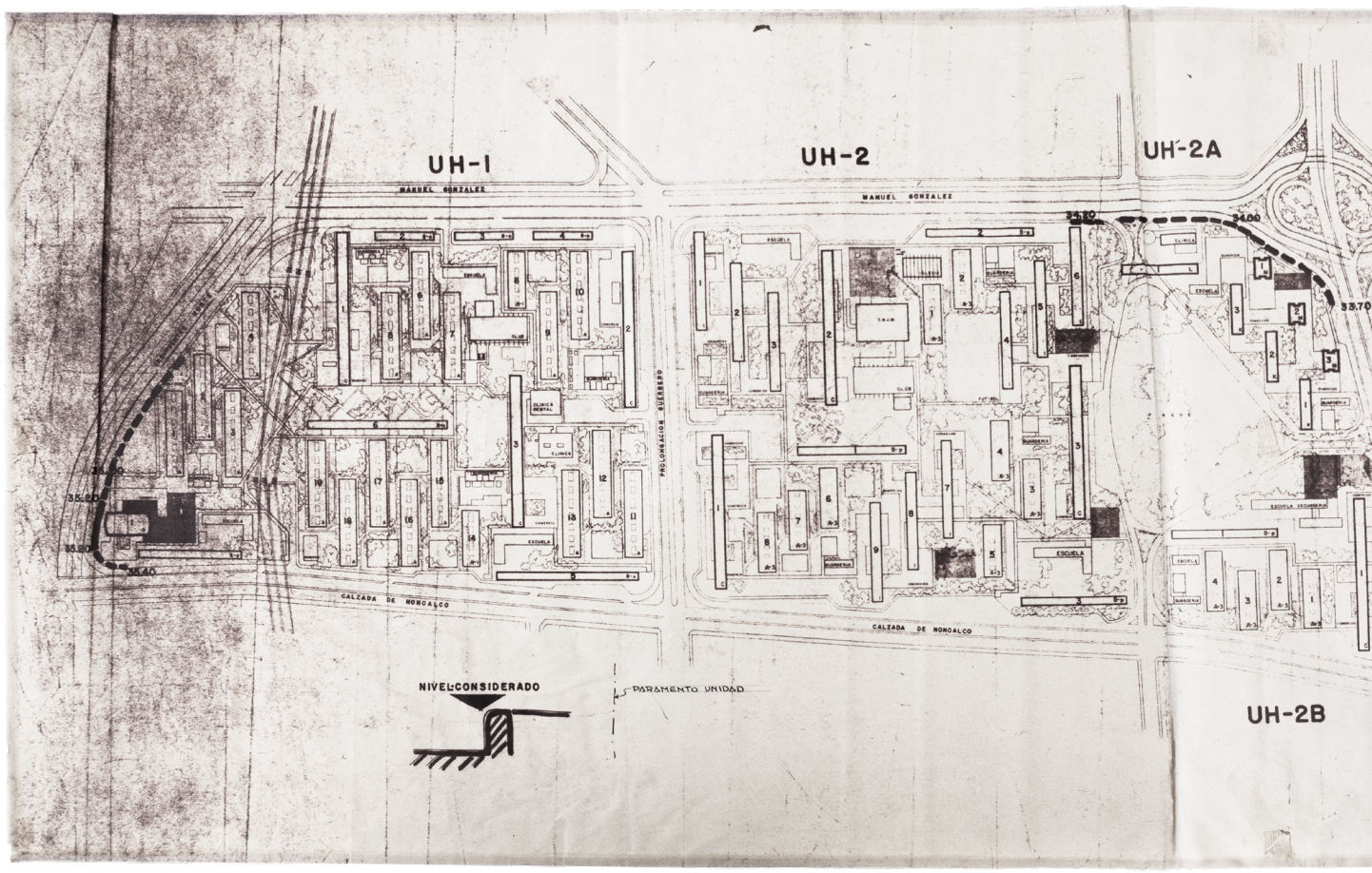
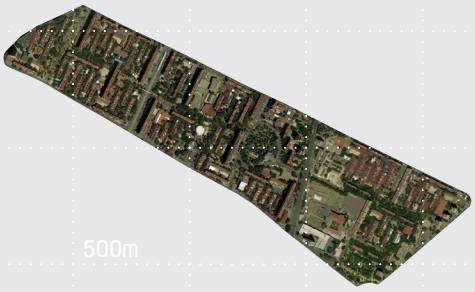

UH-1
UH-2
UH-2A
UH-2B
MANUEL GONZALEZ
MANUEL GONZALEZ
CALZADA DE NONOALCO
CALZADA DE NONOALCO
NIVEL CONSIDERADO
PARAMENTO UNIDAD

Fig. 0.22 Drawing set of the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Housing Complex. Level of Curbs. 1962.

Fig. 0.23 Tlatelolco Aerial Panorama

Fig. 0.24 Contemporary Plan of the Nonoalco Tlatelolco Housing Complex and Surroundings

Manuel Gonzalez
Calle de Alcalá
Calle Ayala
Calle Goya
Calle Velázquez
Calle Serrano
Calle Jorge Juan
Calle Príncipe de Vergara
Calle Claudio Coello
Calle Ortega y Gasset
Calle Lagasca
Calle Castelló
Calle Don Ramón de la Cruz
Calle Conde de Peñalver
Calle Ayala
Calle Diego de León
Calle Juan Bravo
Calle Jorge Juan
Calle Príncipe de Vergara
Calle Serrano
Calle Velázquez
Calle Goya
Calle Alcalá
Calle Ortega y Gasset
Calle Claudio Coello



Tlatelolco, CDMX, 1965
69,344 originally
28,000 currently

Unidad Plateros
CDMX

CUPA
CDMX

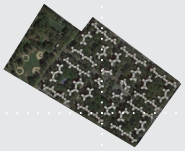
Copilco
CDMX

Unidad Independencia
CDMX

Co-op City Bronx
NYC, 1968
43,752 people

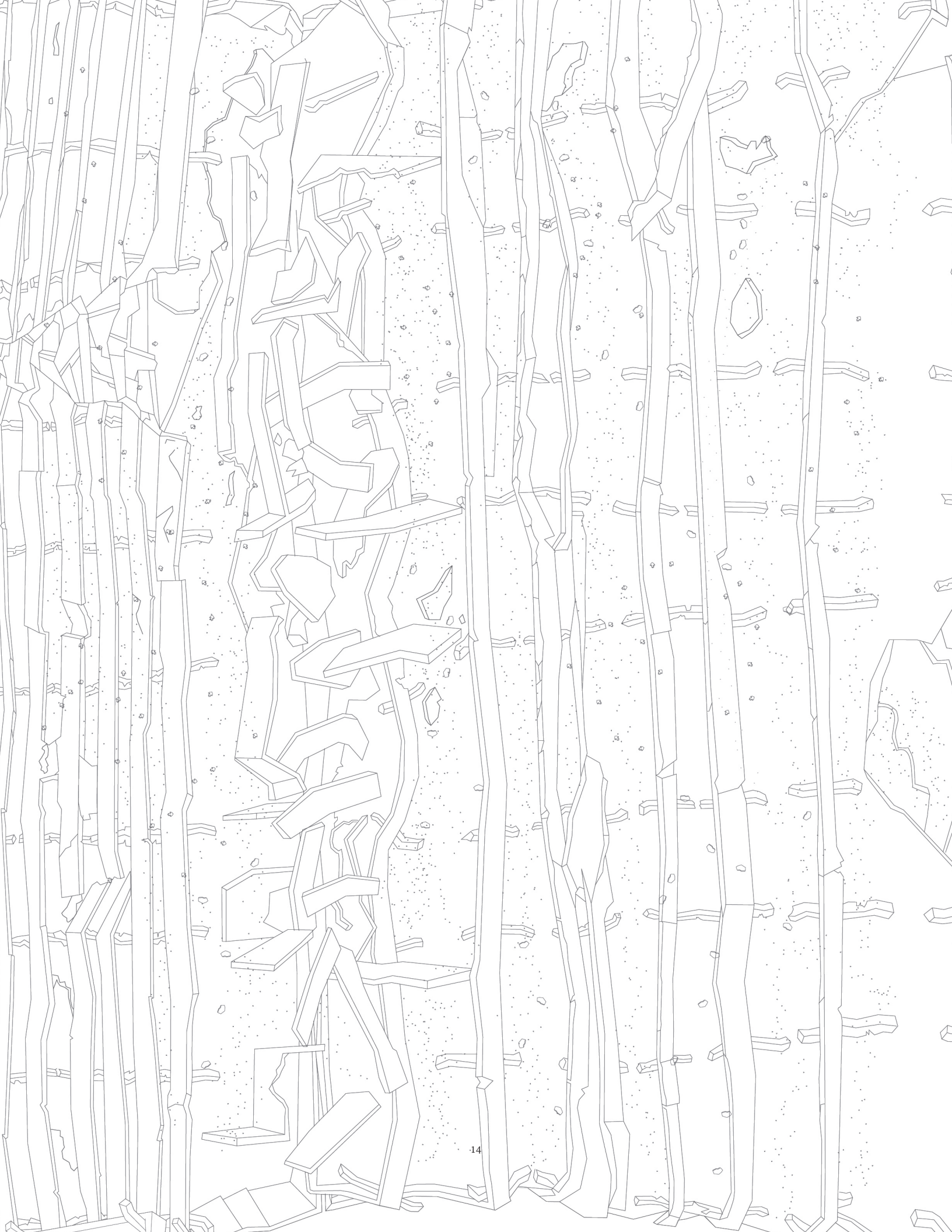
Pruitt Igoe
St. Louis, 1954-1972.
~10,000 people

Regent Park North and South
Toronto, 1949
~12,000 people



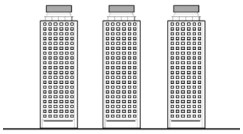
Queensbridge Houses
NYC, 1939
6,105 people

Stuyvesant Town
NYC, 1947
21,049 people



1. PASEO DE LA REFORMA

Restating Modern Monumentality Through Social Habits



REFORMA BOULEVARD

In 1958 the ambitious urban plan for the capital called for the entire renewal of the northern boroughs of the city. This city-wide redevelopment created various transportation axes (*ejes*) through the existing fabric of the city and the densification of the city core. The northern boroughs of the city were heavily impoverished and characterized by informal housing lacking utilities and services. Given the influx of rural workers and the growth of the bureaucratic apparatus, the federal government's 1958 strategy involved the building of 30,000 new dwellings to later displace, demolish, and renew the entire 'horseshoe of slums.'

The first phase of the renewal plan was the construction of the Nonoalco Tlatelolco Housing Complex (NTHC). The plan was developed by architect Mario Pani,[1] who dealt with the northern neighbourhoods like a sliding puzzle. Upon the completion of the Tlatelolco Housing Complex, residents of the southern borough of Guerrero could be relocated to renew that area, and once Guerrero had been renewed, residents of the *Tepito* and *Lagunilla* neighbourhoods could be pushed west to renew the north-eastern boroughs.[2]

One of the most controversial urban moves quickly became the northbound extension of the Paseo de la Reforma, a promenade built by Maximilian I during the short-lived Hapsburg Mexican empire that was modelled

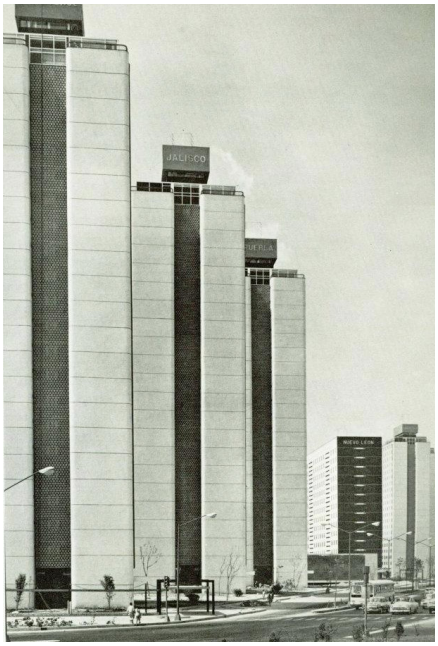


Fig. 1.1 Reforma buildings of the Tlatelolco housing complex. 1965

1 Mario Pani was an architect from a prominent Mexican family who studied in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris 1934. He kept correspondence with Le Corbusier even though he never participated or subscribed to the CIAM. Heredia, "Mexico and CIAM. Notes to Mexican Modern Architecture History (Part One)."

2 Mario Pani, "Conjunto Urbano Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Regeneracion Urbanistica de la Ciudad de Mexico," Arquitectura Mexico, December 1960.

Fig. 1.2 F. Rivas. Perspective of the Reforma Bouelvard towards Tepeyac Hill. 1962.

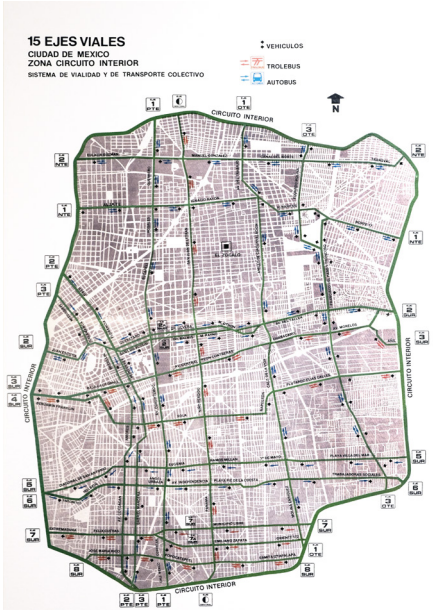


Fig. 1.3 The ' vehicular ejes' project to improve mobility through the city. 1970.

after European boulevards. Paseo de la Reforma is a monumental axis that celebrates Mexican history and its prominent figures; the original 3km boulevard that ran from Chapultepec Hill to west of the Alameda park was built between 1864 and 1910 and is lined by 77 statues and 13 major monuments though its seven roundabouts, including the symbolic Angel of Independence.

The north extension would begin west of the Alameda park in the historic core and move northeast through the *Garibaldi, Tlatelolco, Tepito,* and *Peralvillo* boroughs, creating a diagonal motorway axis that traversed the city from west to north. Following modernist urban practices, this urban intervention demolished numerous prominent colonial buildings in the historic centre which were deemed obsolete. The project also had a dramatic effect north of the city as it created a dividing line of socioeconomic and housing conditions within the northern boroughs. The old fabric of the XVII century indigenous village of Santiago de Tlatelolco was radically altered. Tlatelolco was virtually separated from its sister borough of Tepito thus establishing a physical divide between the surrounding lower income boroughs and isolated city of Tlatelolco.

The extension of the boulevard opened 2.5 km of monumental real estate for the post-revolutionary modern Mexico to curate. The last edge of the NTHC was finalized and inaugurated along with the Reforma extension in 1963, thus linking and equating Tlatelolco with the historic monumental fabric of the city. The design of NTHC celebrated the extension of the Reforma Boulevard spectacularly. Pani lined the edge with a monumental colonnade of seven housing high-rises and an iconic 'C' type Building.

The Tlatelolco-Reforma frontage was used as a device of public broadcast, inserting modern Mexico into the historical axis of the capital. Its success relied on the NTHC generating substantial social mobility and on the government to follow through with the development strategy that could create a continuous monumental language through the entirety of the boulevard extension linking both past and present sections. However, as the NTHC approach completion, the incoming Ordaz administration scrapped the renewal plan. While Tlatelolco was built to completion, the surrounding neighbourhoods saw no improvement, creating a stark contrast between the inside and the outside of the complex. This was especially true along the Reforma boulevard, as to the west lies the Tepito neighbourhood, which to this day is the most dangerous and marginalized

neighbourhood in the city.

On the 19 of September of 1985, at 7am, a magnitude 8.0 earthquake shook Mexico City, instantly collapsing one third of the Nuevo León building, killing over 200 people.[3] The Reforma frontage of the NTHC was heavily damaged, and the remaining Nuevo Leon and three of the seven type-N towers had to be demolished due to damage sustained. This tragic event destroyed the only architectural monument in the Reforma extension, thus severing the link between the historical city and the monumental housing complex.

In the contemporary morphology of the NTHC, fifty-five years after the urban renewal program, there is still no clear continuity between the first section and the extension of Paseo de la Reforma. Monumentality was never restored along the Reforma extension, giving the extension the appearance of an outbound highway rather than an urban promenade. The presence of empty pedestals, urns, and patches of terracotta tiles are the only clue to the original urban intent. The NTHC, in its dilapidated state and with half its frontage remaining, is the only bounding architectural artifact that addresses the Reforma extension as an axis of monumentality.

Fig. 1.4 Demolition of the remaining Nuevo Leon building. 1986.

3 Lazaro Serriania Alvarez, "Triste y Dificil es la Labor de Rescate de Muertos y Heridos del Edificio Nuevo Leon," El Nacional, September 21, 1985, sec. 2 La Capital.

DEL CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL POR LA SALUD MENTAL

MODIFICACIONES AL "PROYECTAZO"

CARICATURAS INTERNACIONALES

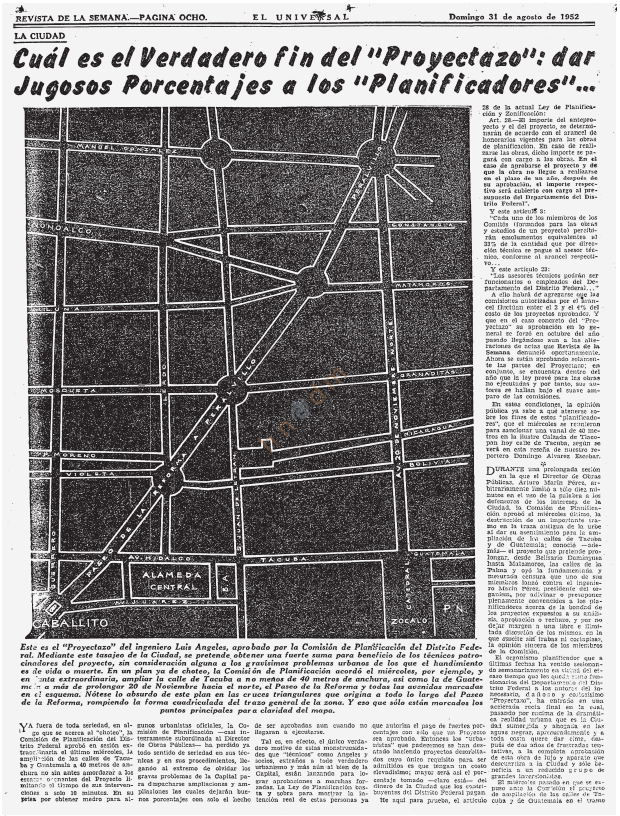
"The city, revisiting the Paseo."

Liz Ponce
El Universal
August 08, 1952.

In summation. Upon the renewed debate regarding the extension of the Boulevard of the Reform, the following conclusions can be drawn.

1. The campaign for the protection of artistic and historical monuments begins to obtain their first positive results. In its original form, the "Proyectazo" did note even consider respect to the physiognomy and monumentality of the urban fabric as it has become customary in recent times. Now, […] it has been accepted to respect of the old customs building of Peralvillo and the demolition of the Tecpan of Santiago has been reconsidered.

2. As important of the preservation and respect to monuments are, it is not the main objection to "the Proyectazo." Time and time again it has been insisted that the central problem of these luxury public works is the destruction of innumerable small human urban patrimonies, a site of low rent, and the inevitable hike of land values which will prevent the current residents from profiting off of the public works—and consequently—the displacement of tens of thousands of poor residents to even worse conditions. To this point, the supporters of the "Proyectazo" don't have any responses, among other things, because these problems do not figure in their mentality of luxury. The extension is planned to enrich the planners, contractors, banking institutions, urbanists, etc.; It will not benefit the city which is made by its people. Until this becomes the focal point, the "Proyectazo" continues to be a grave threat to tens of thousand of people.



REVISTA DE LA SEMANA.—PAGINA OCHO. EL UNIVERSAL Domingo 31 de agosto de 1952

LA CIUDAD

Cuál es el Verdadero fin del "Proyectazo": dar Jugosos Porcentajes a los "Planificadores"...

Este es el "Proyectazo" del ingeniero Luis Angeles, aprobado por la Comisión de Planificación del Distrito Federal. Mediante este tasajeo de la Ciudad, se pretende obtener una fuerte suma para beneficio de los técnicos patrocinadores del proyecto, sin consideración alguna a los gravísimos problemas urbanos de los que el bandolerismo es de vida o muerte. En un plan ya de chotoy, la Comisión de Planificación acordó el miércoles, por ejemplo, y en sesión extraordinaria, ampliar la calle de Tacuba a no menos de 40 metros de anchura, así como la de Guatemala a más de prolongar 20 de Noviembre hacia el norte, el Paseo de la Reforma y todas las avenidas marcadas en el esquema. Nótese lo absurdo de este plan en las cruces triangulares que origina a todo lo largo del Paseo de la Reforma, rompiendo la forma cuadriculada del trazo general de la zona. Y eso que sólo están marcados los puntos principales para claridad del mapa.

YA fuera de toda seriedad, en algunos urbanistas oficiales, la opinión que se acerca al "choteo", la Comisión de Planificación del Distrito Federal aprobó en sesión extraordinaria el último miércoles, la ampliación de las calles de Tacuba y Guatemala a 40 metros de anchura no sin antes suscribar a los gravosos proyectos del Proyecto Ingeniero Angeles, el importe respectivo será cubierto con cargo al presupuesto del Departamento del Distrito Federal.

Y este artículo 3º:

"Cada uno de los miembros de los Comités Honorarios para las obras y estudios de un proyecto percibirán emolumentos equivalentes al 31% de la cantidad que por dirección técnica se pague al asesor técnico, conforme al arancel respectivo..."

Y este artículo 23:

"Los asesores técnicos podrán ser funcionarios o empleados del Departamento del Distrito Federal, y percibirán los honorarios que establezcan anticipadas por el Arancel fijadlum entre el 3 y el 6% del costo de los proyectos aprobado. Y que en el caso concreto del "Proyectazo" su aprobación en lo general le fué dada en octubre del año pasado fueron sus a las alteraciones de actas que Revista de la Semana denunció oportunamente. Ahora se están aprobando solamente las obras del Proyectazo en conjunto, extraordinariamente, en el año que la ley prevé para las obras especiales y por tanto, sus autores se hallan bajo el suave amparo de las anteriores.

En estas condiciones, la opinión pública ya sabe a qué atenerse sobre los fines de estos "planificadores", que el miércoles se reunieron para ampliarnos una vanal de 40 metros en la misma Calzada de Tacuba, con hoy calle de Tacuba, según se verá en esta reseña de nuestro reportero Domingo Alvarez Escobar.

DURANTE una prolongada sesión en la que el Director de Obras Públicas, Arturo Martín Pérez, arbitrariamente limitó a tres diez minutos en el uso de la palabra a los defensores de los intereses de la Ciudad, la Comisión de Planificación aprobó el miércoles último, la destrucción de un importante trazo en la traza antigua de la urbe que, de no mediar un milagro, dejará de las calles de Tacuba y de Guatemala; comodó —dijimos— el proyecto un pretende prolongar, desde Bellísario Domínguez hasta Matamoros, las calles de la Palma y oyó la fundamentada y numerosa protesta que uno de sus miembros hizo contra el impulsivo, ligero y antieconómico procedimiento, por salvaloar e preinpuesar plenamente concesiones a los pudientes dueños de la bondad de los proyectos expuestos a su análisis, aprobando o retinos, y por no dejar margen a una libre e ilimitada discusión de los mismos, en la que quedte sin trabas el ciudadano, el técnico extraño de los miembros de la Comisión.

El ingeniero planificador que a última fecha ha venido realizando semanalmente en cinco del citado mismo día los estudios y proyectos del Departamento del Distrito Federal a los autores del Ingeniero, dándolo y condicionando a la aprobación de la Asamblea vecta final en la cual, pasando por encima de la ciudadanía realidad urbana que es la Ciudad sumergida y ahogada en las aguas negras, aprovechándose y a todo cuyo quiere dar cine, daños de dos años de frustrados tentativas, a la completa aprobación de esta obra de hijo y aprobación que descansa en la Ciudad y sólo le devastadora, pero provechosa tanta propiedad destruida.

Para disipar un poco cualquier maestros de maniquíes, el ingeniero Angeles hizo circular una fotografía en la cual se mostraba el aspecto que presentaba, según su propio aserto, la única casa de la época colonial que había que destruir y que es la que se encuentra precisamente frente a la desembocadura de las calles de la Palma, en Bellarte Domínguez.

"Como ustedes ven —comentó Angeles— no es mayor cosa".

"¿Pero no existen casas coloniales en nuestra capital?" —quisimos preguntarle, pero el arquitecto Cordova, representante de Monumentos Coloniales.

Inmediatamente Angeles hizo presión de fe y declaró haber examinado minuciosamente el catálogo de monumentos coloniales y no haber encontrado una sola construcción de aquella época que resultara afectada por el proyecto.

"Si existe alguna construcción colonial en esta zona —sentó Angeles— no ha sido catalogada por Monumentos Coloniales y en tal caso ya no podría ser un problema".

Se estaba preparando el ambiente para aprobar la aprobación del proyecto de prolongación por parte de los comisionados de planificación, cuando el ingeniero Herrera y Lasso, representante de los banqueros —impresionado por la destrucción expuesta tan franca y detalladamente— afirmó que antes de dar el voto la agrobatoria era necesario que los miembros de la Comisión hicieran una visita a la zona que se pretende destruir.

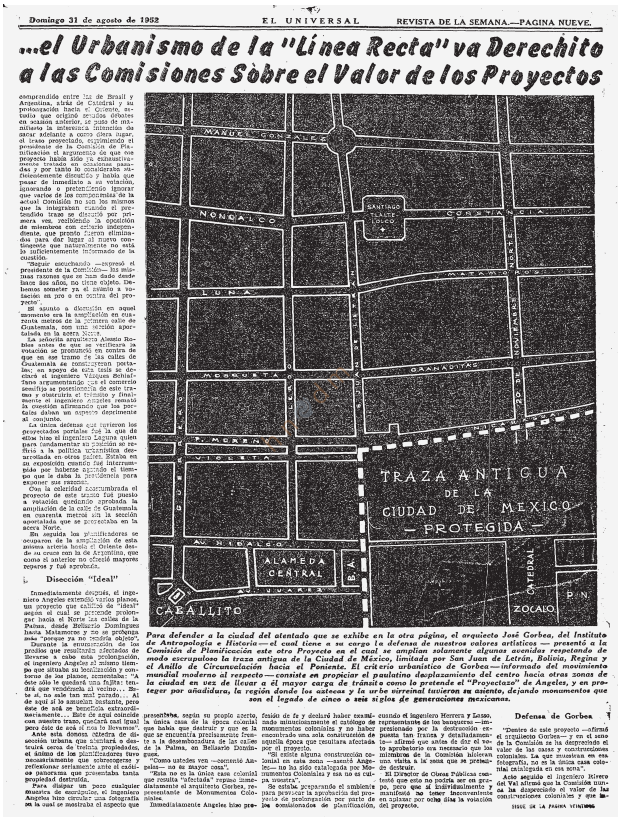
El Director de Obras Públicas contestó que esto no podía ser en ese día, pero que indudablemente y manifiesta su haber inconveniente en aplazar por ocho días la votación del proyecto.

Defensa de Gorbea

"Dentro de este proyecto —afirmó el arquitecto Gorbea— y en el seno de la Comisión se ha demostrado el valor de las casas y construcciones coloniales. La que muestran en esa fotografía, no es la única casa colonial catalogada en esa zona".

Acto seguido el ingeniero Rivero del Val afirmó que la Comisión nunca ha dispensado el valor de las construcciones coloniales y que la

VIENE DE LA PRIMERA VIÑETA



Domingo 31 de agosto de 1952 EL UNIVERSAL REVISTA DE LA SEMANA.—PAGINA NUEVE.

...el Urbanismo de la "Línea Recta" va Derechito a las Comisiones Sobre el Valor de los Proyectos

Para defender a la ciudad del atentado que se exhibe en la otra página, el arquieclo José Gorbea, del Instituto de Antropología e Historia — el cual tiene a su cargo la defensa de nuestros valores artísticos — presentó a la Comisión de Planificación este otro Proyecto en el cual se amplían solamente algunas avenidas respetando de modo escrupuloso la traza antigua de la Ciudad de México, limitada por San Juan de Letrán, Bolivia, Regina y el Anillo de Circunvalación hacia el Poniente. El criterio urbanístico de Gorbea — informado del movimiento mundial moderno al respecto — consiste en propiciar el paulatino desplazamiento del centro hacia otras zonas de la ciudad en vez de llevar a él mayor carga de tránsito como lo pretende el "Proyectazo" de Angeles, y en proteger por añadidura, la región donde las aceras y la urbe sirrenal tuvieron su asiento, dejando monumentos que son el legado de cinco o seis siglos de generaciones mexicanas.

What is the true purpose of the "Mega-project": To give juicy percentages to the "planners" of the urbanism of "straight lines" Going straight to their commissions on the projects created.

Liz Ponce
El Universal
August 31, 1952.

"During a prolonged session, the director of public works, Arturo Martin Perez, arbitrarily limited the speaking time of the representatives of the interest of the city. The Planning Commission approved last Wednesday the destruction of an important piece of the historical fabric of the city.[...] "If there is any colonial structure in this area—commented Angeles—it has not been catalogued by Colonial Monuments, and that is not our fault."

EL PAIS

DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE DE LA MAÑANA

DIRECTOR: JUAN LUIS CEBRIÁN

MADRID, SÁBADO 21 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1985

Redacción, Administración y Talleres: Miguel Yuste, 40 / 28037 Madrid / 754 38 00 / Precio: 50 pesetas. Con suplemento semanal: 75 pesetas / Año X. Número 3.002

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS

Decenas de voluntarios buscan supervivientes o víctimas entre los escombros de un edificio caído de costado en el centro de la ciudad.

Centenares de personas permanecen aún sepultadas en más de 30 kilómetros cuadrados de escombros

Más de 3.000 cadáveres, rescatados entre las ruinas de Ciudad de México

México se recuperaba ayer, lenta y dolorosamente, del terremoto que le sacudió a las 7.18 de la víspera. Cincuenta mil personas formaban parte de los equipos de rescate que trabajaban para extraer de entre los escombros a los miles de víctimas. Se han recuperado más de 3.000 cadáveres, aunque se da como seguro que se alcanzará la cifra de 7.000 muertos en Ciudad de México. Por el momento sólo se tiene noticia de la muerte en la capital mexicana de una española, Angeles Domínguez, si bien durante horas también se dio por muerto a Rafael Jesús Galarza, quien, sin embargo, fue localizado con vida en un hospital en la madrugada de hoy. El Rey dirigió ayer un mensaje radiofónico de solidaridad a México.

Don Juan Carlos manifestó a los mexicanos que los españoles "estamos con vosotros" y "nos unimos a vuestro llanto". "Estoy convencido de que la fortaleza, la voluntad y la valentía que han distinguido siempre a México serán vuestros incentivos para superar esta situación", indicó también.

El país americano pudo reanudar parcialmente ayer sus comunicaciones con el exterior, y desde la capital se indicaba que la ciudad iba recuperando su pulso. Los equipos de rescate continúan sin descanso los trabajos de desescombro.

Desde los otros Estados comenzaban a llegar con cuentagotas detalles del desastre, que elevaban a cerca del centenar el número de muertos. En Acapulco, ante cuya costa se encontraba el epicentro del seísmo, los daños eran enormes. Página 3 a 9

Editorial en la página 12

Destituidos el ministro francés de Defensa y el jefe del espionaje

El ministro francés de Defensa, Charles Hernu, fue destituido ayer fulminantemente por el primer ministro, Laurent Fabius, quien nombró como sucesor a Paul Quilles, hasta ahora titular de Transportes y Vivienda, en lo que parece ser un intento de atajar las consecuencias del escándalo del *Rainbow Warrior*.

También fue destituido el jefe del espionaje francés, almirante Pierre Lacoste.

Página 10

Editorial en la página 12

Charles Hernu, ministro francés de Defensa, destituido ayer.

NUEVO MUNDO

EN EL PARQUE

CONDE DE ORGAZ

Pisos únicos de hasta 320 m²

en una zona exclusiva

15.000 m² de zonas verdes.

VENTA DE PISO PILOTO: c/ Isla de Malborno, 13

de lu a 2.30 y de 5 a 8.30 (todos los días, excepto los domingos tarde)

NUEVO MUNDO

en la mejor CALIDAD

HOY, EN EL PAIS

Las relaciones con Israel pueden establecerse en enero de 1986

España establecerá relaciones diplomáticas con Israel el 1 de enero de 1986, según congresistas estadounidenses que se entrevistaron con el ministro de Exteriores, Fernández Ordóñez, aunque éste desmintió ayer la noticia. Parece que fue un bombo de confianza del ministro quien hizo la afirmación. Por otra parte, durante su visita oficial a España, el presidente egipcio, Mubarak, exhortó a nuestro país a animar el diálogo entre Israel y la OLP para lograr una paz estable en Oriente Próximo. / Páginas 17 y 18.

Volkswagen pide a Seat la reducción de 4.500 puestos de trabajo este año

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El Gobierno se muestra pesimista sobre el AES

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El PCE de Iglesias intenta controlar Comisiones Obreras

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More than 3000 bodies rescued among the ruins of Mexico City.

El Pais, (Spain)
September 21, 1985.

Mexico was recovering yesterday, slowly and painfully, of the earthquake that shook the city at 7:18 in the morning. Fifty-thousand people form part of the rescue teams that work to extract the thousands of victims from the rubble. More than 3000 bodies have been found, although it is estimated that the number will reach 7000 in Mexico City.

Segunda Sección — EL NACIONAL — Sábado 21 de Septiembre de 1985.—3

LA CAPITAL

Dolor

La Falta de Energía Eléctrica Dificultó la Remoción de Ruinas

Por Lázaro SERRANIA ALVAREZ

Triste y Difícil es la Labor de Rescate de Muertos y Heridos del Edificio Nuevo León

Hasta el Momento se ha Reportado el Hallazgo de 114 Muertos y 158 Heridos

Las Juntas de Vecinos, Canalizadoras de Ayuda

La Coordinación de Voluntarios la Tiene la Delegación Cuauhtémoc

Por Isabel MATURIL IBAÑEZ

La Colonia Roma, Zona de Desastre

Por Magdalena FERNERET

Sad and Difficult is the rescue of dead and wounded in the Nuevo Leon building.

Lázaro Serrania Alvarez
El Nacional
September 21, 1985.

As of this moment 114 dead and 158 wounded have been found. Panic in the Tlatelolco housing complex continues. Along with the rescue efforts begun yesterday in the collapsed Nuevo Leon building, the rest of the enormous housing complex was entirely evacuated. This was due to the ground sinking under the Chihuahua, Allende, Oaxaca and Veracruz buildings, the last two are tilting, close to collapsing. […] In the first 24hrs of work, the Red Cross reported 114 dead and 158 wounded, the majority of these in critical condition. The witnesses inform that the numbers could be incorrect due to the different institutions transporting the bodies. […] The evacuated families occupied all the green areas in the complex as well as the roundabouts in the Boulevard of the Reform. The engineer Jorge González Camarena, administrator of the FONAPO, […] manifested his concerns over the blaming of the institution for the collapse of the Nuevo León building, "how can we be guilty of an earthquake? All the buildings fulfil the safety requirements as for their characteristics."
Survivors of the destroyed housing complex, […] indicated that for several years now, the foundations and the soil remained flooded. The humidity and wrong-doings in the construction resulted in the softening of the structure.

IMPACTO™
No. 1859 October 17, 1985

"YO NO SOY CULPABLE, TENGO LA CONCIENCIA TRANQUILA"

MARIO PANI, CONSTRUCTOR DE TLALTELOLCO, SE LAVA LAS MANOS

★ MUY PRONTO OFRECERA UNA "DEFENSA TOTALMENTE LOGICA Y FUNDAMENTADA"

Por LIZ PONCE

"YO NO SOY CULPABLE"... con estas palabras responde Mario Pani, el constructor del conjunto habitacional más grande de América Latina: Tlaltelolco. El nerviosismo se hace palpable en este hombre moreno, delgado y cuyas canas son evidencia del paso de los años aunque igualmente de numerosas horas dedicadas a la proyección y ejecución de edificaciones asentadas en diversos sitios del país. De su rostro desaparece el gesto de la consternación cuando le decimos que no son las autoridades quienes lo buscan sino una periodista y un fotógrafo.

Aliviado a medias, Mario Pani inicia una charla sin preámbulo y los argumentos justificativos no se hacen esperar. Mario Pani "se lava las manos". Mario Pani, el arquitecto que diseñó y dirigió la construcción del revolucionario modelo urbanístico que hoy desluce, colapsado por un sismo. Bajo su dirección estuvieron Luis Ramos —jefe del proyecto—; el urbanista Domingo García Ramos; los arquitectos Jesús Aguirre Cárdenas —director técnico de la obra ;y actual cabeza de la Facultad de Ingeniería de la UNAM—; Angel Domínguez García y José Luis Silva Ramírez, así como los ingenieros Alberto Bourlon Chastel y Ramiro Ramírez Trasviña.

Fueron dos las constructoras de la Unidad Habitacional Nonoalco-Tlaltelolco, que posteriormente cambió su denominación por la de "Presidente López Mateos": Ingenieros Civiles Asociados (ICA) y Balleteros, S.A., (esta última implicada en el derrumbe de las instalaciones de la Universidad Iberoamericana, cuando ocurrió el sismo de 1979). Ambas agrupaban a otras compañías de menor infraestructura.

La primera interrogante es: ¿De dónde a dónde va la responsabilidad de Mario Pani en esta tragedia que dejó sin hogar a los residentes de los 84 edificios de la gigantesca unidad habitacional? Y antes de intentar cualquier análisis al respecto, se antoja conveniente plantear una pregunta vital: ¿Es Mario Pani un profesionista mediocre y sin prestigio? Pese a las acusaciones de que ahora puede ser objeto, una breve revisión de sus obras revela que no hay en él ni mediocridad ni falta de brillantez como arquitecto.

A él se debe el diseño de la Ciudad Universitaria y la dirección de su construcción, en la que tuvo a su cargo 60 arquitectos e ingenieros que realizaron las diversas estructuras del colosal conjunto de estudios. Pani es también el autor del Centro Comercial de Cuernavaca, Morelos (1963); de la Puerta de México, en Matamoros, Tamps., obra que llevó a cabo como parte del Programa Nacional Fronterizo durante el régimen de López Mateos. Vale citar asimismo otras construcciones localizadas en el Distrito Federal como son el Centro Urbano "Presidente Juárez" y el multifamiliar "Presidente Miguel Alemán", este último ubicado en las calles de Félix Cuevas y Avenida Coyoacán.

En su despacho "Mario Pani, Arquitecto y Asociados", en pleno Paseo de la Reforma, el hoy temeroso constructor habla en exclusiva para IMPACTO y aunque asegura tener la conciencia tranquila, manifiesta que, después de todo, prefiriría no hablar, pues el asunto es de suyo sumamente complejo. Sin embargo sugiere: "Esta vez trataremos únicamente algunas cosas. Yo estoy en estos días examinando unos documentos de mucho interés sobre el tema. Luego de haberlos estudiado podré estar en condiciones de ofrecer una defensa totalmente lógica y fundamentada".

Pero decíamos que Pani tiene un sitio destacado en el medio y esto lo reafirman diversas organizaciones europeas y norteamericanas al otorgarle distinciones de renombre internacional que reconocen el talento de este egresado de la Escuela de Bellas Artes de París y de la UNAM, en 1934, e hijo del difunto ingeniero Arturo Pani autor tacatecano de otras tantas elogiadas construcciones.

¿BUSCARA SU AMPARO?

Ni sus méritos profesionales, ni sus especializaciones académicas pueden ser consuelo para las 7 mil familias damnificadas que desde el 19 de septiembre pasado se han visto obligadas a pernoctar en improvisadas tiendas de campaña frente a los que antes fueran sus hogares. Con pancartas en alto y manifestaciones por las principales calles de la ciudad, los afectados exigen: "¡Castigo a los culpables!". Pani planea mientras tanto el análisis de ciertos "documentos de mucho interés". ¿La forma de obtener un amparo legal? Es probable. Hasta que los hechos no se aclaren, su nombre seguirá asociado a una tragedia.

A continuación los argumentos preliminares que ofrece Pani a fin de explicar su inocencia en el asunto. El resto, asegura sin dubitar, "lo expondré en unos días más".

FALLAS POR CORRUPCION PERO NO POR DISEÑO DE LA OBRA

Los planos del conjunto habitacional no tienen errores. Se cuidó mucho el diseño como también su funcionalidad, señala Pani. Una de las posibles causas del derrumbe, supone, estriba en el descuido del mantenimiento adecuado de los inmuebles, "pero esta responsabilidad corresponde a los administradores", (Administradora Inmobiliaria, S.A., y PONHAPO).

El segundo punto que expone el arquitecto alude al trabajo plural: "obras de esta magnitud se realizan en equipo y nosotros la realizamos en combinación con muchas compañías que se ocuparon de la instalación de diversos aditamentos, así como con otras que surtieron las materias primas requeridas, cuyo control de calidad pudo ser deficiente y haberlo disfrazado de óptimo a través de acciones fuera de nuestra detección y control".

Definitivamente Pani sabe de muchas otras condicionantes que tienen efecto aquí, una de ellas, la blanda consistencia del subsuelo en la zona, factor por sí mismo

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IMPACTO No. 1859

Pág. 47

"I am not guilty, my conscience is clear." Mario Pani, builder of Tlaltelolco, washes his hands.

Liz Ponce
Impacto Magazine.
October 17, 1985.

[…] Half relieved, Mario Pani begins to talk, straight to the point and with justifying arguments soon to follow. [...] Mario Pani, the architect that designed and directed the construction of the revolutionary urban complex that today fades away, collapsed after an earthquake. […] Neither his professional merits, nor his academic specializations offer relief to the seven thousand affected families that since September 19th have had to sleep in improvised tents in front of what was once their homes. Holding up signs in the streets of the city, the affected demand: "Punishment the guilty!" […] The architect explains that the plans of the housing complex don't have any mistakes. Much care was given to the design and the functionality, says Pani. One of the possible causes for the collapse, he supposes, comes from the lack of maintenance to the buildings, "but this responsibility corresponds to the administrators." [...]

The second point the architect points at is the collaboration of work: "works of this magnitude are made with teams, we worked in combination with a lot of companies in charge of the installation of multiple systems while others provided the materials needed, their quality control could have been deficient, and they could've disguised it as optimal through means outside our control."

Fig. 1.5 Conditions in Santiago de Tlatelolco. c1960

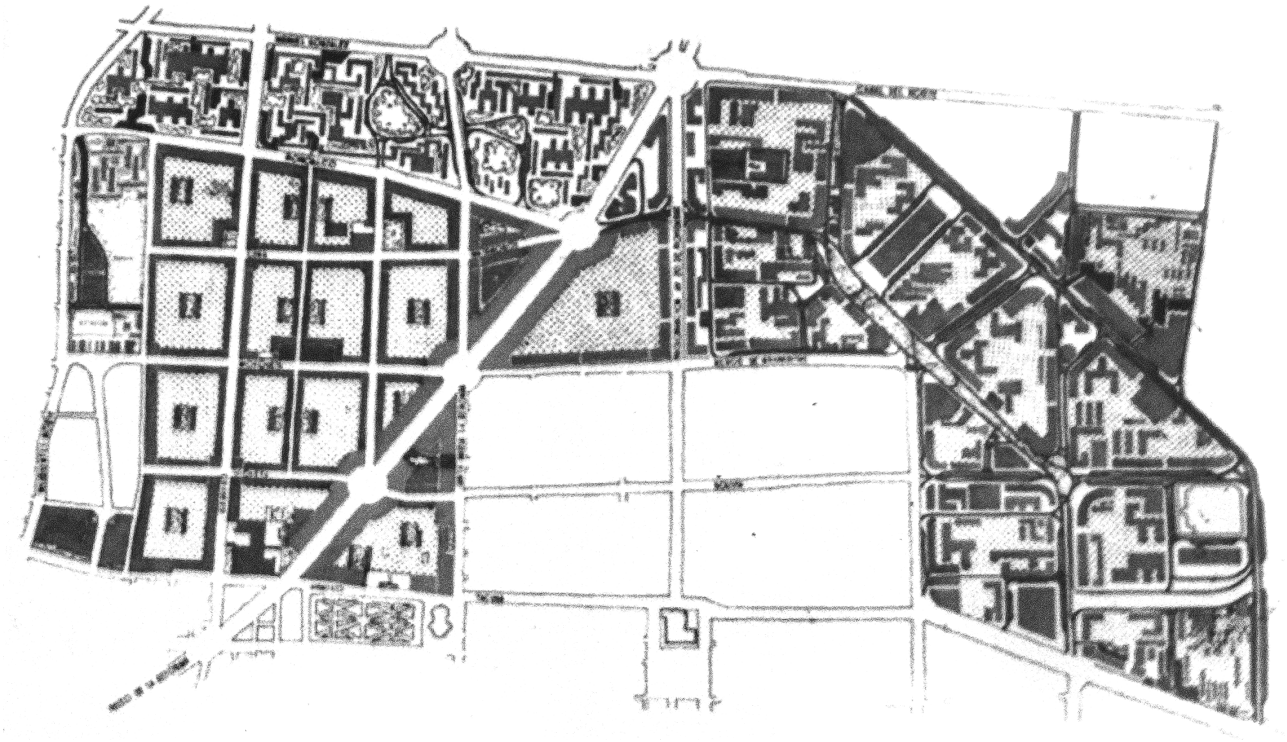


Fig. 1.6 Urban regeneration of northern Mexico City.

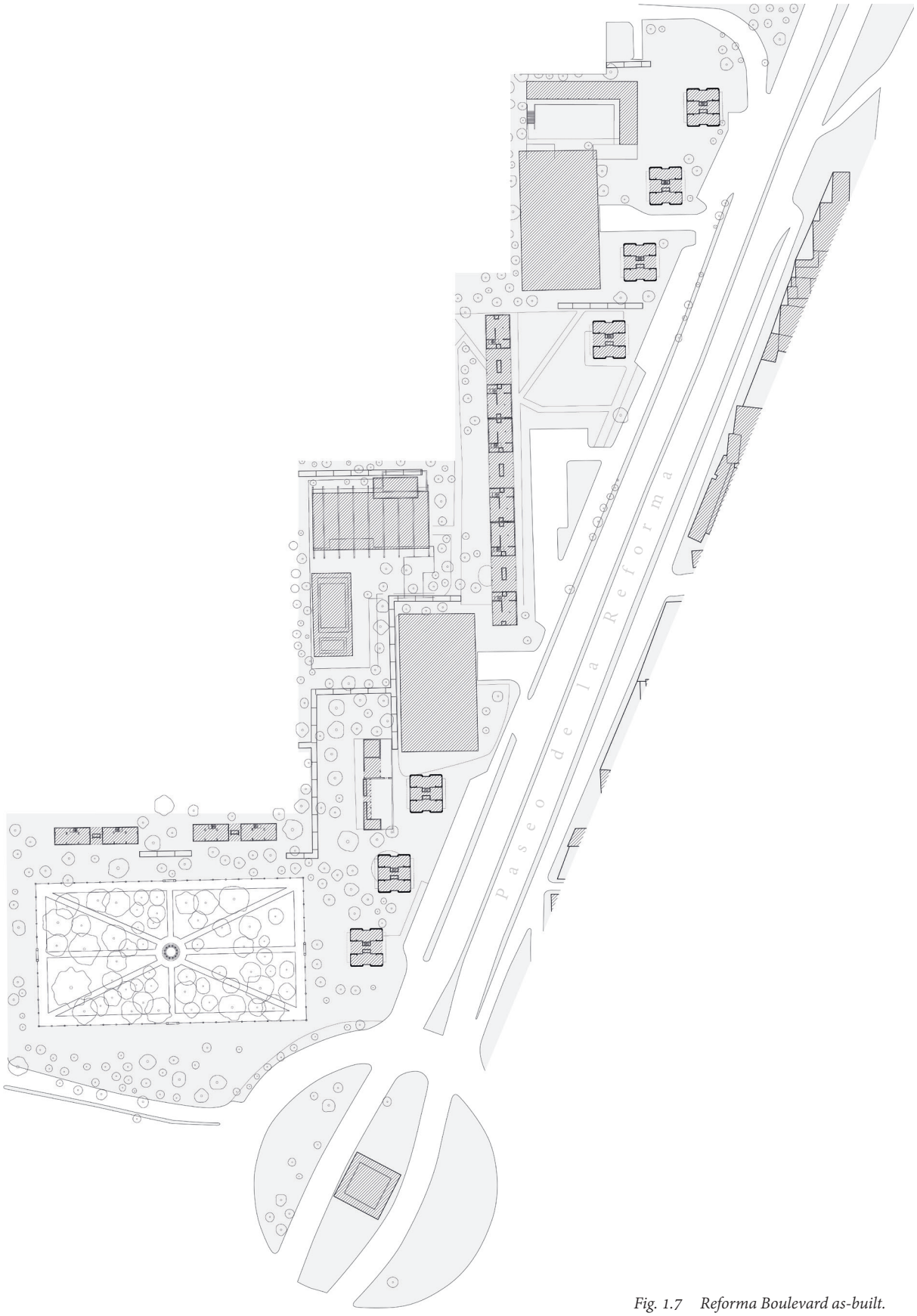


Fig. 1.7 Reforma Boulevard as-built.

MONUMENTAL REFORMA

As Designed by Mario Pani, the Paseo de la Reforma frontage was lined by 7 Type-N buildings (Cuauhtémoc, Puebla, Jalisco, Veracruz, Coahuila, Zacatecas, Oaxaca) and 1 Type C Building (Nuevo León).

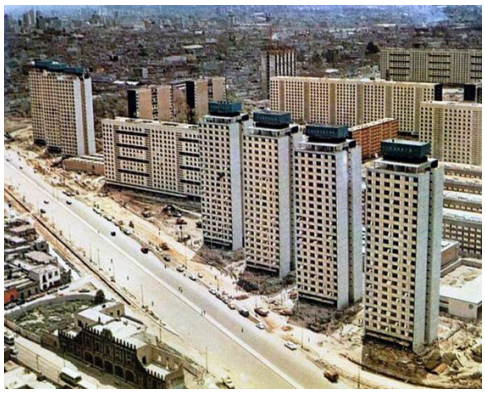


Fig. 1.8 Unidad Habitacional Nonoalco Tlatelolco. c 1965.

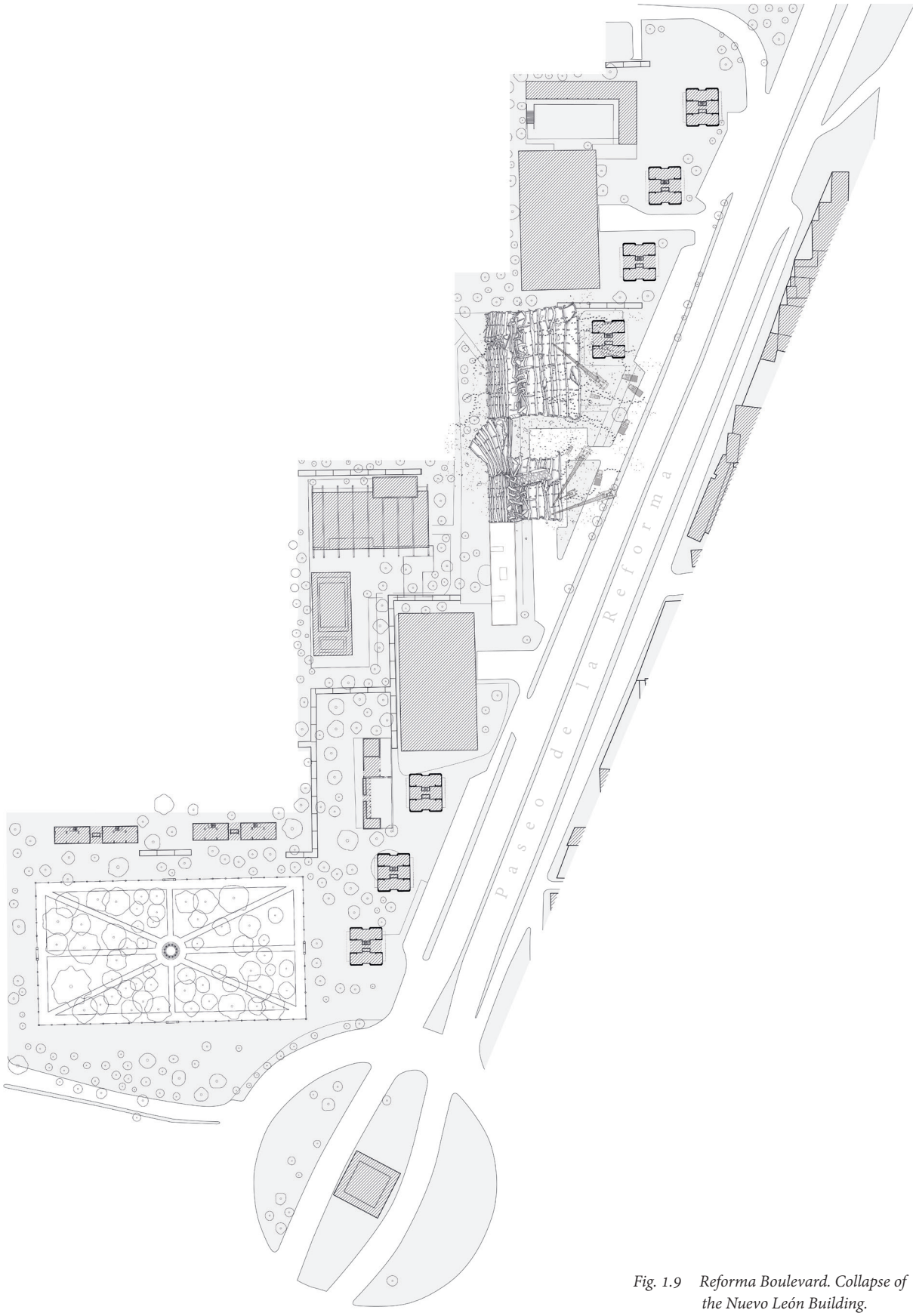


Fig. 1.9 Reforma Boulevard. Collapse of the Nuevo León Building.

REFORMA FRONTAGE COLLAPSE

The 19th of September 1985, an 8.0 magnitude earthquake stuck Mexico City. The two sections of the Nuevo Leon building along the boulevard collapsed killing approximately 250 people. This event severely damaged most structures in the complex, twelve of them beyond repair. The Reforma Boulevard section was hit the hardest as three of the seven point towers and the remainder of the Nuevo León had to be demolished .

Fig. 1.10 Rescue in the aftermath of the September 19th, 1985 Earthquake. Centro Medico

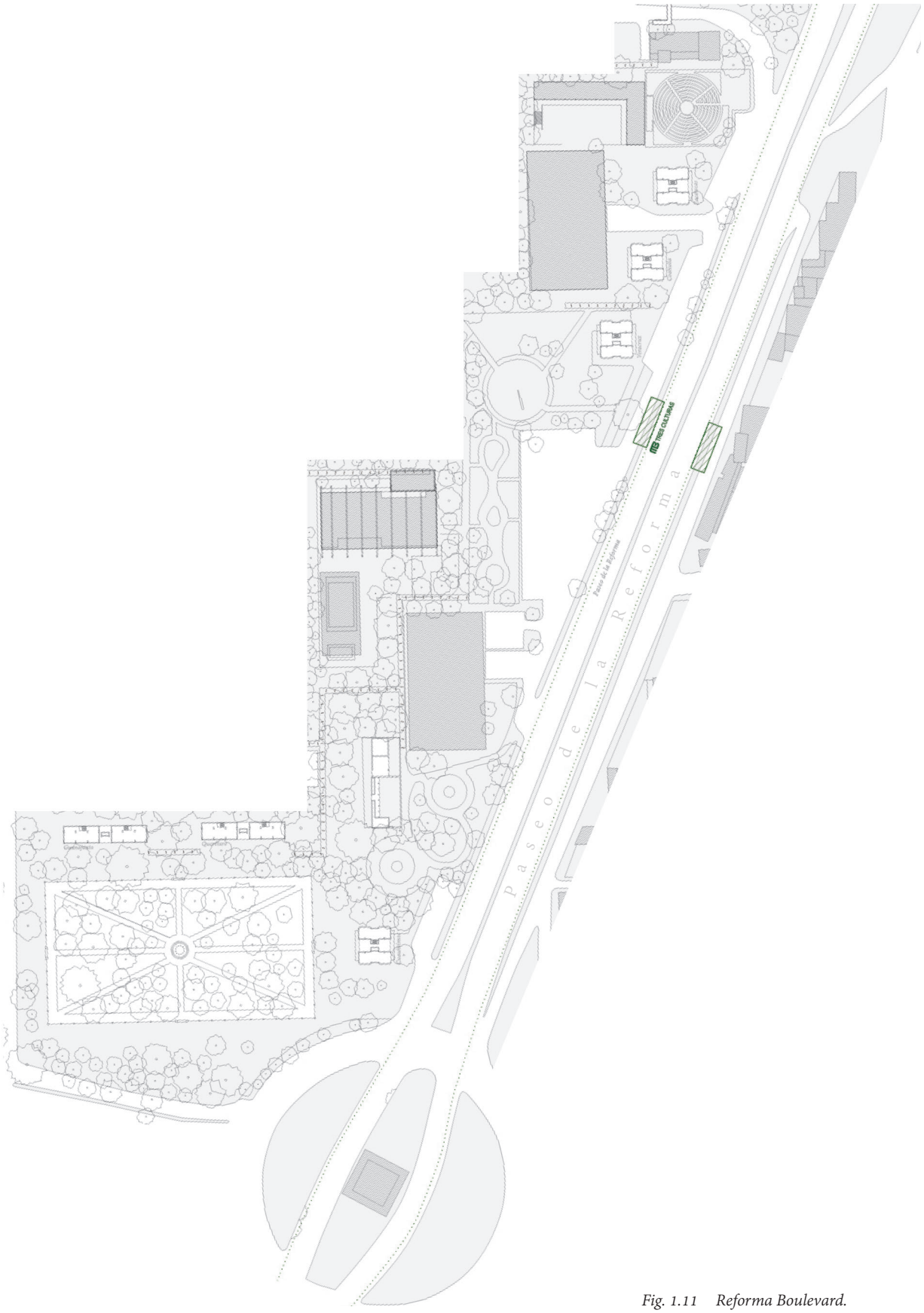


Fig. 1.11 Reforma Boulevard.

REFORMA TODAY

In present day, the collapse of the Paseo de la Reforma built frontage has given way to a number of parking lots and informal gardens. The remaining towers stand isolated from the interior peace of the development due to their proximity to the high speed boulevard, and the lack of defined community program, resulting in a noticable absense of people.

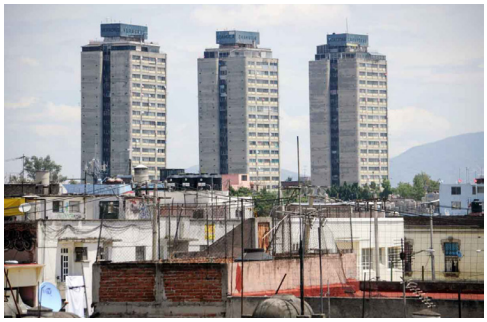


Fig. 1.12 Tlatelolco Reforma frontage. The Veracruz, Coahuila and Zacatecas towers.

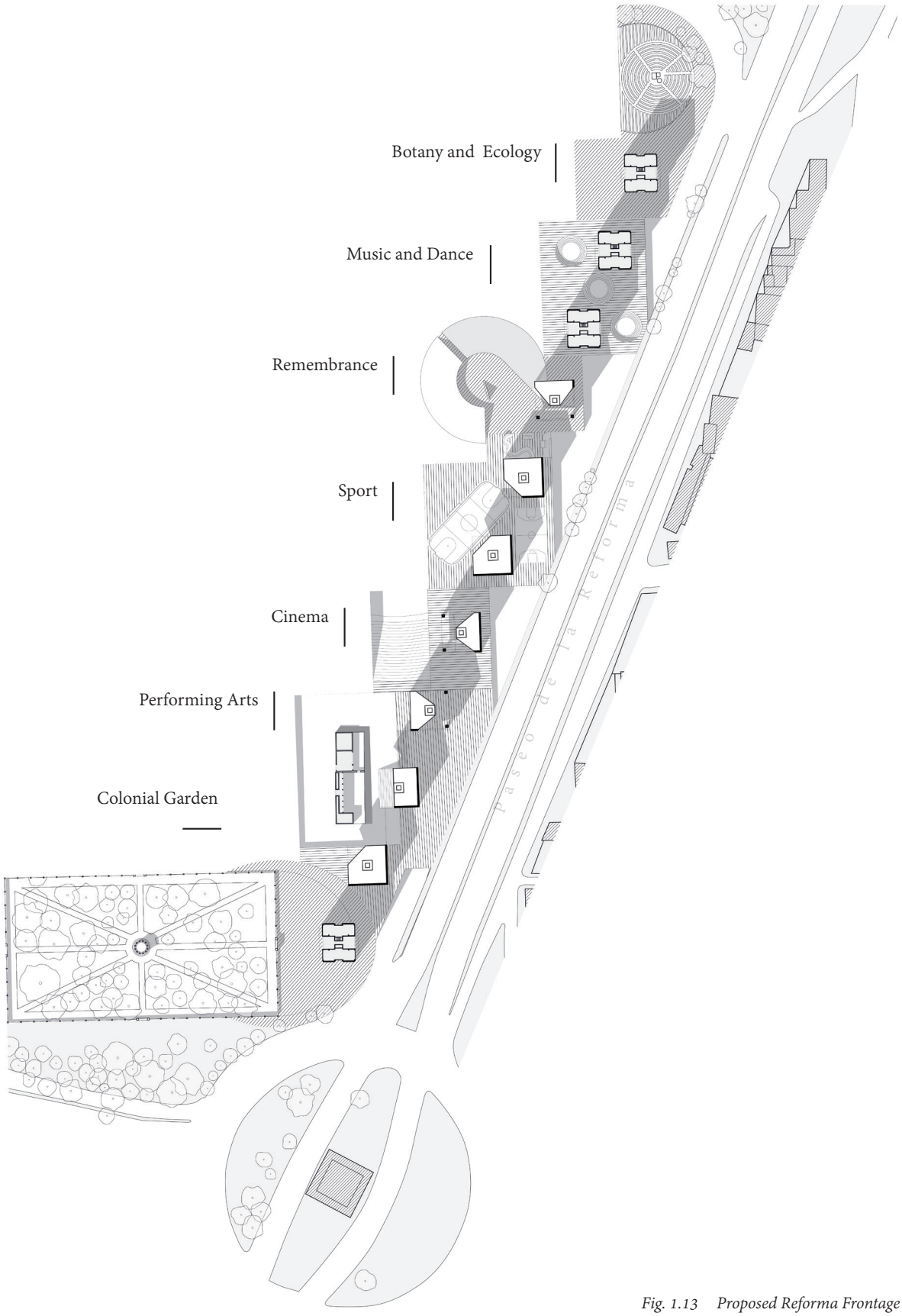


Fig. 1.13 Proposed Reforma Frontage

REINSERTING MONUMENTALITY

The intervention to this empty shell infills the voids left by the collapsed buildings with residential towers cladded on the locally sourced and ubiquitous stone Tezontle which recover a rhythm establish by the remaining 1960 towers.
Rather than existing in an unprogrammed "garden space" as they were originally built, the edge boulevard is hyper-programmed in areas correspondent to each tower making them all form unique interactions with the ground plane.
The programming was chosen with careful consideration to the adjacencies, context and observations while on site.

Fig. 1.14 Reforma Bouelvard at Tlatelolco. 1965.

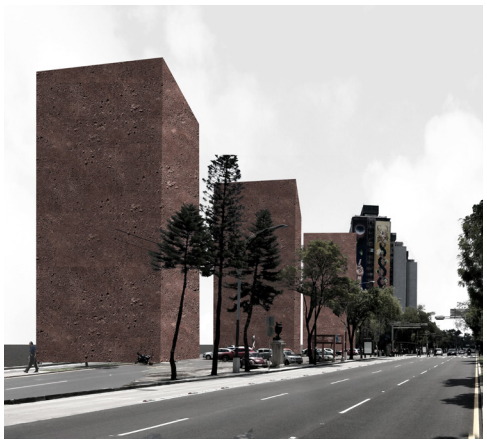


Fig. 1.15 Insertion of Tezontle blocks into Reforma

Fig. 1.16 Tezontle façades through time in Mexico City.

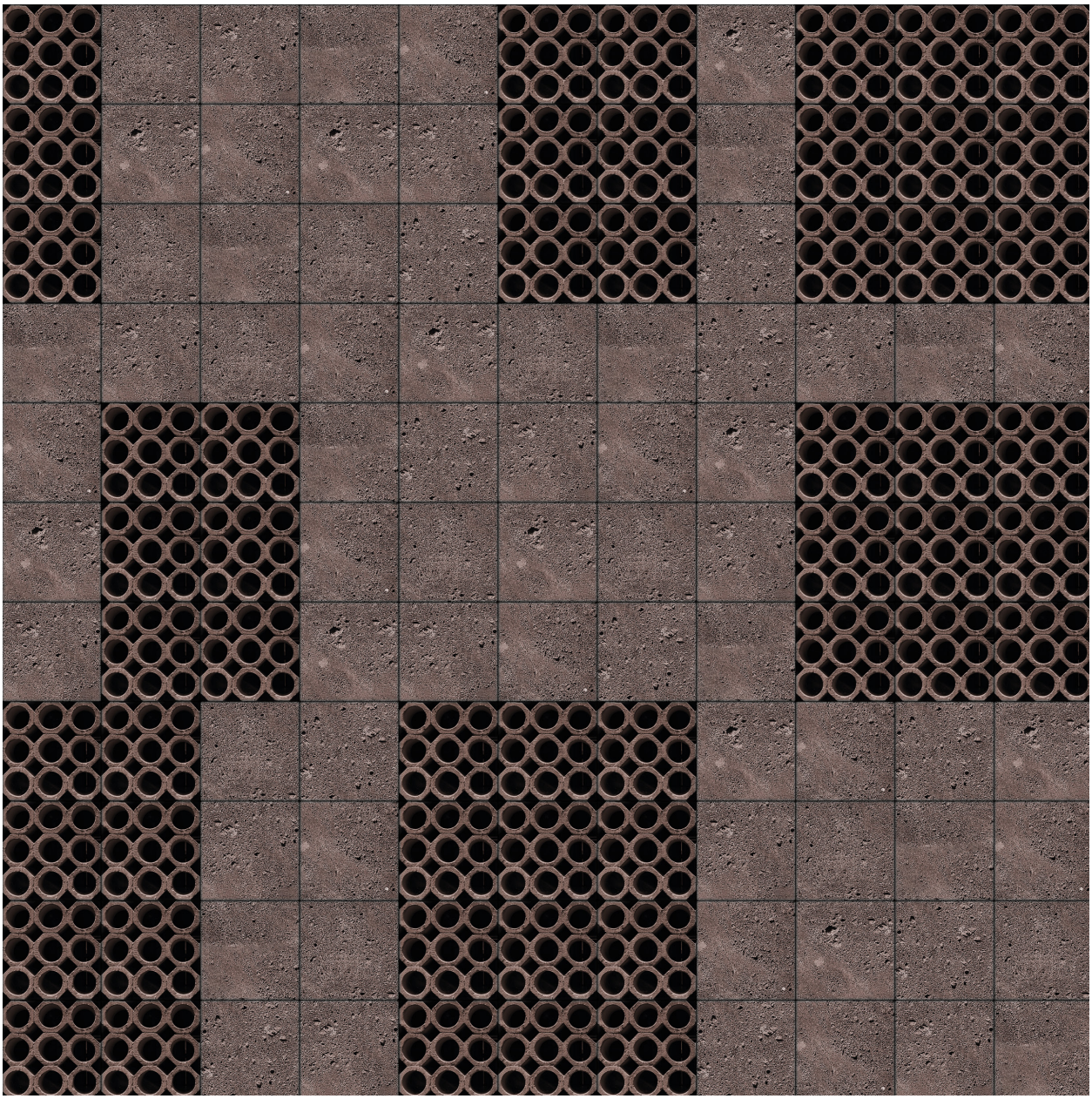


Fig. 1.17 Proposed Reforma towers Tezontle facade.

TEZONTLE FACADE

The towers reclaim a monumentality into the Reforma Boulevard cladded in tezontle tiles and tezontle vernacular screens. Tezontle is a ubiquitous volcanic porous material which has been used as a building material in Mexico City throughout time. These new towers use Tezontle in a high-rise to contrast the modernist monumentality with a new monumentality anchored in history.

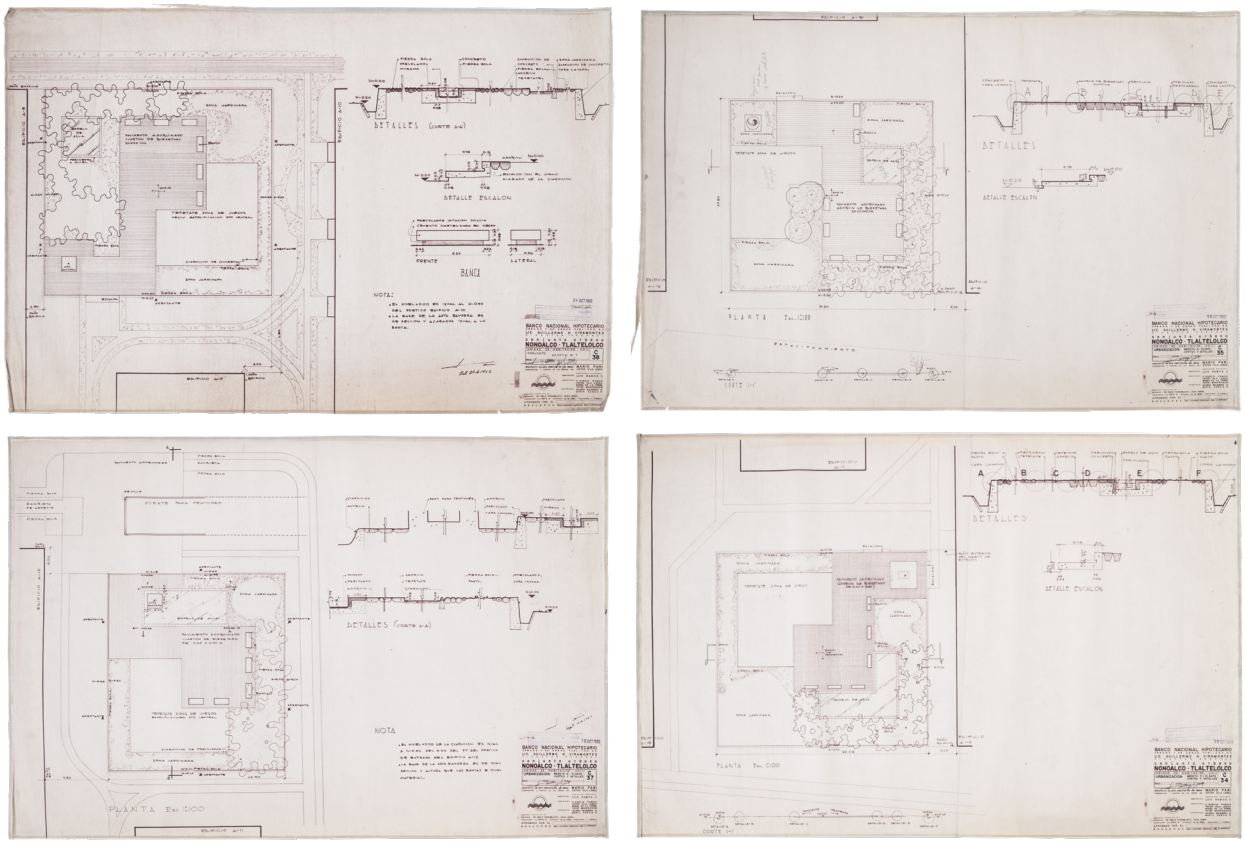


Fig. 1.18 Drawing for the Tlatelolco Housing Complex internal patios.

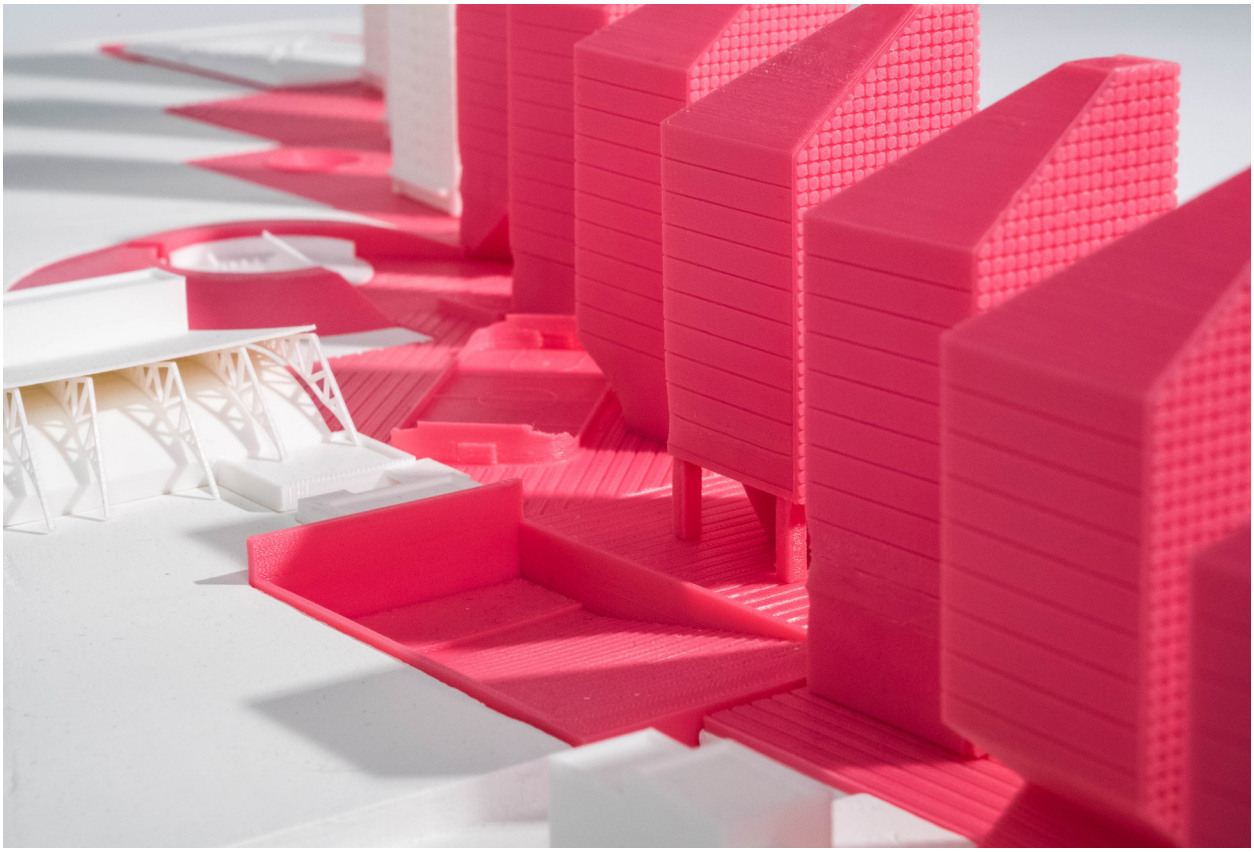
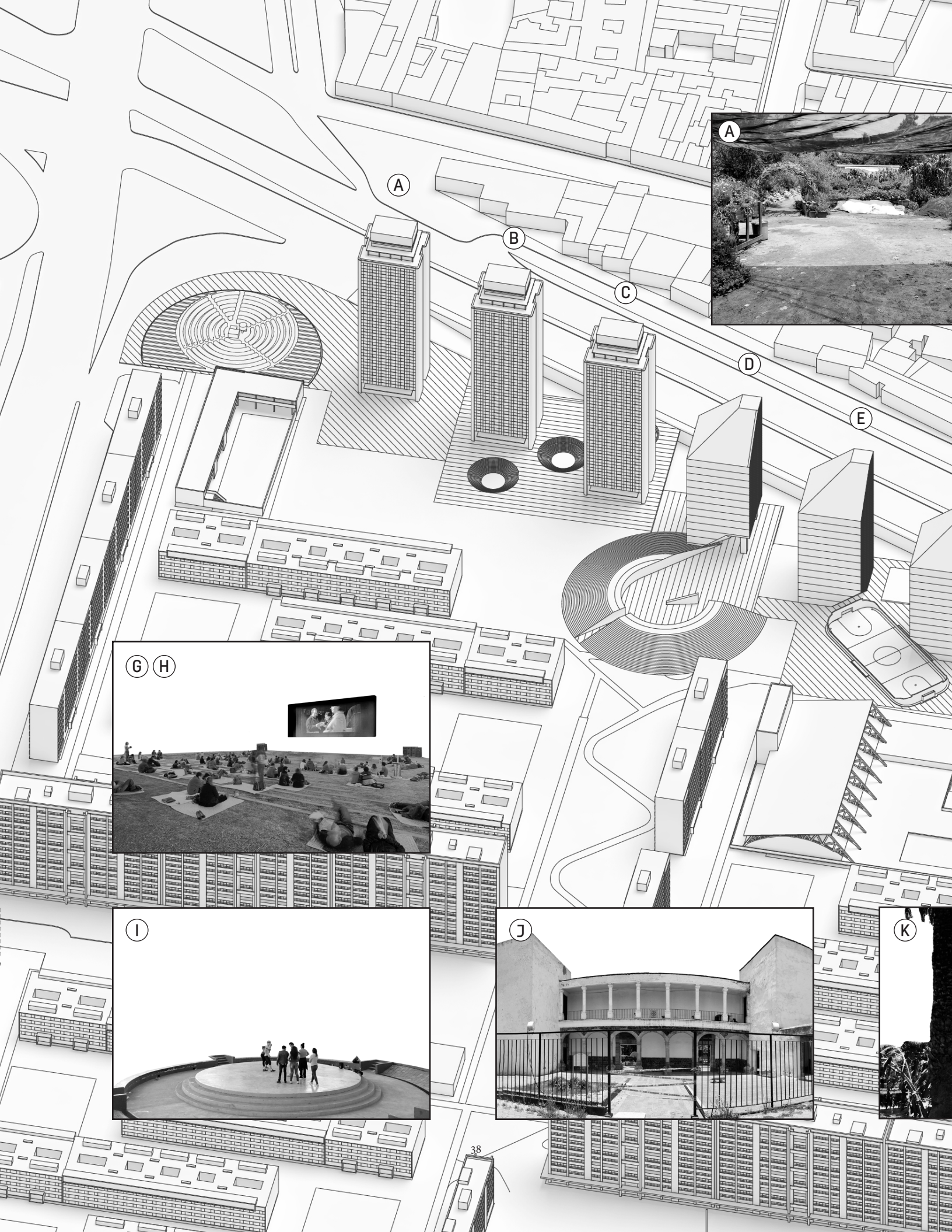


Fig. 1.19 Proposed Reforma towers Tezontle facade.

HYPER PROGRAMMED GROUND PLANE

Standing in contrast to Mario Pani's repetitive programming along the complex's patios, the proposed Reforma street frontage boasts numerous programs, with different activities interacting with each tower's base. This ensures that the ground plane does not sit idle by leveraging the mobility of the Reforma axis, opening the vibrancy present in Tlatelolco onto the marginalized adjacent boroughs and the rest of the city.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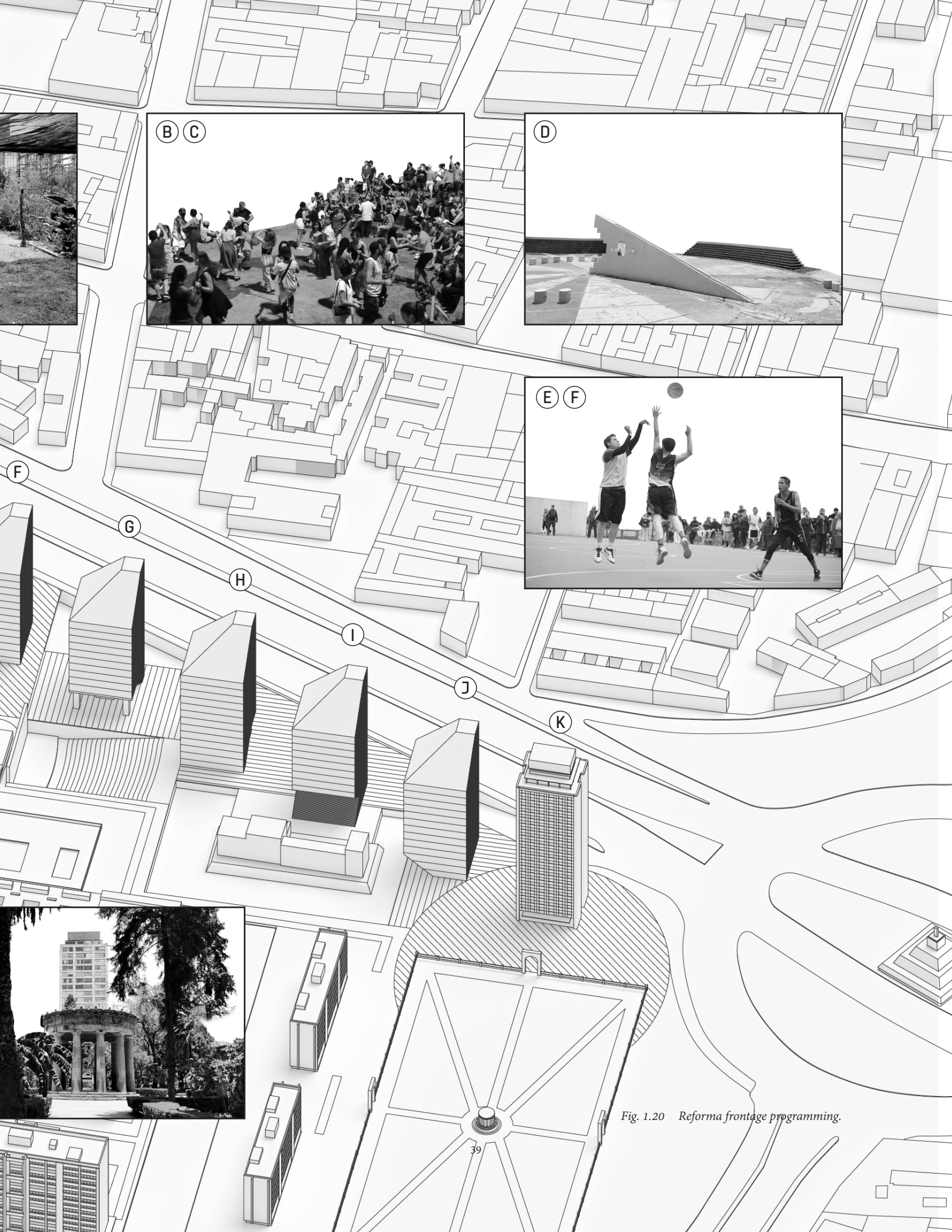


Fig. 1.20 Reforma frontage programming.

Fig. 1.21 Activities on the Reforma Frontage.

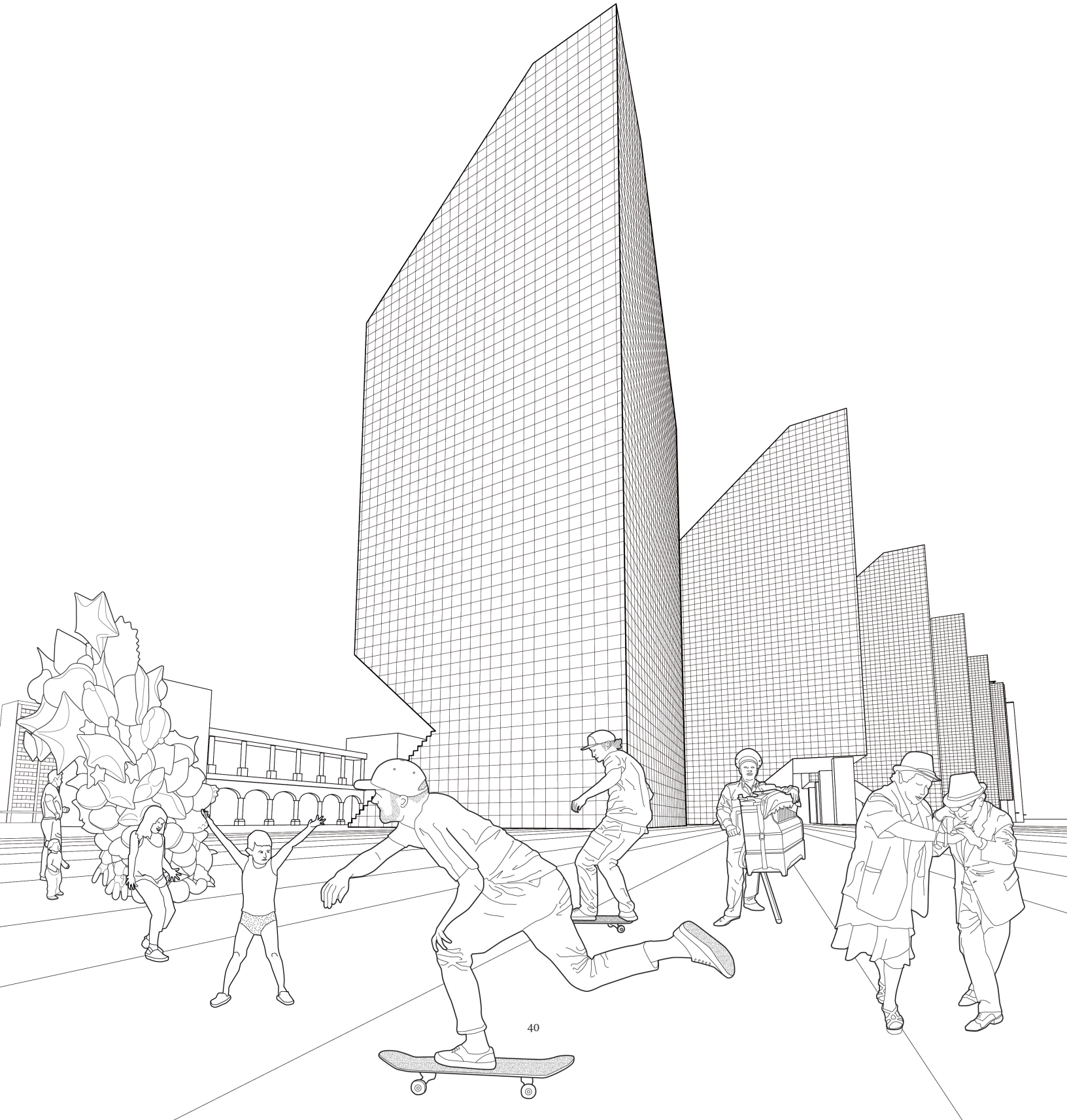
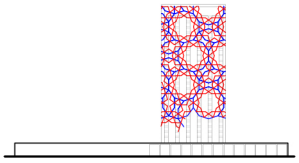


Fig. 1.22 Model for the proposed Reforma frontage.

2. SECRETARÍA DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES

Hosting the Voices and Expressions of the Nations Within



SECRETERIAT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Secretariat of Foreign Affairs by architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez[1] was completed in 1965. The 100m-tall tower clad in marble stands in contrast with the predominantly black porous composition of the adjacent Convent of Santiago and the Aztec archaeological zone.

Unlike the Tlatelolco Housing Complex, the secretariat was built with some consideration of the seismic environment, accordingly the foundations consist of 45 35-meter-deep piles with seismic dampers. As a result, the structure has survived all seven major earthquakes that have shaken it, though major internal diagonal steel bracing has had to be added in recent years.

It is no surprise that the federal government would take advantage of state infrastructure projects to build its own institutional offices. However, the decision to locate the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs tower inside a public housing project is very telling of the importance Tlatelolco held in the state's project. Upon its inauguration, the secretariat saw the signing of the Treaty of Tlatelolco by the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean following the events of the Cuban Missile Crisis, establishing Mexico as the leading power of Latin America.

The success of this junction was dependent on the commitment of the state to the upkeep of the urban complex and, most importantly, in the subscription of the residents in the government's role in their daily lives. If successful, the privileged position of the secretariat

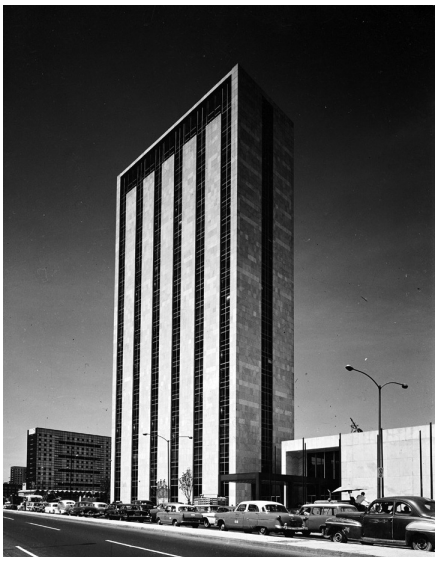


Fig. 2.1 Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores. 1964. Pedro Ramirez Vazquez

1 Ramírez Vázquez (1919-2013) was perhaps best known for his iconic design of the National Museum of Anthropology and History in Chapultepec, Mexico City.

Fig. 2.2 *Façade of the CCUT. 2014. Light Installation Xipe Tótec by Thomas Glassford. 2010.*

would serve as an international showcase of the history of Mexico and the success of its modernity that was founded on the armed struggle of the Revolution.[2]

After the violent outcome of the summer 1968 protest, the tensions between the political and social spheres transformed the secretariat tower into a symbol of authoritarianism and tyranny, changing its meaning from a beacon of modernity to a cairn of its failures. As Tlatelolco began to fall into disrepair, damaged by the earthquake of 1985, the offices of the secretariat were entirely moved to the historic Juárez Avenue in the city centre in 2005, ironically in a new tower was named *Edificio Tlatelolco*.

The Secretariat of Foreign Affairs tower is the only empty shell which begins to show further reinvention. In 2005, the tower was gifted to UNAM, which promptly transformed it into a 1968 memorial museum, yielding the artifact of state control back to the Tlatelolco community.

The building currently houses the University Cultural Centre of Tlatelolco established in 2007. The cultural centre seeks to reinterpret or reinvent the identity of the borough, creating a multidisciplinary complex dedicated to the investigation, analysis, and diffusion of processes of civil resistance.[3] As a pilot project in 2009, artist Thomas Glassford cladded the secretariat with a new light skin to show "a sign of life" taking inspiration from the Mexica god of renewal *Xipe Totec*.[4] This act marks the prophetic return not only of the *Xipe* renewal, but is also an eerily accurate description of Sert's evolution of monuments.[5]

Despite the progress in the rebirth of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs complex, the office tower remains unoccupied, and the colonnade and internal patios unprogrammed.

2 Diane Davis, "Modernist Planning and the Violence in Latin America," Built Environment 40, no. 3 (October 21, 2014): 440.

3 Centro Cultural Universitario Tlatelolco, "Sobre el CCUT," Cultura UNAM, n.d., http://tlatelolco.unam.mx/sobre-el-ccut/.

4 Damien Cave, "Bathed in Light, a Locus of Sadness Brings to Heal.," New York Times, July 17, 2011.

5 In his 9th point on monumentality, Sert states that "Modern materials and new techniques are at hand. [...] Mobile elements can constantly vary the aspect of the buildings. [...] During night hours colors and forms can be projected on vast surfaces. [...] These buildings would have large plane surfaces planned for this purpose, surfaces which are non-existent today." Xavier Costa and Guido Hartray, eds., Sert: Arquitecto En Nueva York (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona ACTAR, 1997).

Exhorta el CIAP al Desarrollo Económico de América

30 CENTAVOS

EL NACIONAL

AL SERVICIO DE MEXICO

México se Opone a que se Trate el Caso de la FIP en la Junta de Buenos Aires

MEXICO, D. F., MIERCOLES 15 DE FEBRERO DE 1967

Quedaron Proscritas las Armas Nucleares en Latinoamérica

En Europa se Recibió con Satisfacción el Tratado Antinuclear

Catorce Países de Este Continente Firmaron el Tratado de Tlatelolco

El Presidente Díaz Ordaz Presenció la Solemne Ceremonia y Elogió la Labor de los Integrantes de la COPREDAL que Alcanzó Ayer tan Feliz Culminación

Por Enrique SIMENO AGUAYO, reportero de EL NACIONAL

Unión Interamericana

Empezó el Seminario Sobre la Inspección del Trabajo

Culminaron Cuatro Años de Debates

Creciente Comercio con El Exterior

Concordias Fenerales

Fue Inhumado el General Abelardo L. Rodríguez

Ejemplo de América a los Demás Países

Estudian las Perspectivas Forestales de Nuestro País

Protección a los Usuarios

El Servicio de "Taxis" de Sitio se Regularizará en el Distrito Federal

Expende la CONASUPO Comestibles de Cuaresma

Honraron al Telegrafista

Cadetes de México y EU Intercambiarán Visitas

Construye el INV Cien Casas Para los Cañeros de Nayarit

Elogios a la Ciencia Psiquiátrica de México

Hoy se Inaugura la Decimotercera Feria del Hogar

Se Inicia hoy en Puchuca la Jornada de Alfabetización Llamada "De Mujer a Mujer"

Inauguran Próximamente el Camino que Comunicará a Loja con el Océano Pacífico

Quedaron Proscritas

Hoy se Inaugura la Decimotercera Feria del Hogar

Empezó el Seminario Sobre la Inspección del Trabajo

Cadetes de México y El

En Europa se Recibi

Elogios a la Ciencia Psiquiátrica

TIEMPO PROBABLE PARA HO

Fue Inhumado el General

CONASUPO

El Servicio de "Taxis" de Sitio

Nuclear Weapons are now prohibited in Latin America.

El Nacional
February 15, 1967.

Fourteen countries from this continent signed the Treaty of Tlatelolco. [...] The Treaty of Tlatelolco is the first judicial instrument to create a purely Latin-American organism for the preservation of peace, and the pursuit of progress in the region.

Activities of the Queen.

El Nacional
April 12, 1964.

The sovereign of Holland visits. Upon exiting the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Complex, Queen Juliana of Holland received explanations from Guillermo Viramontes, the director of the BANOBRAS. [...]" The first lady, Samano de Lopez Mateos, with her right hand held high, waves at the people.

EE. UU. Preparado a Negociar el Alto al Fuego en el Vietnam

30 CENTAVOS

EL NACIONAL

AL SERVICIO DE MEXICO

Lo URSS Está Dispuesta a Tratar los Diversos Problemas Mundiales

MEXICO, D. F., MIERCOLES 15 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1965

Presupuesto Mayor sin Aumentar Impuestos

Aumento Anual del Presupuesto de Egresos Desde 1935 a 1966

Se Aprobó el Control de Compras

Egresos Federales por más de 52 mil Millones en 1966

Esto Somo se Obtendrá Como Resultado del Progreso Económico del País y la Mejoría en Sistemas de Recaudación

Por Luis VIVEROS PACHECO, redactor de EL NACIONAL

Ingresos que Percibirá la Federación

Distribución del Presupuesto Federal de Egresos Para 1966

Sesión de los Diputados

Requiere la Cámara una Justicia aún más Expedita

Campos Salas Habla en Londres Sobre la Finalidad de su Viaje

Acuerdo de Colaboración Económica con Nigeria

Actividades Presidenciales en Esta Semana

Hoy se Inaugura un Condominio de Teleforistas

Visitó Ayer Tlatelolco la Misión Polaca

Respaldo Unánime

Pleno Apoyo de la CNIT a la Política Financiera

Satisfactoria Situación en el Fondo de Cultura

Mejor Conservación

Mantenimiento de las Unidades Habitacionales

Consejo Nacional de los Trabajadores Textiles

Yesterday the Polish committee visited Tlatelolco

El Nacional
December 15, 1965.

The Polish members of parliament visited the urban complex and upon completion, the gentleman Czeslaw Wycech, president of the Polish Parliament remarked, 'an enormous project, the result of the social and economic progress of Mexico is Tlatelolco City.'

A las 11 hs. en el Estadio 68

¡LLEGO LA HORA!

El Presidente de la República Inaugura los Juegos Olímpicos

El Mundo Entero Verá la Ceremonia que Será sin Duda Brillantísima

PRECIO 70 CENTAVOS

La Afición

MEXICO, D. F.

Sábado 12 de octubre de 1968.
AÑO XXXVIII Núm. 17,806

MEXICO 68

The time has come!

El Nacional
October 12, 1968.

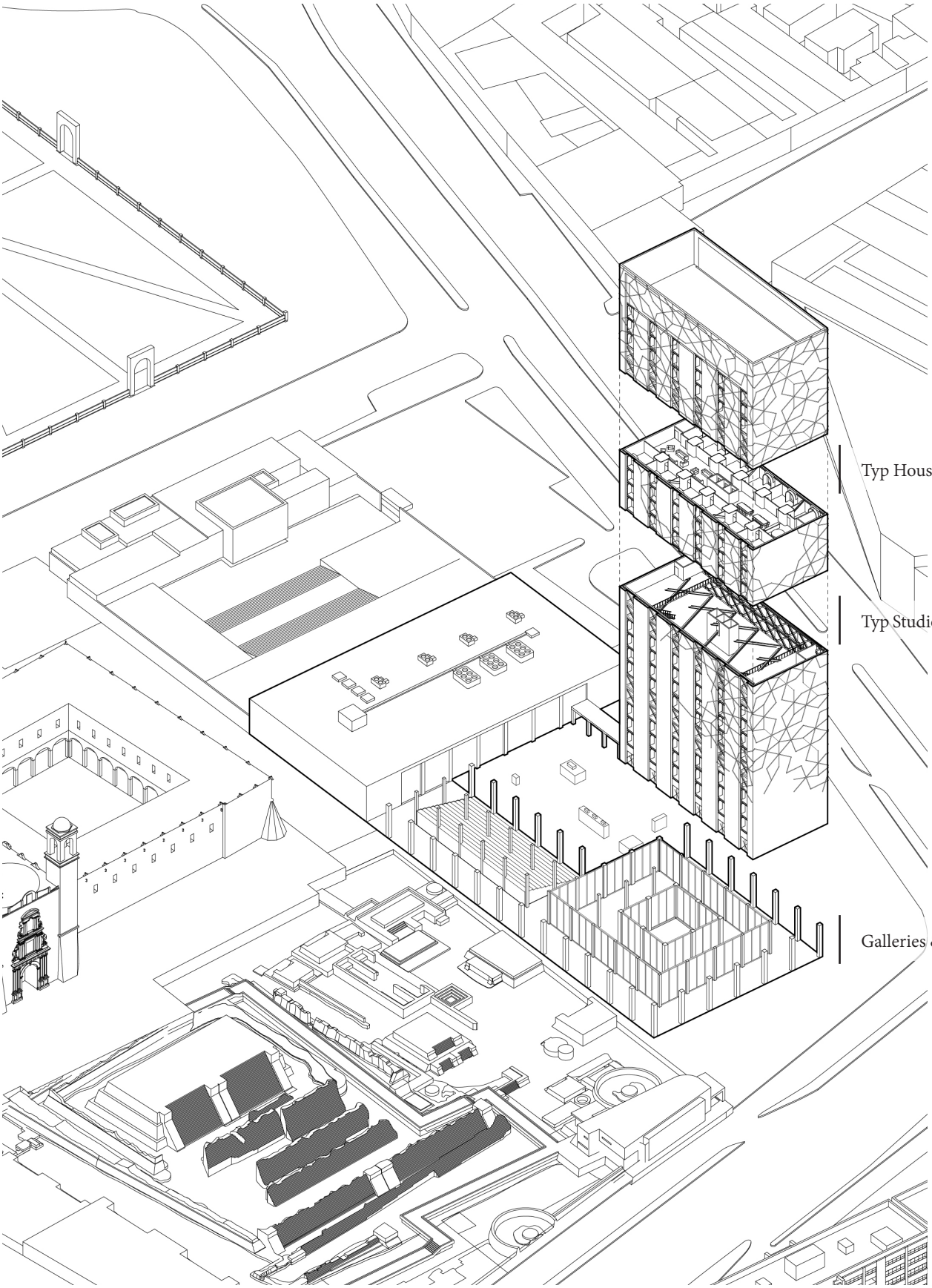
At 11 o'clock in the 68 Stadium. The time has come! The president of the Republic inaugurates the Olympic Games. The entire world will watch what will be, without a doubt, a brilliant ceremony. MEXICO 68.

Fig. 2.3 *Signing of the Tlatelolco Treaty.*
Fig. 2.4 *Diplomats tour the Convent of Santiago*

Fig. 2.5 *View of the Secretariat Tower from Lagunilla*
Fig. 2.6 *Current state of the Secretariat Tower*

Fig. 2.7 Unused Portico of the Secretariat

Fig. 2.8 Unused entrance to tower.


Typ Housing Levels
Typ Studio Work Levels
Galleries & Forum

HOUSE FOR THE NATIONS WITHIN

The withdrawal of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs from the Tlatelolco site marked the defection of the government towards its housing projects as a showcase of social progress.

The intervention on the empty shell of the secretariat seeks to reverse the *showcase*, rather than the Secretariat showcasing the novelty of the Tlatelolco Housing Project to the nations abroad, the shell of the secretariat will become a showcase to the millenary tradition and culture of the nations within.

The adjacency and current interpretation of the Archaeological Zone in the Tlatelolco complex depicts indigenous culture as a long-gone, almost foreign vestige of a lost culture. However, the indigenous presence in Mexico is much closer and contemporary. In the present day, 25.7 million people identify as indigenous, accounting for 21.5% of Mexico's population.[1] With such an important and yet invisible presence, indigenous heritage and expression deserves a platform in the nation's capital to convey, nurture and produce culture.

The intervention proposes the former tower of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs be retrofitted to host studios and artists from the numerous indigenous communities of Mexico. Rather than serving as an observation platform for the nations of the world, the ex-secretariat becomes the host of the voices and expressions for the many nations within.

The currently unused courtyard is the interface through which the public can interact with the contemporary vibrancy of their own heritage, moving the discourse of identity and nationhood through art.

1 Instituto Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas, "Programa Nacional de los Pueblos Indigenas 2018-2024" (INPI, December 21, 2018)

Fig. 2.9 View of Secretariat of Foreign Affairs at night.

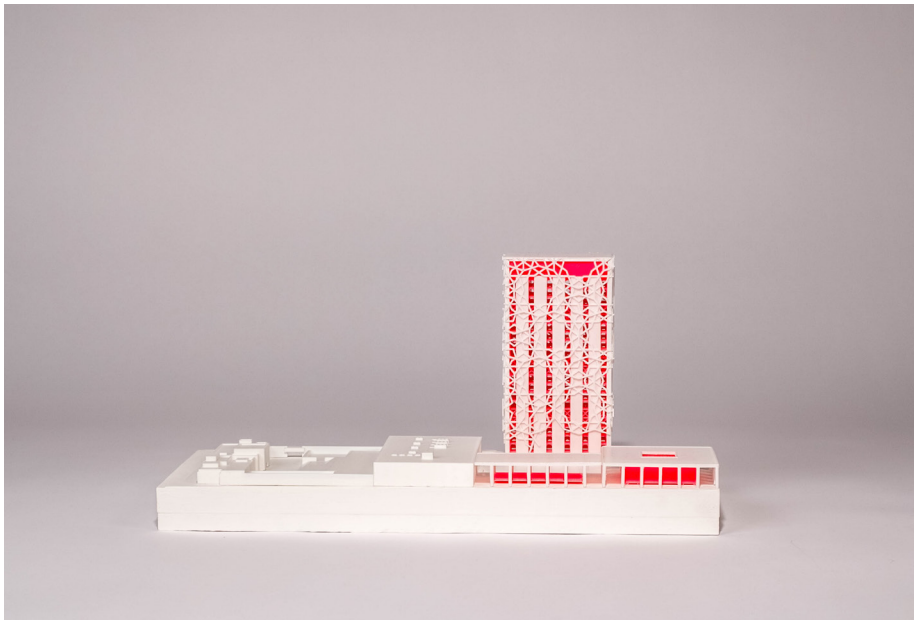


Fig. 2.10 Intervention on the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs.

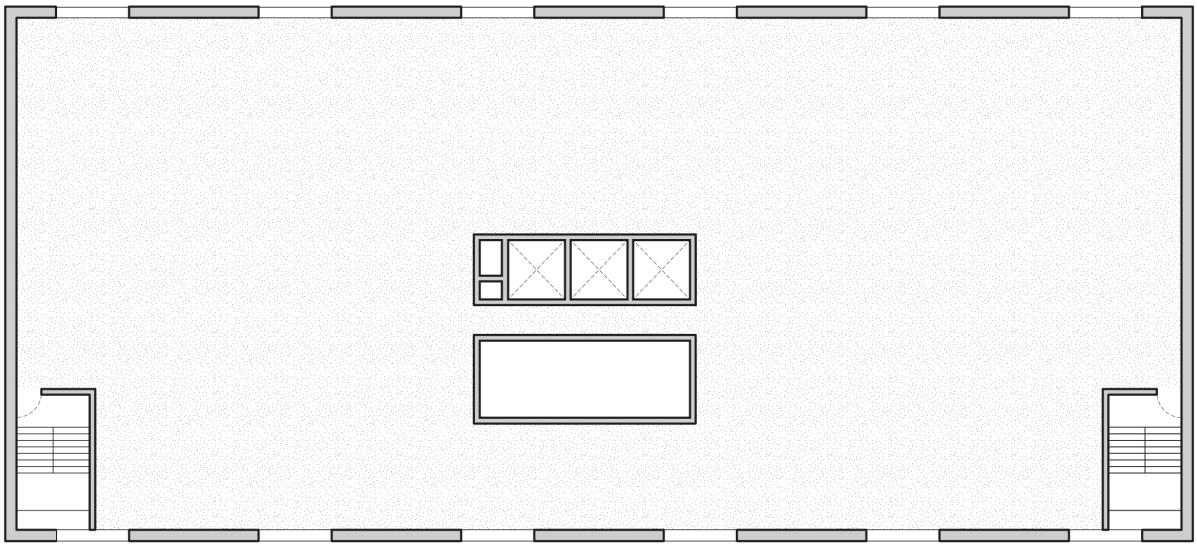


Fig. 2.11 Current plan of unoccupied office levels in the secretariat tower.

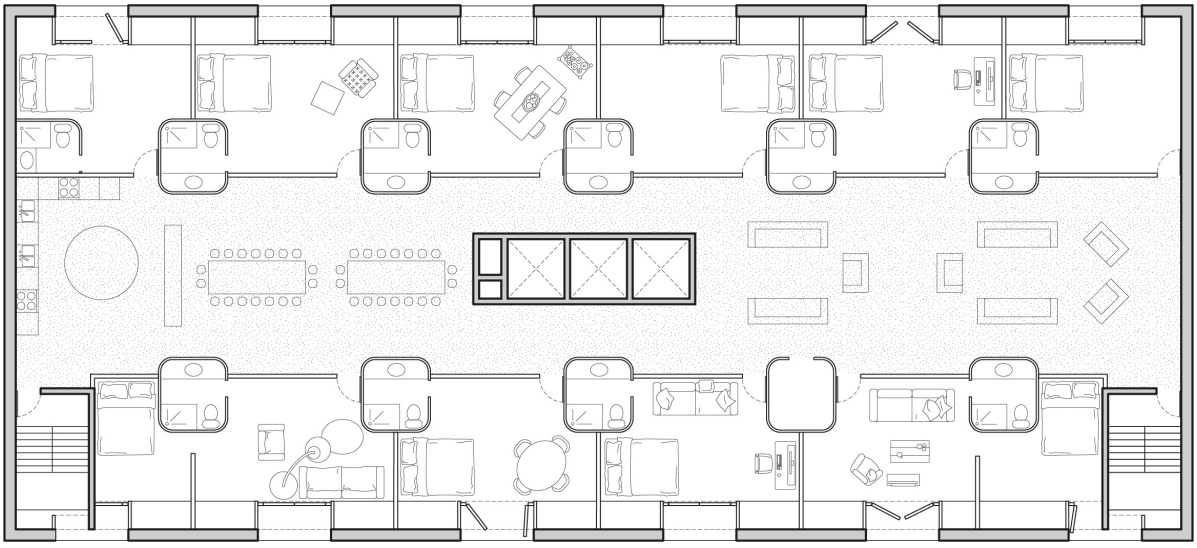
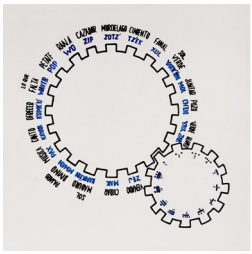
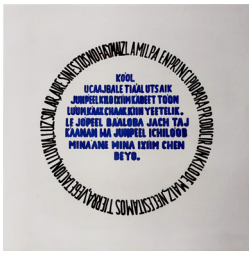


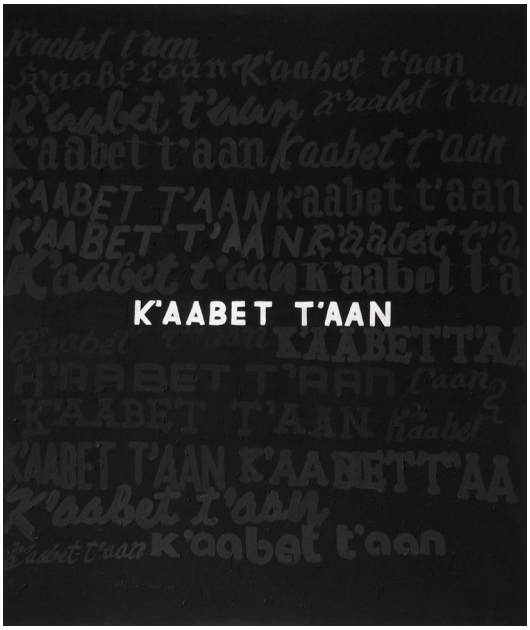
Fig. 2.12 Proposed Artist housing retrofit.

Amador Montes.
Tiempos II. Mixed Meida on Amate Paper. 2019.
Rojo. Mixed Meida on Amate Paper. 2019.

"The most recent work by Amador Montes, like an archaeologist of emotional memory, situates himself without contradiction in a plane which validates nostalgia through language that aspires, placing its evocative strength at the service of new meanings."
- Luis Carlos Emerich







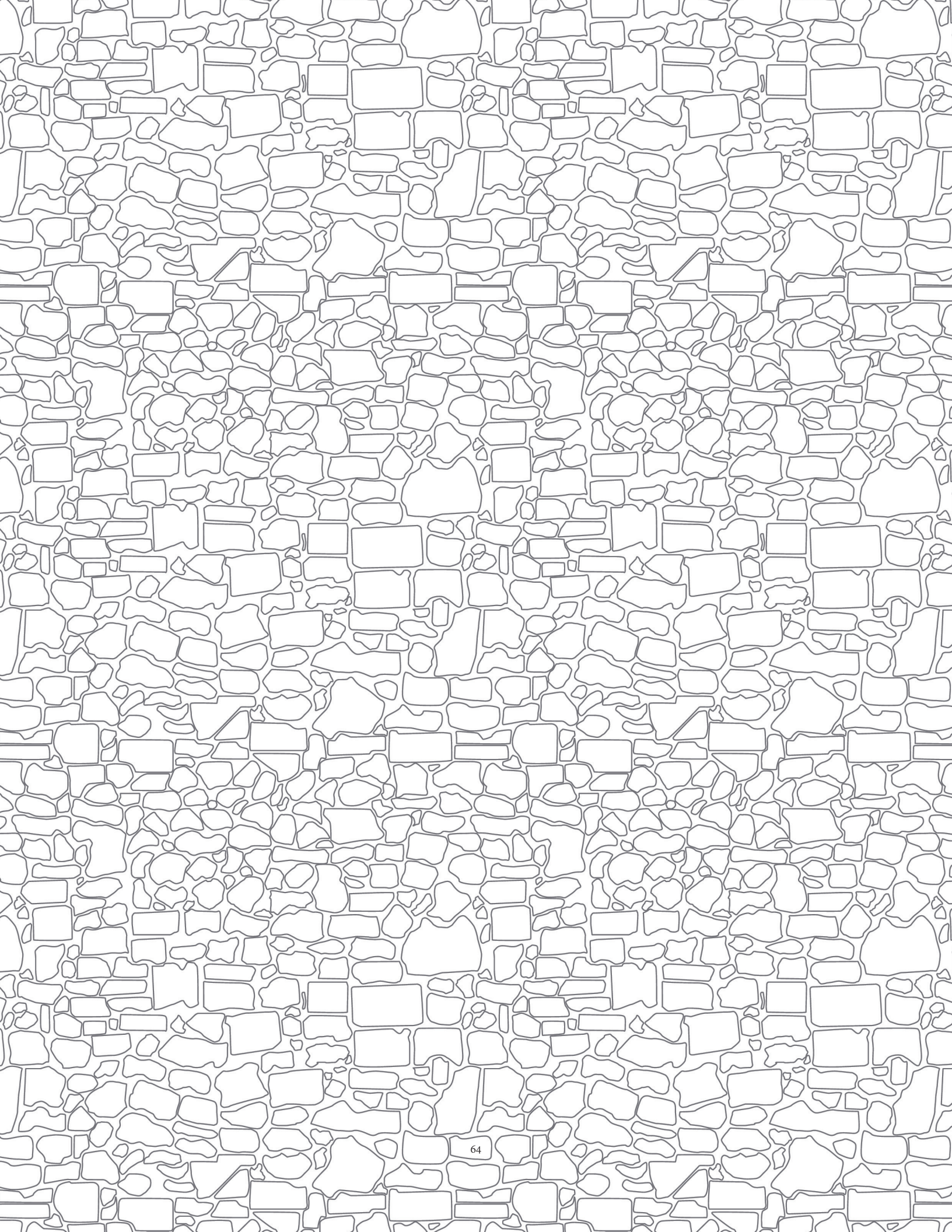
Jose Chi.
T'aano'ob in noolo'b. Words of my Grandparents.
2019.

"For twelve years now I am a sign maker. Signs are the art of relevant communication, representing contemporary Mayans who carry a great breath of knowledge. I use the Mayan language and the sign as an art media, as a tool, or as an instrument, which develops the hand skills necessary to represent a way of life. The images and words are painted by hand on canvas which makes them visible, expanding the sounds, contracting the silences, with the goal to continue the dialogue, preventing us from being silenced and denied. The importance of the visibility of the Mayan language and these signs, give a message of presence, a proof of life, of identity, of a living culture, gathering strength to reclaim its place in contemporary art." -José Chi

Based on the work of Mayan artist José Chi.
"T'AANO'OB IN NOOLO'B"/"Words of my grandparents."

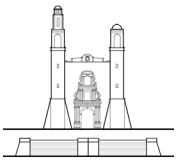
Interpretation of the Dance of the Tecuanes from communities in Coatetelco, Morelos.

Fig. 2.13 *The courtyard of the ex-Secretariat of Foreign Affairs*



3. ZONA ARQUEOLÓGICA

Weaving Dissociated Historical Identities



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

The curation of the "Three Cultures" complex in the third section of the Tlatelolco Housing Project clearly conveys the thesis of the Mexican modernist movement, placing itself in relation to Mexico's history. Mexican Modernism thought itself as a logical evolution of '*Mexicaness*' rather than a complete reinvention of identity.[1] Pani seemingly made an exception to his *tabula-rasa* erasures and spared a handful of existing historical artifacts in the Tlatelolco fabric. The archaeological composition presents the artifacts in a series of pedestals, establishing a vertical temporal axis, archiving these monuments in an open-air museum for the residents of modern Mexico to look down onto their far-gone origins. Through these collaged archived artifacts, Pani positions his modern intervention as the logical step forward in history. The NTHC presents a curated urban arrangement of the archaeological site of the Mexica ceremonial precinct (1325) and the Spanish Convent of Santiago of Tlatelolco (1533).

Upon further research, a different truth emerges from Pani's curation. Although the built artifacts are celebrated, the tabula-rasa stripped them of all historical context. When ground broke on the construction of the housing project, there were ongoing archaeological works and hints as to the presence of larger ruins. As the project moved forward and the extent of the Tlatelolco archaeological site became apparent, archaeologists from the newly created Institute of National History and Anthropology (INAH) were not allowed to intervene on the site, instead archaeologists were hired directly by

Fig. 3.1 Plaza of the Three Cultures and the NTHC under construction. 1964.

1 Juan Manuel Heredia, "Mexico and Ciam. Notes to Mexican Modern Architecture History (Part One)," Bitacora Arquitectura, 2014.

the Bank of Public Works with dubious priorities as they rushed to meet construction deadlines.[2] The conservation of the patrimony was never the concern of Pani, which can be seen throughout the progression of the design. The buildings surrounding the *Jardín de Santiago* and the *Aduana de Mexico* and *Aduana del Pulque* customs houses were all demolished. The majority of the Convent of Santiago, a XVII century wing, later a military prison, was demolished. The majority of the *Tecpan de Tlatelolco*[3] was demolished, only the stone arcade (which appeared in the Codex of Tlatelolco 1565) and the façade (which was moved to the convent) remain. Furthermore, the design called for the removal of most pre-colonial structures to maintain only the second phase of the seven-phased temple surrounded by a reflective pool.[4] We will never know the amount of history and information forever lost to the foundations of the Tlatelolco Housing Complex.

Contradicting the modernist monumental vision of Josep Lluís Sert, Pani inserts his monument through a literal rearrangement of the past, rather than through the insertion of an artifact that evokes it.

Ironically, Pani failed to recognize the fluid nature of monuments (both in meaning and appearance) and the inevitable transformation of his artifacts at the hands of Mexico's uncertain political, social, and geological systems. Currently, the carefully segregated layers of "Three Cultures" seem to be melting back into a homogeneous narrative of power shifts at the expense of a marginalized population. The modernist utopia has been archived alongside the Mexica and colonial Mexico, a shell holding no meaning.

---

2 Carlos Ferreyra, "Los Negocitos Jugosos," Sucesos para Todos, May 2, 1965, Hemeroteca Nacional.

3 The Tecpan, *Place of the house of Stone* in *Nahuatl*, was located adjacent to the Tlatelolco market, it was originally a house for commercial control where judges resolved trade disputes and collected tributes. After the fall and raze of Tenochtitlan the Tecpan was rebuilt to collect taxes for the colony and as a centre of power for the *Republic of Indians*.

4 Jorge Pedro Uribe Llamas, "Zona Arqueológica Tlatelolco - Salvador Guillem Arroyo," Cuidad de Mexico, October 31, 2018.

1300'S
ANAHUAC
TWIN CITIES

The valley of Mexico cradled Lake Texcoco. In 1325, various Mexica tribes established two sister city states in the islands, Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. As tension rise over power and influence, Tenochtitlan conquers Tlatelolco in 1473 annexing it into their city.

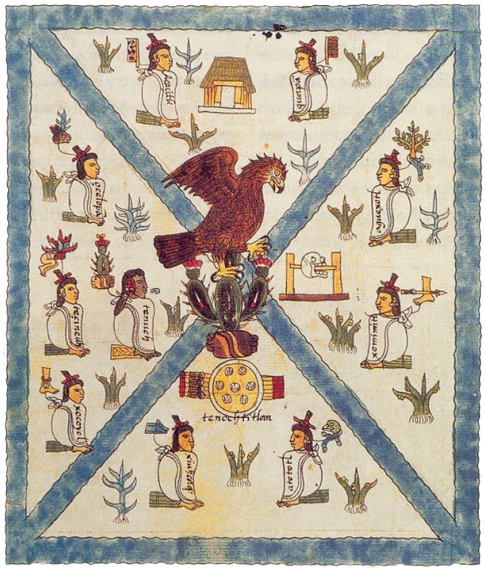


Fig. 3.2 *The founding of Mexico-Tenochtitlan.*

Fig. 3.3 *The Triumph of King Axayacatl (The defeat of Tlatilulco Altepetl)*

Fig. 3.4 Tenochtitlan, c1550.

Fig. 3.5 Tlatelolco Market Merchandise.

1525
TLATILULCO
THE MARKET

As Tenochtitlan conquers Tlatelolco and both cities merge into one, Tlatelolco continues to grow in influence through its market, believed to be the largest in the world at the time.

1600
THE NEW SPAIN
REPUBLIC OF INDIANS

Having established the colony, the Spanish drain lake Texcoco and establish a square exclusion zone for Europeans only. To the north, Tlatelolco becomes the *Barrio de Santiago* capital of the 'Republic of Indians' that had the role of keeping the commercial and tributary networks of the long-gone Aztec empire churning.

A Franciscan convent is built above the Tlatelolco ceremonial square, the first university in the Americas, with the mission to educate and ordain the indigenous elite.

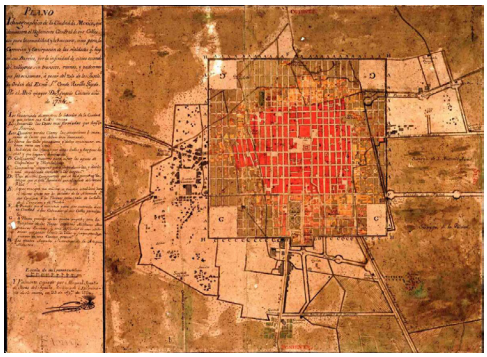


Fig. 3.6 Plan of Mexico City, c1794.

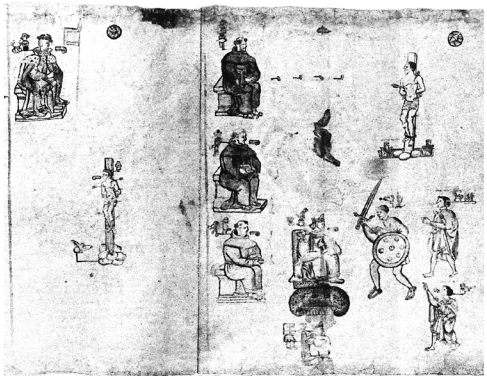


Fig. 3.7 Tlatelolco Codex, c1550.

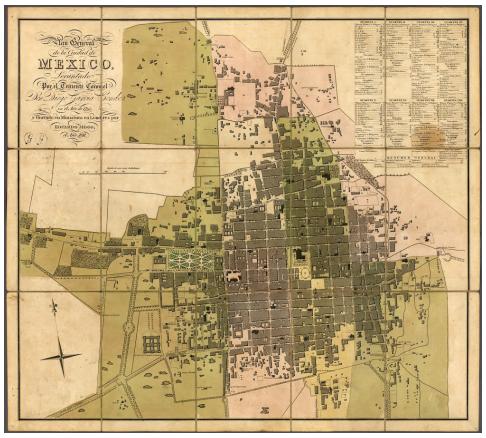


Fig. 3.8 Plan of Mexico City, c1798.

1800
BARRIO OF SANTIAGO OF TLATELOLCO MILITARY PRISON

After Independence was achieved in 1821, all trade affairs are centralized to the city centre and Tlatelolco becomes a landing ground for inner migration.
Following the War of Reform (1858-1861) all Church property is expropriated and the College of Santiago is turned into a military garrison and prison.

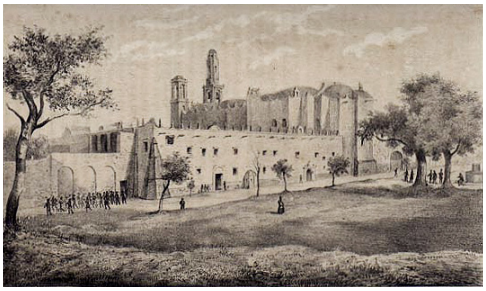


Fig. 3.9 Exterior of the old college of Santiago of Tlatelolco

1900
TLATELOLCO RAILYARDS
ADUANA DE MEXICO

By the end of 19th century, during industrialization, Tlatelolco is razed once again to make way for the city's railyards, industrial zones, warehouses and the import customs. Tlatelolco re-emerges into its mercantile identity. The ex-college of Santiago is bombarded during the revolution, and later turned into an ammunitions and explosives depot.

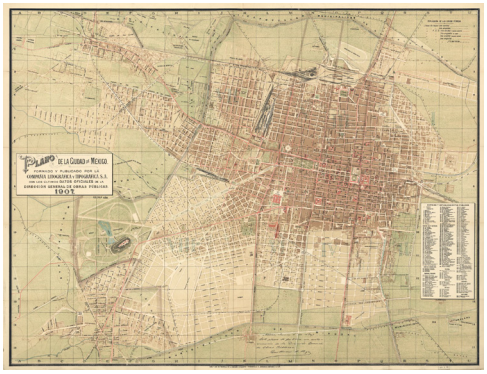


Fig. 3.10 Plan of Mexico City, 1907.

Fig. 3.11 Mexican Railway Yards, 1952

MODERN TIMES
NONOALCO-TLATELOLCO HOUSING COMPLEX

In the 1960 the industrial fabric is razed again, to make way for the Reforma boulevard extension and the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Housing Complex. To this day, it remains a visible departure from the rest of the tight urban fabric. This exemption is also notable for the amount of greenery, making Tlatelolco resemble a park in the city's skyline.

Fig. 3.12 *Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Housing Complex, 1965.*

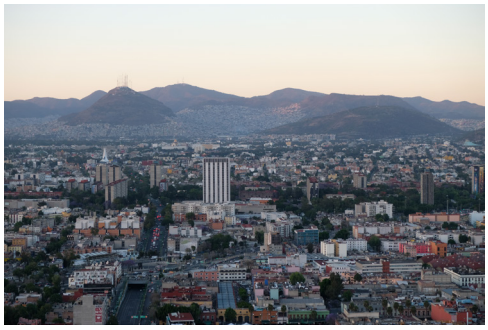


Fig. 3.13 *Tlatelolco, 2018.*

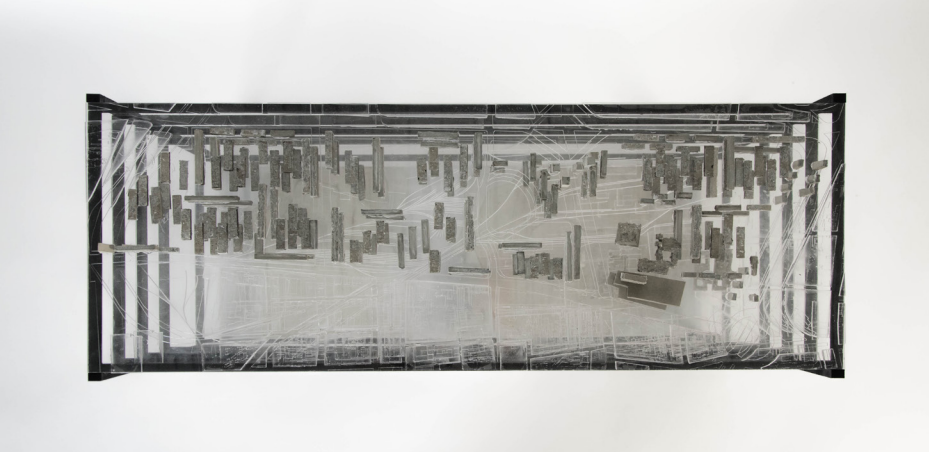


Fig. 3.15 Layers of Mexico-Tlatelolco.

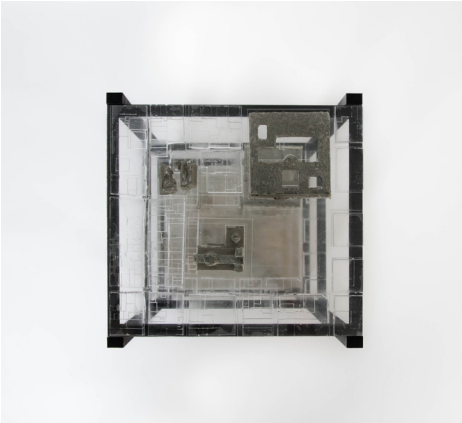


Fig. 3.14 Layers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan model.

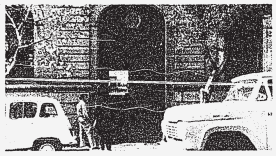
TLATELOLCO / TENOCHTITLAN

The two models produced trace the layers of erasures and construction throughout the history of the city. Tenochtitlan, emerging victorious after the war of 1473, has remained an unchanging centre of power; from the Aztec Empire to the Vice-royalty of the New Spain, to the capital of the United Mexican States. Tlatelolco has undergone multiple erasures at the whim of those at power. Its history has been buried on layers upon layers of other histories. However, as the head archaeologist of the Tlatelolco, Salvador Guillem Arroyo indicates, "To this day, the ground we stand on is called Tlatelolco, when was the last time you heard someone call Mexico City, Tenochtitlan?"

Fig. 3.16 Layers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Mexico Tlatelolco model.

Fig. 3.17 Layers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

Fig. 3.18 Layers of Mexico-Tlatelolco.



FOTOS DE RAMON MORALES

CARLOS FERREYRA

II

Los Negocitos Jugosos

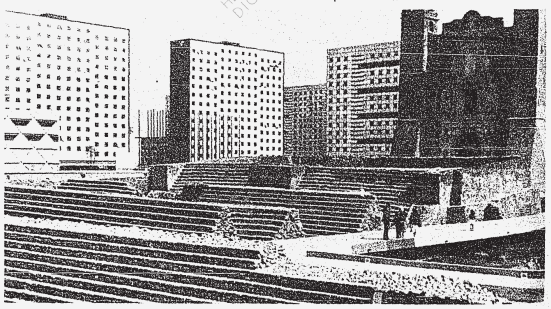
AQUÍ SE ACLARAN ALGUNAS COSAS UN POCO RARAS

LOS NEGOCITOS JUGOSOS

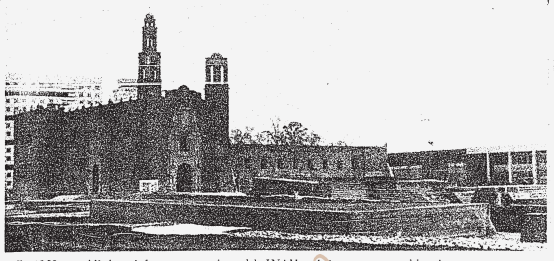
Según la ley orgánica que rige el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, de fecha 31 de diciembre de 1938, los trabajos de exploración, conservación, vigilancia, restauración, investigación y publicación de todo lo referente a la arqueología e historia de México, son sus deberes principales o, cuando menos, las razones por las que fue creado. Sin embargo, tal diversidad de labores resulta excesiva. Explicaré por qué:

En el año de 1925, el departamento de arqueología de la secretaría de Agricultura, con presupuestos menores a $ 300 000 tenía en estado de vigilancia y conservación, de 50 a 60 zonas. Después de transcurrir cuarenta años, a la fecha, existen nada más 81 zonas con guardianes permanentes y se medio restauran, aproximadamente, de 10 a 15 zonas al año.

Es fácil comprender el tremendo atraso que sufrimos en las investigaciones que se refieren a nuestro pasado indígena, si partimos desde el principio y desmenuzamos, hasta donde el instituto quiere, los presupuestos que le son asignados año con año.



TLALTELOLCO



En 1962 se publicó un informe de *funciones y labores* del instituto. Según el mismo, la partida que recibió fue de $ 22 742 464.40 (nueve millones mayor que la de 1961)... A pesar de que, por las zonas que atiende y los empleados que tiene el instituto, no puede llamarse raquítica a esta cantidad, no alcanza porque se diluye en renglones imprecisos. La nómina incluye personal local, foráneo, supernumerario, sobresueldos, *honorarios* y de ampliación para nivelación a salario mínimo, por un total de $ 10 727 464.40.

Otro gasto de carácter indefinido, del presupuesto que analizamos, es el de los llamados *subsidios diversos,* por la suma de $ 5 100 000. Claro que es de suponerse que dichos subsidios se destinan a la vigilancia, restauración y conservación de determinadas zonas o museos, pero no es así, ya que la secretaría de Educación Pública cubre, aparte, las nóminas correspondientes a los museos. En cuanto a las zonas arqueológicas, se restauran y conservan mediante $ 1 300 000 que le es asignada anualmente desde hace cinco años, a la Dirección de Monumentos Prehispánicos. (A fin de cuentas, se le otorga sólo una parte, ya que los múltiples compromisos del INAH así lo requieren.)

En otros renglones se gastan cantidades acordes con la despilfarradora mano del instituto. Sólo para dos congresos, el de americanistas y el de mineografía, se invirtieron cerca de $ 1 000 000. Por último y en *ampliaciones a los subsidios,* para los fuertes de San Juan de Ulúa y San Diego, y para la zona de Teotihuacán, se gastó la ridícula suma de $ 6 000 000. Por fortuna, sólo fueron ampliaciones... Si hubieran sido los subsidios completos, se gasta el presupuesto de la federación.

LOS ACIERTOS DE DON EUSEBIO

Si bien es cierto que en el renglón financiero no son muchos los aciertos del director, notable se antoja la incapacidad que pone de manifiesto en asuntos tan delicados como los arqueológicos. A pesar de la enorme importancia de la zona arqueológica de Palenque, allí mantiene don Eusebio Dávalos un personal que, por su cantidad resulta ridículo, ya que apenas son cinco vigilantes que a duras penas logran mantener en invierno las condiciones mínimas para visitar la zona.

En cambio, en Teotihuacán, que a más de su importancia cultural e histórica, aúna las condiciones necesarias para hacerse publicidad, el personal que tiene a su cuidado la conservación y vigilancia, rebasa el centenar de personas. En esta zona es de hacerse notar que, a pesar de que la Dirección de Monumentos Prehispánicos presentó un proyecto original de restauración con costo máximo de $ 17 000 000, se invirtieron que invertir más de $ 21 000 000.

Todo es debido al afán político de notoriedad que mueve las acciones del doctor en homeopatía, don Eusebio Dávalos Hurtado, director del INAH; del licenciado en derecho, don Jorge Gurría Lacroix, secretario; y de Joaquín Cortina Goribar, también licenciado en derecho y Jefe del Departamento de Promoción y Difusión. Esta es la camarilla que mueve a su absoluto antojo al instituto y resta independencia a los diferentes departamentos que lo componen.

Conforme a los lineamientos que rigen al INAH, periódica-

⇩

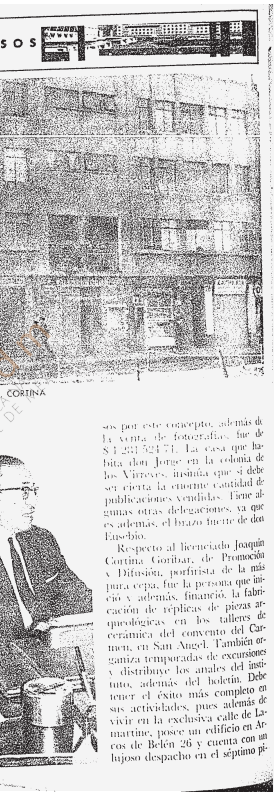
EDIFICIO DE DEPARTAMENTOS, EN ARCOS DE BELEN, DEL LIC

de la vuelta

mente debería reunirse el consejo técnico que tiene a representantes de las diferentes especialidades que forman la antropología. Esto es con el fin de resolver adecuada y rápidamente los múltiples problemas que tiene que afrontar el instituto. También sirve para ampliar las investigaciones, por medio de los debates. Mas las reuniones se han substituido con juntas de jefes de departamento, casi todos incondicionales de Dávalos Hurtado, ya que él los puso ahí y, naturalmente, no sirven sino para hacer más patente la incapacidad y abulia de que está cubierto el INAH.

LOS PROTEGIDOS DE LA DIRECCION

El licenciado Jorge Gurría Lacroix, secretario del instituto, es la persona encargada de las publicaciones. En el período comprendido entre el 1° de enero al 31 de octubre de 1962, los ingre-



sos

CORTINA

sos por este concepto, además de la venta de fotografías, fue de $ 1 231 524.71. La casa que habita don Jorge en la colonia de los Virreyes, insinúa que si debe ser cierta la cantidad de publicaciones vendidas. Tiene algunas otras delegaciones, ya que es, además, el brazo fuerte de don Eusebio.

Respecto al licenciado Joaquín Cortina Goribar, de Promoción y Difusión, porfirista de la más pura cepa, fue la persona que inició y, además, financió la fabricación de réplicas de piezas arqueológicas en los talleres de cerámica del convento del Carmen, en San Angel. También organiza temporadas de excursiones y distribuye los anales del instituto, además del boletín. Debe tener el éxito más completo en sus actividades, pues además de vivir en la exclusiva calle de Lamartine, posee un edificio en Arcos de Belén 26 y cuenta con un lujoso despacho en el séptimo pi-

so del edificio de Berna 6. Su familia es dueña de la *Casa de la Dinamita*, en San Angel, y allí celebra sesiones con los *Defensores* del Tesoro Artístico de México. Posee dos o tres carros de lujo y alguna que otra camioneta del instituto, que utilizan en su casa, con todo y chofer, para servicios personales.

Don Juan Martínez Soto, tesorero del instituto, que aunque vive en la discreta colonia Justo Sierra, no por eso ha dejado de probar las mieles del éxito. Es propietario de algunos carros tanques y de una concesión para transporte de productos de Petróleos Mexicanos. Es incondicional de don Eusebio, al grado de que, en dos ocasiones en que sus choferes han estrellado los coches en uno de estos accidentes, vehículo y chofer fueron a parar dentro de un salón de belleza situado en la avenida Alvaro Obregón y, coches particulares, por cierto, los gastos han corrido por cuenta del instituto. También cuenta don Juanito con un subordinado que es obediente, hasta permitirle traficar con la compra de refacciones y productos necesarios al instituto: el cajero Sánchez.

LA INGERENCIA EN LOS DEPARTAMENTOS

El autor original del *proyecto Hollywood*, como pomposamente se tituló a la restauración de Teotihuacán, ya que se trataba de ver más en menos tiempo y en pantalla panorámica, fue el doctor Ignacio Bernal. Durante mucho tiempo estuvo durmiendo el sueño de los justos dicho proyecto, pero, al ver que había un marcado interés de las altas autoridades de la federación en él, se encargó a Monumentos Prehispánicos, entonces a cargo del arqueólogo Román Piña Chan, de elaborar otro nuevo, más apegado a la idea del jefe del ejecutivo de la nación. Una vez que lo obtuvieron, hicieron a un lado a este departamento, para poder adjudicarse la gloria del proyecto y la ejecución del mismo.

Se empezó a trabajar con once arqueólogos en la restauración. De ellos, sólo tres tenían experiencia previa y uno, Jorge Acosta, es arqueólogo *colorado*, es decir, sin título. Los otros ocho, eran estudiantes de arqueología, sin prácticas de campo aún, ni la capacidad y conocimientos adecuados. Todo esto redundó en un franco perjuicio de las obras, que no fueron estudiadas en forma ni restauradas de acuerdo con su importancia.

Otro proyecto, éste sí original de Piña Chan, fue el de las exploraciones de la zona de Santiago Tlatelolco. En el mismo, sugería la investigación completa del área, ya que los monumentos prehispánicos se extendían hasta la parte donde quedó el nuevo edificio de la secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, por un lado y, por el otro, hasta donde se iba a asentar la Plaza de las Tres Culturas. Desde luego que en la exploración, al aparecer quizá otros edificios tan importantes como los ya descubiertos, se decidiría cuáles eran los que había que conservar y cuáles los que se podían tapar.

Sin embargo, el criterio del Banco Nacional Hipotecario Urbano y de Obras Públicas resultó diferente al del director de Monumentos Prehispánicos. Los del banco tenían planeado, en vez de los rústicos andadores y jardines que se proyectaron en el instituto, rodear el templo y la gran pirámide con un hermoso espejo de agua.

El objeto consistía en integrar las frías ruinas que quedarían al descubierto, con la preciosa arquitectura moderna . . .

La lucha se agudizó. El INAH, en este aspecto, puede ser muy poderoso pero, gracias a la intervención de don Eusebio y sus consejeros se llegó a un acuerdo con el BNHUOP: se haría lo que a los del banco les viniera en gana, para no poner en peligro los contratos de los constructores. Hasta la fecha, en el instituto nadie sabe cuál fue el plan definitivo, aunque ahora, por ya estar terminadas las obras, tratan de disimularlo. Los espejos de agua circundan las ruinas, la Plaza de las Tres Culturas ha quedado terminada y el edificio de Relaciones, también.

Aquí tampoco fue posible llevar a cabo las investigaciones per-

a la vuelta

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tinentes, aunque sea en la parte que quiso dejar a la vista el BNHUOP, porque los arqueólogos que laboraron en las obras, fueron contratados en forma directa por el banco, sin las intervenciones extrañas del instituto, que se tuvo que limitar a mandar espectadores sin la menor ingerencia.

"En Mulchic, Yucatán, se consolidaron aplanados y fragmentos con materiales plásticos." Así dice una parte del boletín de restauración y catalogación del patrimonio artístico. Lo único que no menciona dicho boletín es el hecho de que, después de incontables luchas con las autoridades yucatecas para que permitieran preservar los murales que se mencionan, debido a que la humedad y otros factores propicios los estaban destruyendo en forma paulatina, y después de tratarlos con los materiales apropiados y de montarlos en bastidores adecuados, fueron enrollados y almacenados. No en un almacén adecuado, sino en una bodega común y corriente que en vez de preservarlos contra los supuestos efectos dañinos del clima y el tiempo, los

Tlatelolco: todavía los espejos de agua (con lámparas) están sin agua. Como ocurrió en la con-trucción y arreglo del Museo de Antropología, aquí tampoco pudo meter mano el Dr. E. Dávalos H.

están perjudicando aún más que si los dejan donde se hallaban.

Encargado de este departamento es el señor Manuel Castillo Negrete, el que, además de no tener un conocimiento siquiera aproximado de las técnicas de restauración, es una persona que siempre está en dificultades con los demás departamentos, porque quiere hacer y deshacer a su antojo.

Claro que en todas estas brillantes obras ha recibido su correspondiente dosis de publicidad la dirección del instituto, excepto en lo que se refiere al desorden e incapacidad con que se mutilan, en nombre de la historia, nuestros tesoros.

LOS INSTITUTOS FORANEOS

La fantasía de don Eusebio es poderosa. Trabaja día y noche, durante veinticuatro horas, para poder tener ideas más brillantes. Es así como han surgido los institutos de antropología e historia de los estados de Yucatán, Puebla y Jalisco. Las personas escogidas para dirigir los destinos de dichos institutos son las idóneas —según don Eusebio, naturalmente.

En la sucursal de Puebla, el director es un licenciado, y el secretario, un antropólogo aficionado, sin estudios de ninguna especie. En Guadalajara, la cosa es distinta, ya que el director es de oficio pintor, y el secretario un licenciado. En Yucatán, las cosas andan por el estilo y en lo único que coinciden es en que los allá responsables son incapaces de mover un dedo en beneficio de nuestros monumentos, sean éstos coloniales, prehispánicos o de cualquier otra índole, que se suponе interese al instituto. No pueden siquiera investigar los saqueos que se llevan a cabo en las diferentes zonas, y a lo más que llegan es a avisar telegráficamente: "Ya se robaron esto . . . ya se robaron lo otro . . ."

¿Qué se cocina en el Instituto de Antropología e Historia? Más vale no poner la respuesta en letras de molde, por ahora. Pero el lector puede imaginarla.

Juicy Businesses.
El Nacional
February 05, 1965.

Here we clear up some oddities. [...] According to the law which governs the Institute of National History and Anthropology, dating the 31st of December 1938, the work of exploration, conservation, surveillance, and publication of all things relating to archaeology and history in Mexico are deemed its responsibility, or at the very least, the reason why it was created. [...] The archaeologists who worked on the construction [of the housing project] where hired directly by the bank [BANOBRAS], without any interventions from the Institute which saw itself limited to sending observers to the site without the power to interfere.

Fig. 3.19 Ongoing archaeological excavations as construction in the background nears completion.

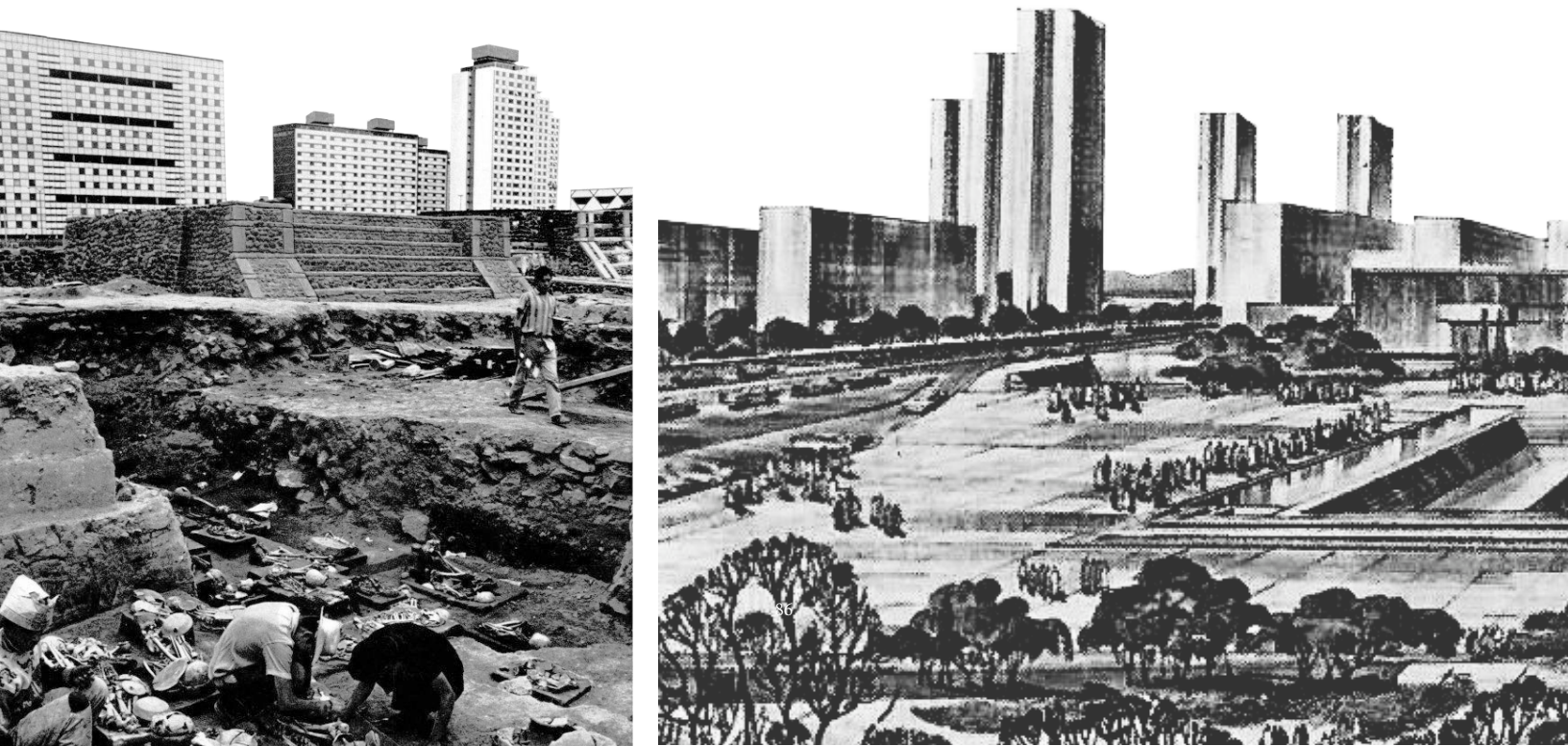


Fig. 3.20 F. Rivas. Perspective of the plaza of the three cultures. 1962

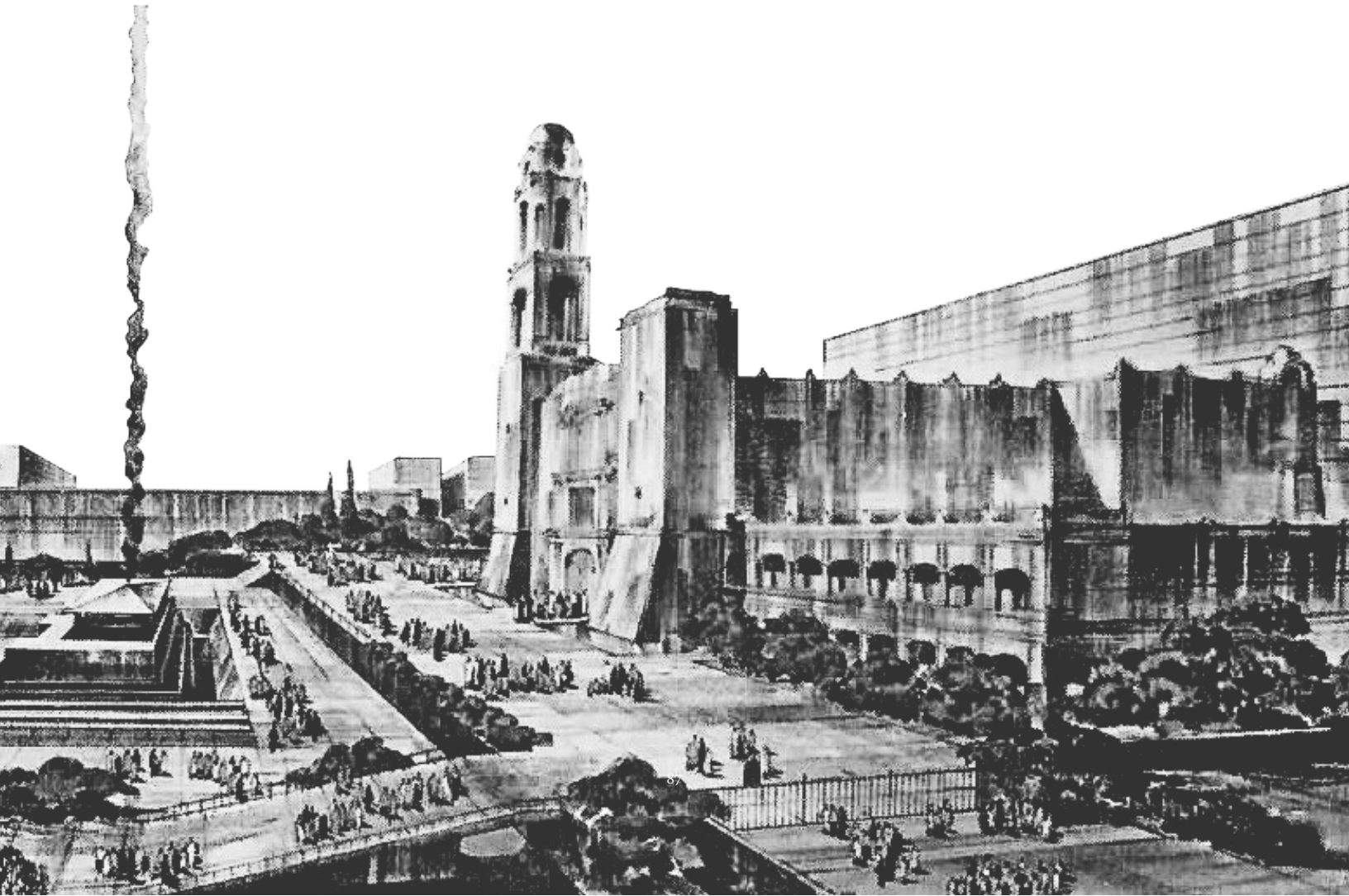


Fig. 3.21 Construction of the Housing Complex concurrent with initial archaeological excavations.

Fig. 3.22 Location of the Plaza of the Three Cultures

Fig. 3.23 Market at the President Alemán Housing Complex. 2018

Fig. 3.24 Maquette of the market of Tlatelolco.

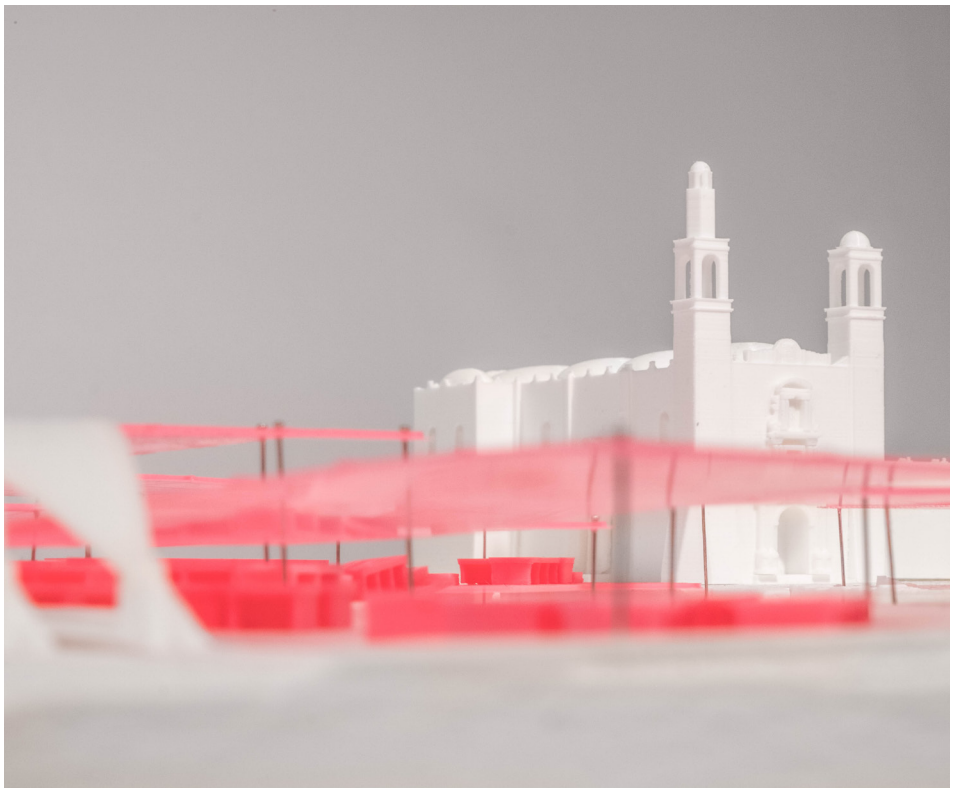


Fig. 3.25 *Proposed market canopy adjacent to the Archaeological Zone.*

THE TECPAN

The codex of Tlatelolco, narrates the transitions of power from 1545-1562 which slowly removed prominent Mexica-Tlatelolca families from their tributary and commercial roles to be replaced by Spanish bureaucrats and clergy.

At the centre of this codex, the scribe represents the facade of the Tecpan building which served as the ministry of commerce during the first years of the colony. Its inclusion in this document seems to be the sole reason for its preservation on the housing complex site. This colonial transition of power which took place over the centuries, contradicts Mario Pani's idea of strata of disconnected history, as his curation of this archaeological area proposes. As a matter of fact, Tlatelolco did not lose its identity of commerce until the creation of the housing complex.

Analysing the archaeological zone as an empty shell brought forward the notion that commerce has always been the unifying identity of Tlatelolco, and thus the creation of a market plaza in the vacant lots surrounding the archaeological zone could weave through all these histories to recover the unifying consciousness of the site.

Fig. 3.26 The Codex of Tlatelolco.

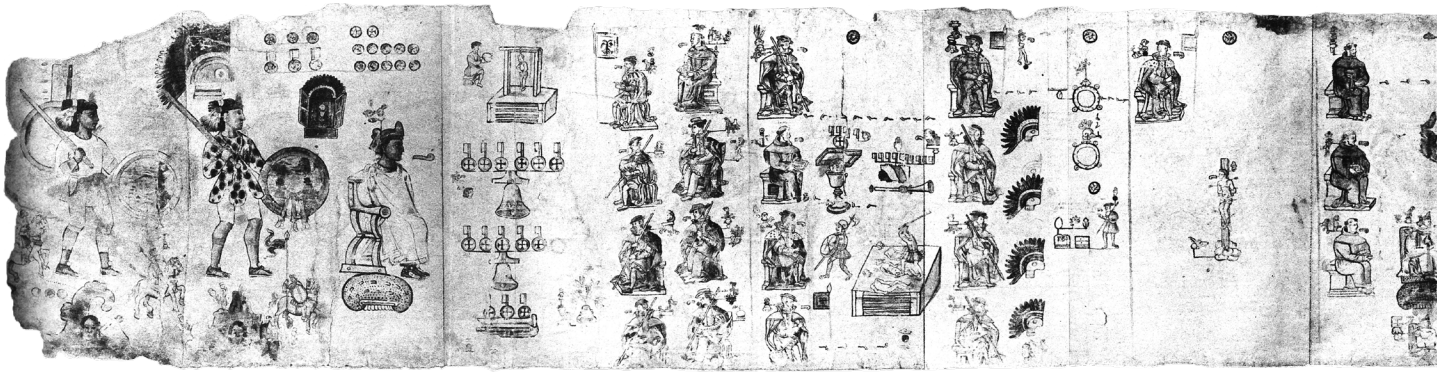


Fig. 3.27 The Tecpan

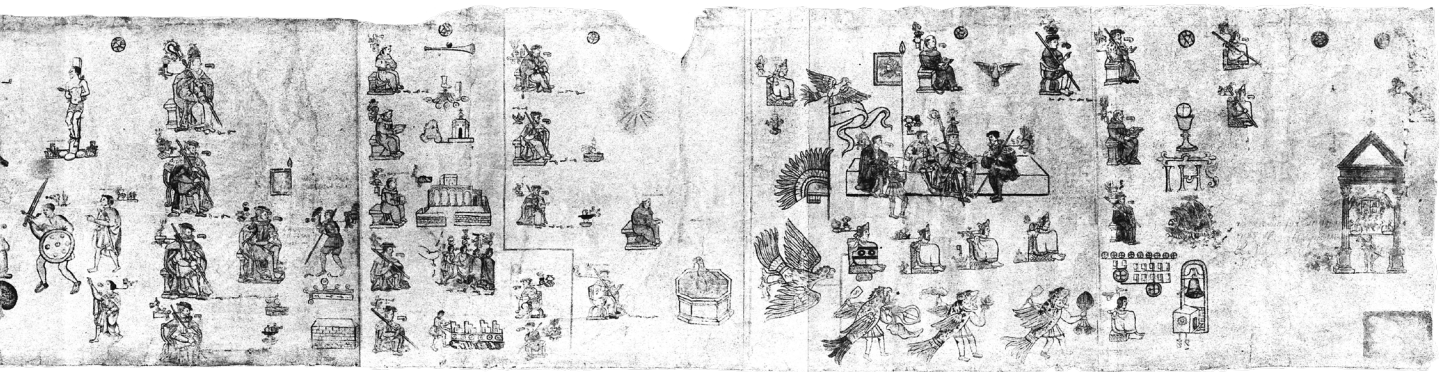


Fig. 3.28 *Typical archaeological shelter canopies.*

Fig. 3.29 *Collage of a shelter canopy over Tlatelolco.*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CANOPIES

Archaeological Zones of prominent historical significance are generally protected from the elements by steel canopies. However, Tlatelolco has not been afforded one, as priority has been given to the symbolic image of the exposed pyramid adjacent to the church adjacent to the housing complex.

The intervention borrows from this typology to create a overlapping gradient of canopies between the market program and the archaeological area, creating a space which can extract meaning from the past, integrating memory into the present use of the site.

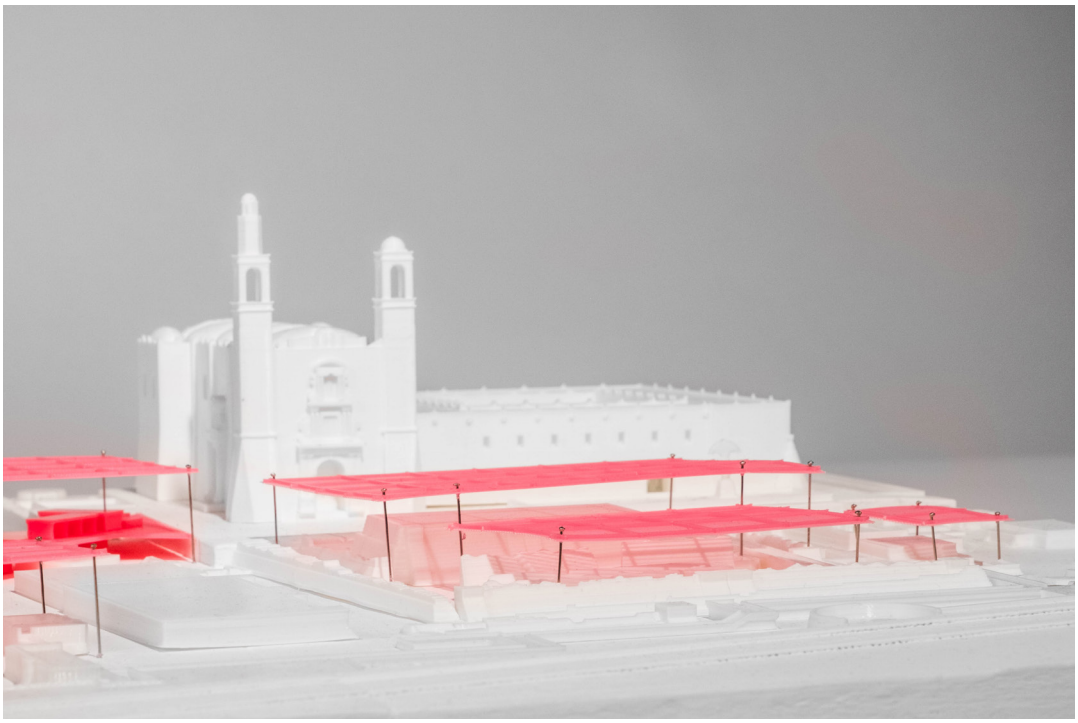
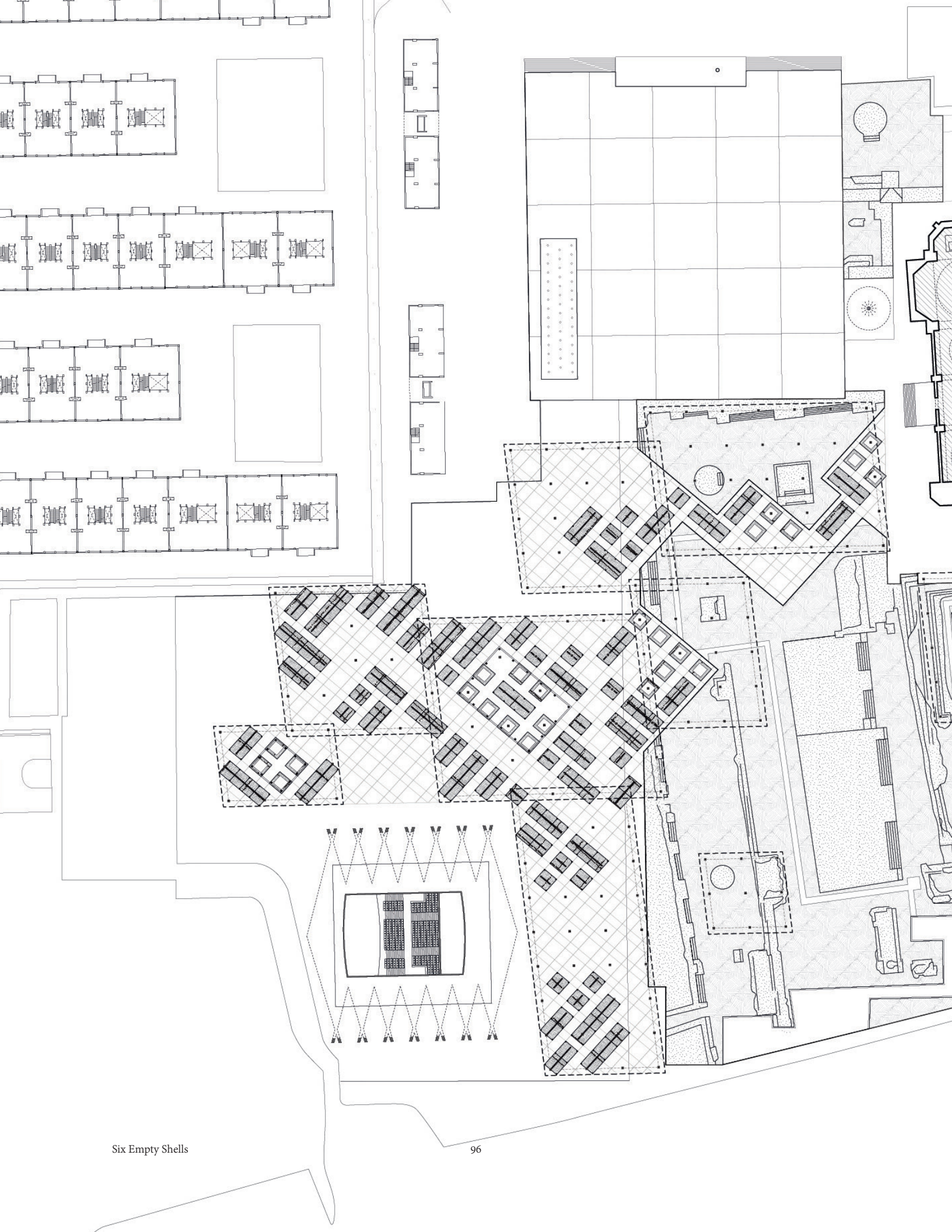


Fig. 3.30 Proposed shelter canopies over the Archaeological Zone structures.



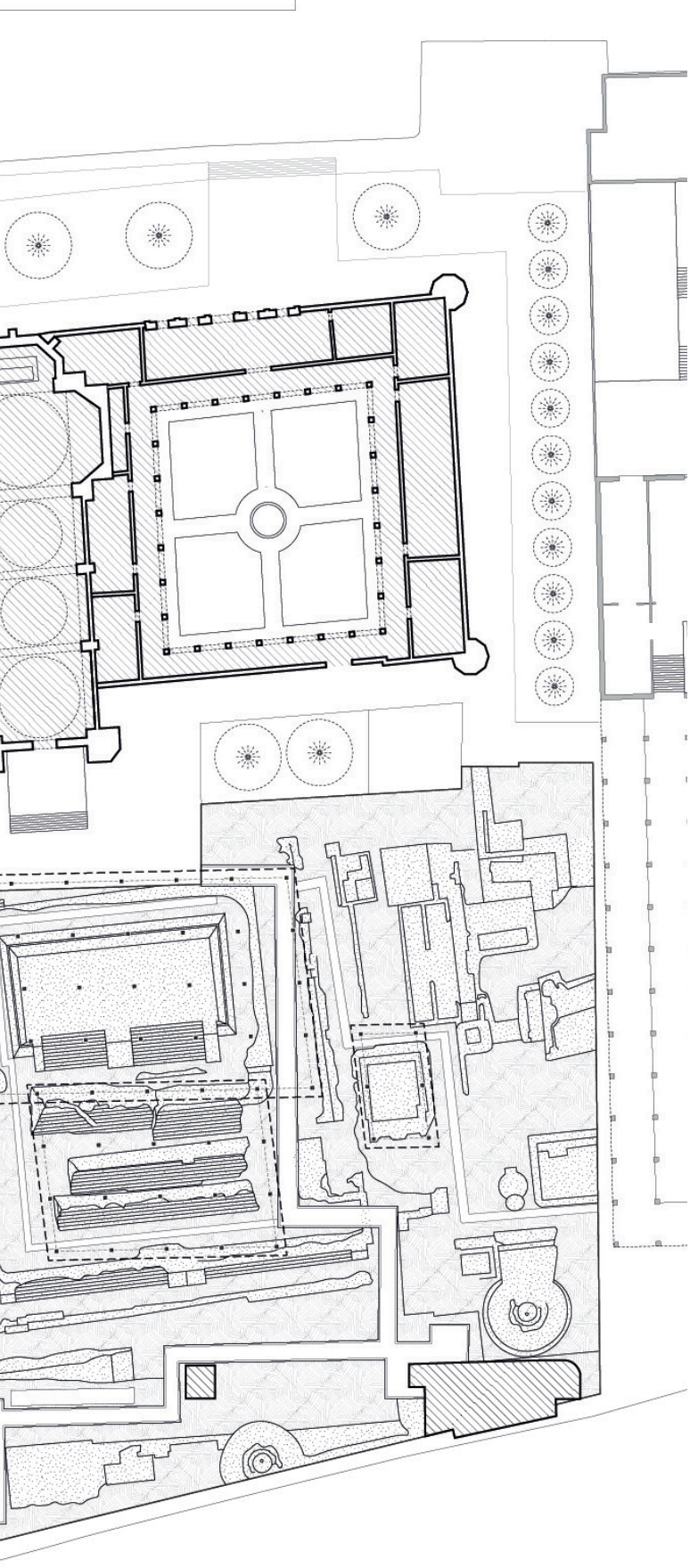


Fig. 3.31 Plan of proposed market.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ZONE / MARKET

The empty shell here is created as the housing stock around the archaeological zone deteriorated, the juxtaposition of modernity loses its novelty, almost creating another ruin. In order to inject meaning into the shell of this juxtaposition, I extracted the common element which links all the histories of Tlatelolco. Commerce. Tlatelolco has always been in some form or another at the centre of commerce in the city.

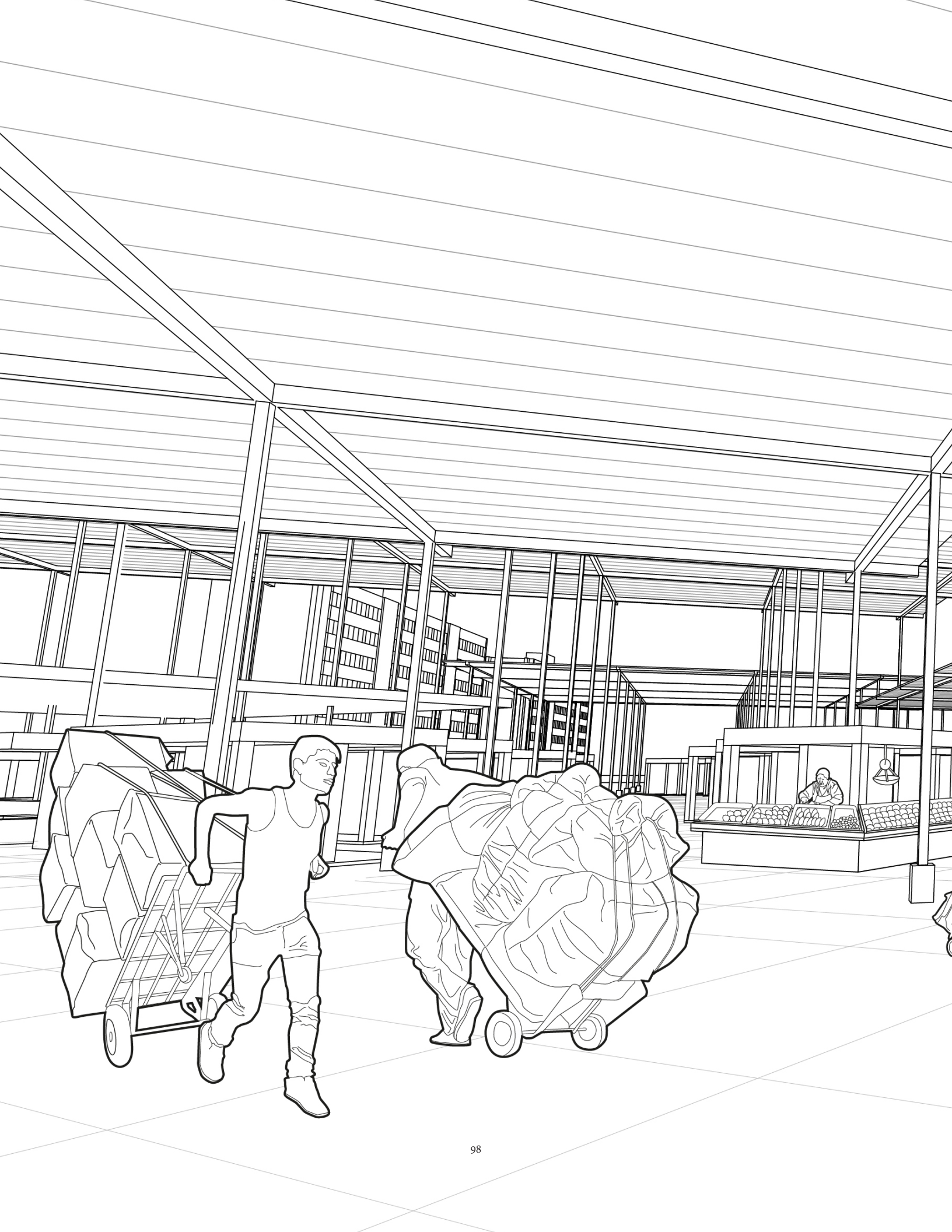


Fig. 3.32 The New Tianguis of Tlatelolco.

4. PLAZA DE LAS TRES CULTURAS

Acknowledging the Memory Embedded in Public Space

PLAZA OF THE THREE CULTURES

Tlatelolco has been razed, relaid, and rebuilt several times over, it is without question a place of resistance throughout time.[1] Open public space has remained a present element in its morphology. From its foundation in 1337, the city grew around it and came to be defined by its tianguis or open-air markets. Following the conquest in 1525, the market square was kept to maintain trade and taxation amongst the native communities, two important buildings emerged on each side of the square, the College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco and the Tecpan (stone house) administrative building, where an indigenous government maintained the commercial and tributary apparatuses of the long-gone Aztec empire churning.[2] In the XIX century, the square shrunk further and was formalized into the Jardín of Santiago to be used as the entrance plaza facing the Tlatelolco Railway Station.

The NTHC project reoriented the historical hierarchy of public space within the site. From its foundation, the entrance into the borough of Tlatelolco was marked by the arrival into a public open space. The complex does not provide a clear entryway, it rather establishes a single front of monumentality facing the Reforma Boulevard. Instead of enhancing the existing public space of the borough. Pani created a new 80m x80m public square, cast above the archaeological site and interior to the housing complex. Due to the vestiges of the Aztec temple and the Convent of Santiago, this plaza was named Plaza of the Three Cultures, establishing the modern Mexico as an emerging society while distinguishing it from it past.

From its conception the Plaza was a civil echo to the Zócalo, the main square of the capital that stood as the

Fig. 4.1 Summer of 1968 protests against repression of the youth.

1 Jorge Pedro Uribe Llamas, "Zona Arqueológica Tlatelolco - Salvador Guillem Arroyo," Cuidad de Mexico, October 31, 2018.

2 INAH, "Tecpan," Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, Zona Arqueologica de Tlatelolco, November 5, 2017.

Fig. 4.2 Armoured vehicle in the Plaza of the Three Cultures. 1968.

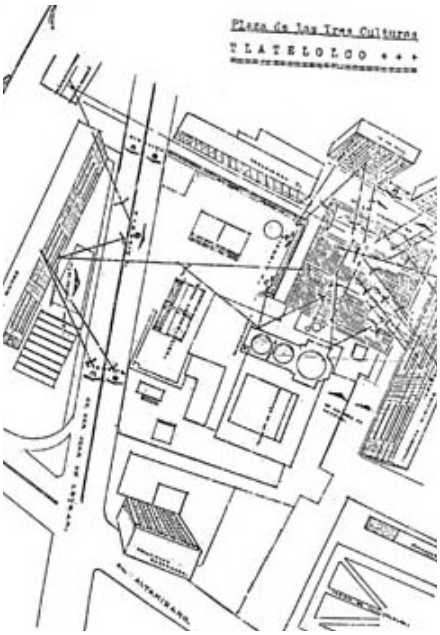


Fig. 4.3 Recreation of sniper positions during the Tlatelolco Massacre. 2012.

political centre of the Republic. Due to the demographics of the Tlatelolco Housing Complex, the plaza became a space of social gathering for the working class and became a useful gathering point during the social unrest of the summer 1968.

The tensions began the 22nd and 23rd of July 1968 when riot police violently broke a out a conflict between two groups of students belonging to the UNAM and the National Polytechnic Institute (IPN). In reaction to the violent use of force, students from both schools organized a demonstration to the Zócalo the 29th of July, a date which coincided with another demonstration celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks. The state feared that the student protest was a growing into an organized communist uprising. This demonstration was once again violently repressed by the riot police, leaving several protesters and bystanders injured. These events triggered outrage from the public, and for the coming months several demonstrations rallied up various sectors of the working and middle class against the authoritarian regime. The regime, in return, deployed infiltrators into the leadership of the Student Movement to bring the protesters into illegality and justify a wider intervention. On the 18th of September, after the rector of the UNAM, Justo Sierra, had publicly declared support for the Student Movement, the Mexican Army occupied the Ciudad Universitaria of the UNAM and in violent clashes the police took over the campus of the IPN. [3] Still, the student movement continued in their search for six demands:

- Freedom to those imprisoned for protesting.
- The derogation to Articles 145 y 145bis of the Penal Code–which instituted the crime of sedition a tool utilized to justify aggression against students.
- Disbandment of the Riot Police.
- Resignation of the Police Chiefs.
- Indemnity to the families of the dead and wounded since the beginning of the protest.
- Justice to those responsible for the violence perpetrated.

The government was under pressure to quell protests as the Olympic Games were scheduled to be inaugurated the 12 of October of that same year. This pressure led up to the events the 2nd of October, when the Student

3 Enrique Krauze, "El Legado Incierto Del 68," La Querella de La Lengua, Letras Libres, no. 85 (October 31, 2008)

Movement, lacking their institutional meeting ground, called for solidarity and public support at the Plaza of the Three Cultures in the Tlatelolco Housing Complex. The executive branch arranged an ambush using a special division of the Mexican Secret Service in charge of the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games. That afternoon, as the rally came to an end, members of the special Olympia Battalion opened fired from various positions on the residential buildings at the protesters and the soldiers standing guard. A crowd of 8000 students, professors, and bystanders were caught in the chaos, to this date, it is not known how many were killed or wounded, estimates range from 40 to 300 people.[4] Following the events of the Tlatelolco Massacre, the plaza became forever linked to state terrorism and to the impunity of those responsible. The Plaza of the Three Cultures was the setting of a crucial crossroad in Mexico's contemporary history. The state failed to accept the social liberties resulting from the push to modernity, destroying all credibility of the political party founded on the inheritance of the social revolution. This event marks the split of the civil society from the political society, a split still present to this day.[5]

The plaza was conceived as an empty pedestal upon which the people could enjoy the progress of modernity. However, circumstances brought dissent, which in turn brought brutal repression, forever marking the square with the hypocrisy of Mexican modernity. Therein lies the contradiction and ultimate betrayal of Modern Mexico. The post-revolutionary regime brought forward a vast array of public works, services, and policies with the creation of a new state, this in turn gave unprecedented freedom to the Mexican youth. The articles demanded by the student movement of 1968 can be summed up by one word; democratization.[6] The response by the state showed how fragile the veil of modernity truly was. In this way the Plaza of the Three Cultures became an empty shell. To this day, this remains a scar of cruelty and impunity in the heart of the Tlatelolco Housing Complex.

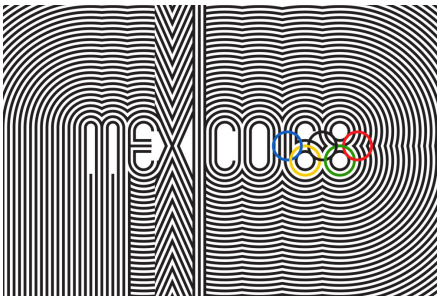


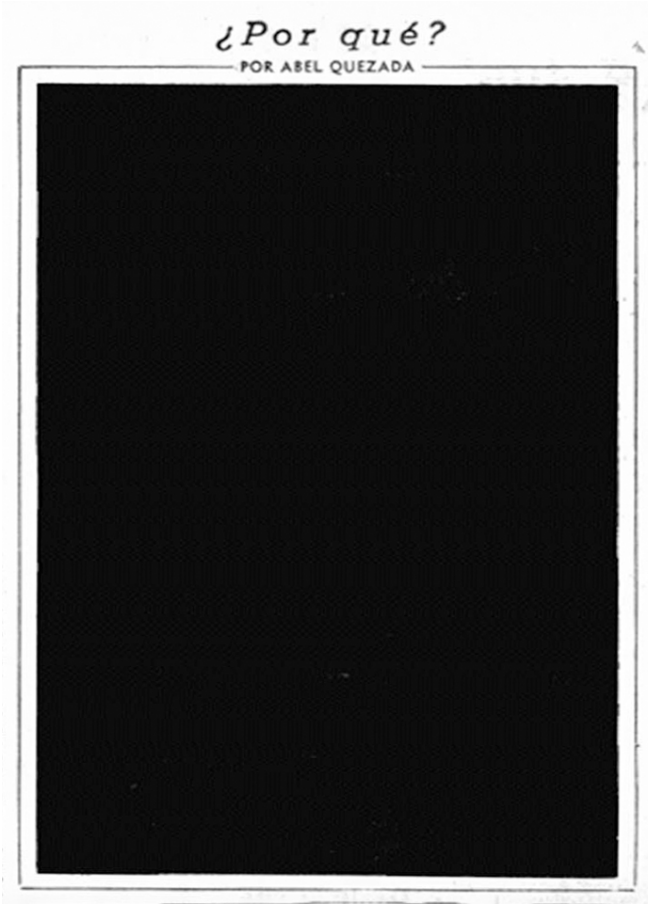
Fig. 4.4 Mexico 1968 Olympics.

Fig. 4.5 Students held at gunpoint. October 2nd 1968

4 Robert Latorre, Matanza de Tlatelolco, Documentary (Discovery Channel America Latina, 2012).

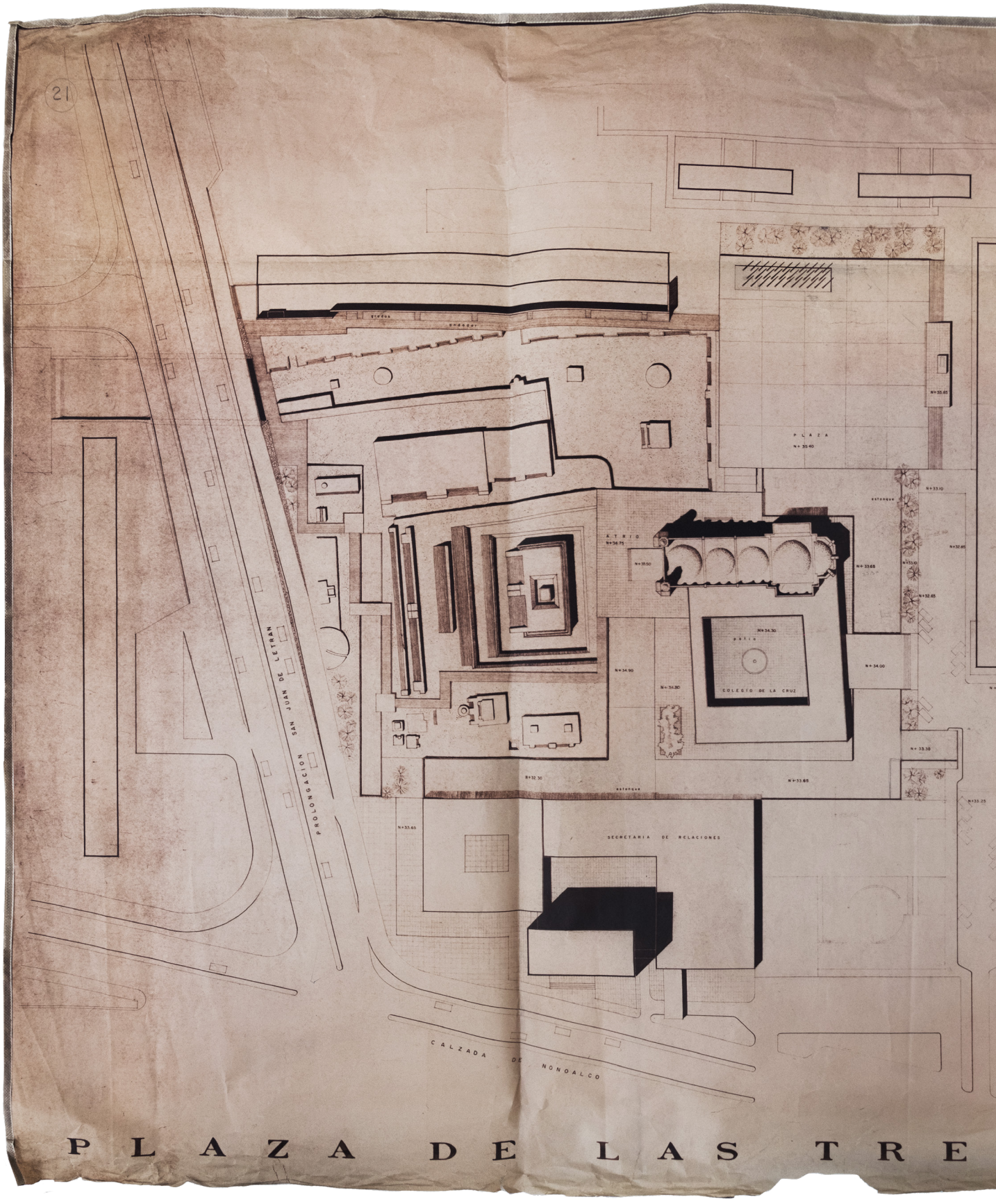
5 Rubén Cantú Chapa, Tlatelolco. La Autoadministración en Unidades Habitacionales Gestión Urbana y Planificación, 1st ed. (Mexico DF: Plaza y Valdez S.A. de C.V., 2001).

6 Paz Octavio, El Laberinto de la Soledad/Postdata/Vuelta a el Laberinto de la Soledad (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1959).



Why? [Black Out]

Abel Quezada. (Cartoonist)
Excélsior.
October 4th, 1968.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PROLONGACIÓN SAN JUAN DE LETRAN
PLAZA
N+ 35.40
ATRIO
N+34.75
N+35.50
COLEGIO DE LA CRUZ
N+34.30
N+34.90
N+34.20
N+32.30
N+33.65
N+33.10
N+32.65
N+34.00
N+33.10
N+33.25
SECRETARIA DE RELACIONES
CALZADA DE NONOALCO
PLAZA DE LAS TRE

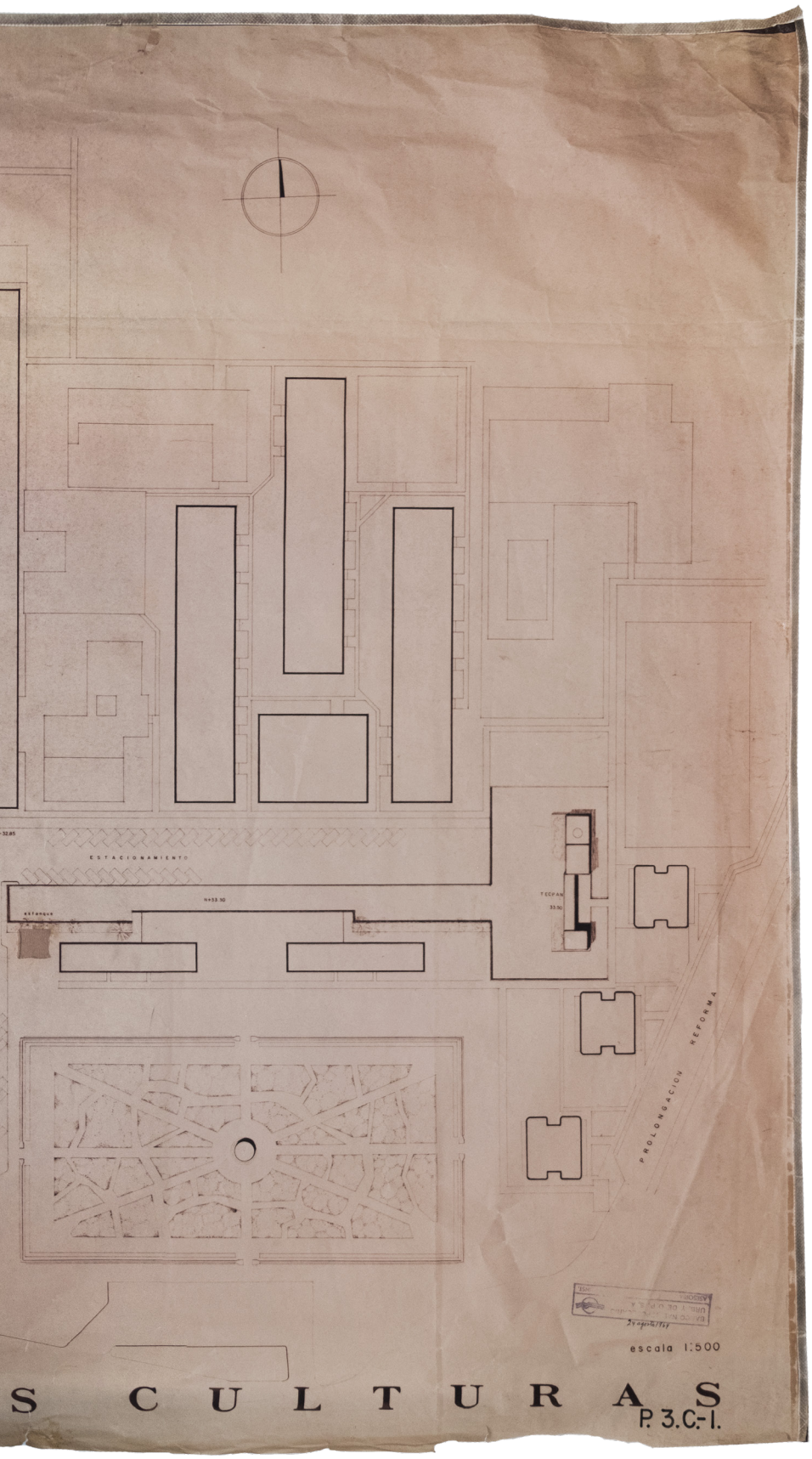


Fig. 0.6 *The Plaza of the Three Cultures Complex. 1964.*

PLAZA OF THE THREE CULTURES

Fig. 4.7 View of Tres Culturas from the Chihuahua Building

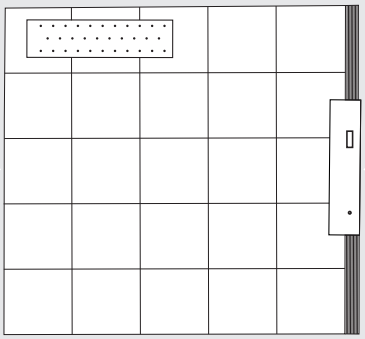


Fig. 4.8 Plan of the Plaza of the Three Cultures.

PLAZA OF THE CONSTITUTION

Fig. 4.9 View of the Zócalo (Plaza de la Constitución) from the Torre Latino

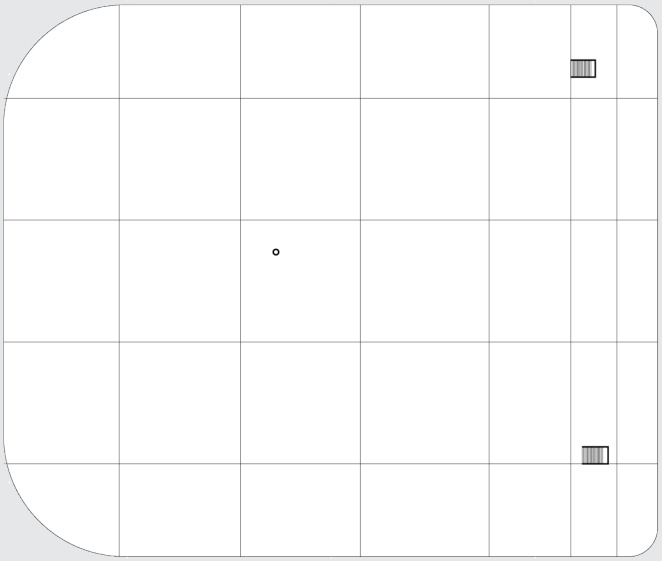


Fig. 4.10 Plan of the Plaza of the Constitution. Zócalo

Fig. 4.11 Newly built Plaza of the Three Cultures. 1965.

Fig. 4.12 Protest in the Plaza of the Three Cultures. 1968

Los Terremotos Continúan en Alaska Mientras Rescatan Víctimas

30 CENTAVOS

EL NACIONAL

AL SERVICIO DE MEXICO

LA VIOLENCIA ROMPIO LA CALMA EN LA CONVULSA ISLA DE CHIPRE, AYER

Servir al Estado Implica una Seria Responsabilidad

Sin Accidentes que Lamentar, Miles de Turistas Regresaron

Estricta Vigilancia en Carreteras y Buena Organización de Transportes

Por Octavio BERNARD RICHERIL, reportero de EL NACIONAL

Preparan las Convenciones Distritales

Criaderos de Visones en Durango

Será Fuente de Divisas Esta Nueva Industria

Trabajos de Cimentación

Se Construyen Varaderos en Coatzacoalcos, Ver.

Plaza de las Tres Culturas

Peticiones de Telefonistas

Toda Está Lista Para el Mitin Foresril

Pro Lic. Díaz Ordaz en Coyoacán, Mañana

Solución a Viejo Problema

Títulos de Propiedad en una Colonia Proletaria

Pláticas Conciliatorias Tanto con Electricistas Como Pilotos

El Secretario del Trabajo Intervendrá a fin de Solucionar Ambos Conflictos

Los Exiliados Cubanos Preparan un Plan Para Derrocar a Castro

Se Inicia hoy el Primer Ciclo de Estudios de Problemas Laborales

Programa Nacional Forestal

Se Trata es Cuidar la Riqueza de Nuestros Bosques

La Superación Emprendida por los Regímenes de la Revolución así lo Exige

"Debemos Afrontar las Responsabilidades a que Hay Que Hacer Frente al Mundo Actual", Dijo el Licenciado Echeverría

Pocas Esperanzas para los Países no Industrializados

Por Felipe ANAYA(R)

Reafirmación la Amistad de dos Escritos Novelas

Protección a Aeroviajeros

Eficiente Equipo Contra Incendios en el Aeropuerto

Mejoría a Unos Trabajadores

Progresa Para Todos

Mejor Orientación de Inversiones

Fuerte Impulso Oficial a la Industria Apícola

Cursos Teórico-Prácticos a las Personas Interesadas en Ella

Los Trabajos de Dragado Rinden Magníficos Frutos

La Ulcera, una de las Enfermedades de la Epoca Actual más Peligrosas

Reconocimiento a la Atención que da el Gobierno a la Vivienda Popular

PLAZA DE LAS TRES

Las Audiciones en los Parques y Jardines muy Concurridas Ayer

Batida a la Fauna que Transmite Enfermedades

Agenda Diplomática

TIEMPO PROBABLE PARA HOY

Plaza of the Three Cultures.

El Nacional.
March 30th, 1964.

The expression, in itself, says very little. But the content it encloses the conjugation of pre-columbian, colonial and modern art. It is the name that will receive the wonderful, imposing plaza that is quickly being erected in front of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs [...] Locals and foreigners can appreciate, in all its splendour, what the generations of the XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX and XX centuries were able to build under the sky of the Anahuac. Three cultures... Three distinct eras. From the pre-Colombian and the colonial, only small pyramids, a temple and a blank structure, which was the College of the Indians of Tlatelolco, remain.

There also remains tradition and legend of this historical area. But everything will resurface briefly. The strong hand of contemporary man works, relentlessly, in the restoration of everything our ancestors left us.

Estalló el Satélite Espacial que Debía Transmitir la Olimpíada

LEA LAS NOTICIAS DE ULTIMO MINUTO EN EL UNIVERSAL GRAFICO EL COMPACTO DE MEDIO DIA

EL UNIVERSAL
EL GRAN DIARIO DE MEXICO
Presidente y Gerente: F. DOLORES VALDES DE LOZANO

LUBRICANTES VEEDOL
Comercial Enzkadi S.A.

AÑO LII • MEXICO, D. F., JUEVES 19 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1968 • TOMO CCXII • NUMERO 18.759

Ocupación Militar de la C. U.

Saludo Papal a los Atletas

Está Pésima una Carretera

Todas las Instalaciones, Oficinas y Facultades, Bajo Control del Ejército

Por HORACIO CORTINA LOPEZ
Redactor de EL UNIVERSAL

En una maniobra sorpresiva, el Ejército ocupó ayer, a las 22.00 horas, la Ciudad Universitaria, en donde se encuentran la mayoría de las escuelas, institutos y facultades de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Treinta minutos antes de la hora indicada, tres mil quinientos hombres, aproximadamente, debidamente pertrechados, pertenecientes a batallones de asalto, de infantería y de artillería ligera, rodearon el cerro en donde se localizan las instalaciones de la CU y el Estadio Olímpico.

Los vehículos en los que fueron transportados los soldados, los elementos de clases, los oficiales y los jefes, fueron estacionados en los puntos Poniente, Oriente, Norte y Sur de la Ciudad Universitaria.

Posteriormente se dio la orden de avanzar y de tomar cada una

Medida Para Restablecer la Autoridad Interna y Salvaguardar la Autonomía

Las autoridades universitarias cercan de los medios materiales necesarios para restablecer el orden dentro de sus respectivas jurisdicciones y poder ejercer el derecho de regirlas sin intervenciones ajenas y sin plena autonomía; por tanto, bajo necesidad de hacer uso de la fuerza pública para desalojar los edificios universitarios ocupados, declara la Secretaría de Gobernación.

Al referirse a los motivos que determinaron la presencia de la fuerza pública en algunos planteles de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, la Secretaría de Gobernación declaró que la fuerza pública desalojó de los edificios universitarios a las personas que no tenían derecho a permanecer en ellos, con el fin de hacer entrega, a la brevedad posible, a las funcionarios correspondientes, del

Los carros blindados que aparecen a las fuerzas de asalto en la toma de la Ciudad Universitaria por el Ejército, llegaron hasta la explanada de la Torre de la Rectoría. (Foto: Daniel Soto).

Mejorar el Intercambio Comercial con Japón es Indispensable

El Cohete que lo Transportaba se Partió Sobre el Atlántico

Más Allá de lo Legítimo han ido los Católicos Liberales

Por RAY MOSLEY

Lealtad al Rector Javier Barros Sierra

Por JUAN JAIME LABORDE

Pavoroso Balance de los Daños que Ocasionó el "Naomi" en Sinaloa

La Carrera a la Luna

Homenaje Póstumo en Bellas Artes al Poeta León Felipe

Comparecerá Roberto Barrios

Promoción de Exportaciones

Funciones Diarias en la Alameda

EL UNIVERSAL en el Polo Norte

Por RAMON BRAVO, Enviado Especial

Banda de Falsificadores y Contrabandistas, Capturada

Le Siguen Lloviendo Críticas al Art. 145

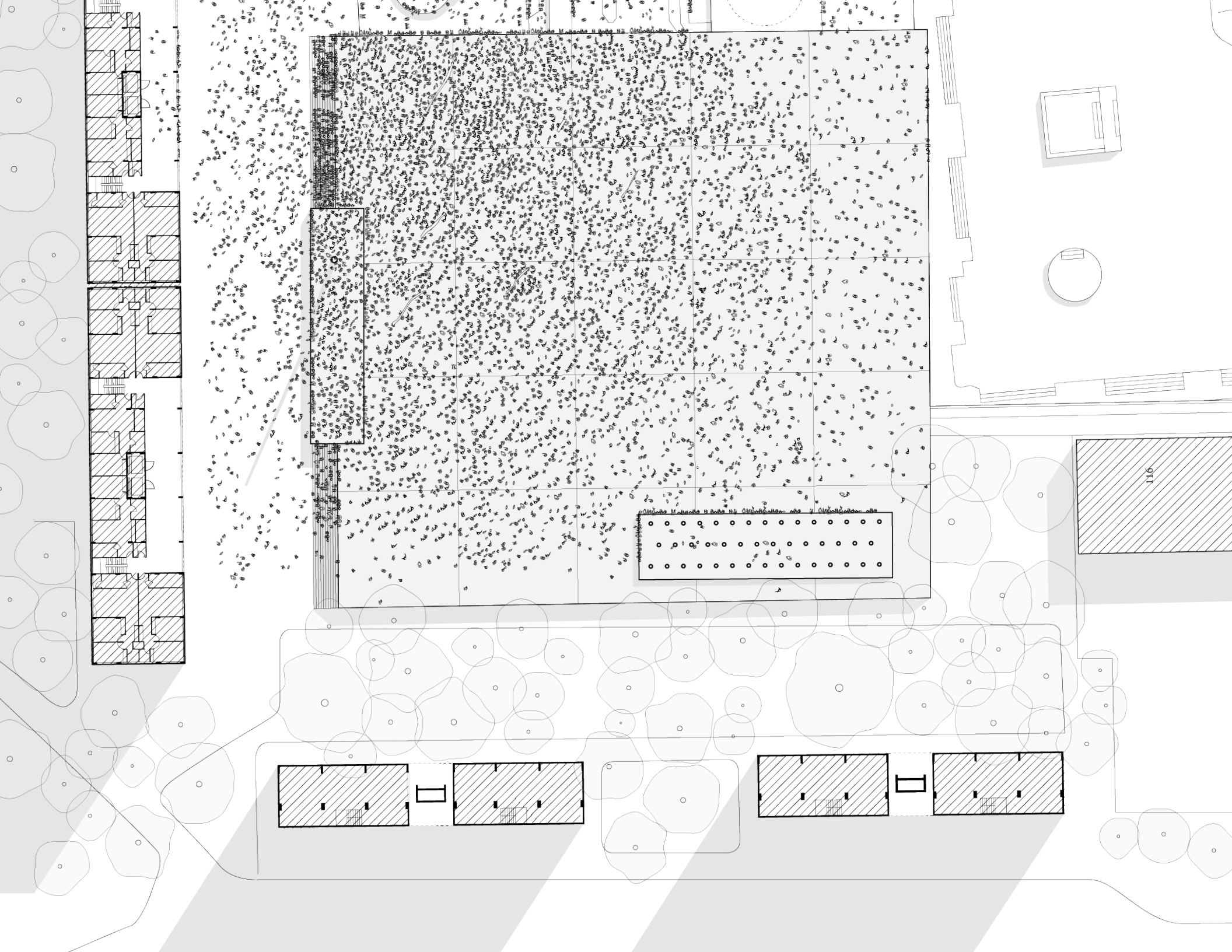
Murió el Actor Franchot Tone

Regresó el Dr. Martínez Manautou

Military Occupation of the CU (University City)

El Universal.
September 9th, 1968.

Military Occupation of the University City [...] All facilities, offices, and faculties under control of the army. [...] In a surprise manoeuvre yesterday, the army occupied the University City [...] where most of the schools, institutes, and faculties of the National Autonomous University are located.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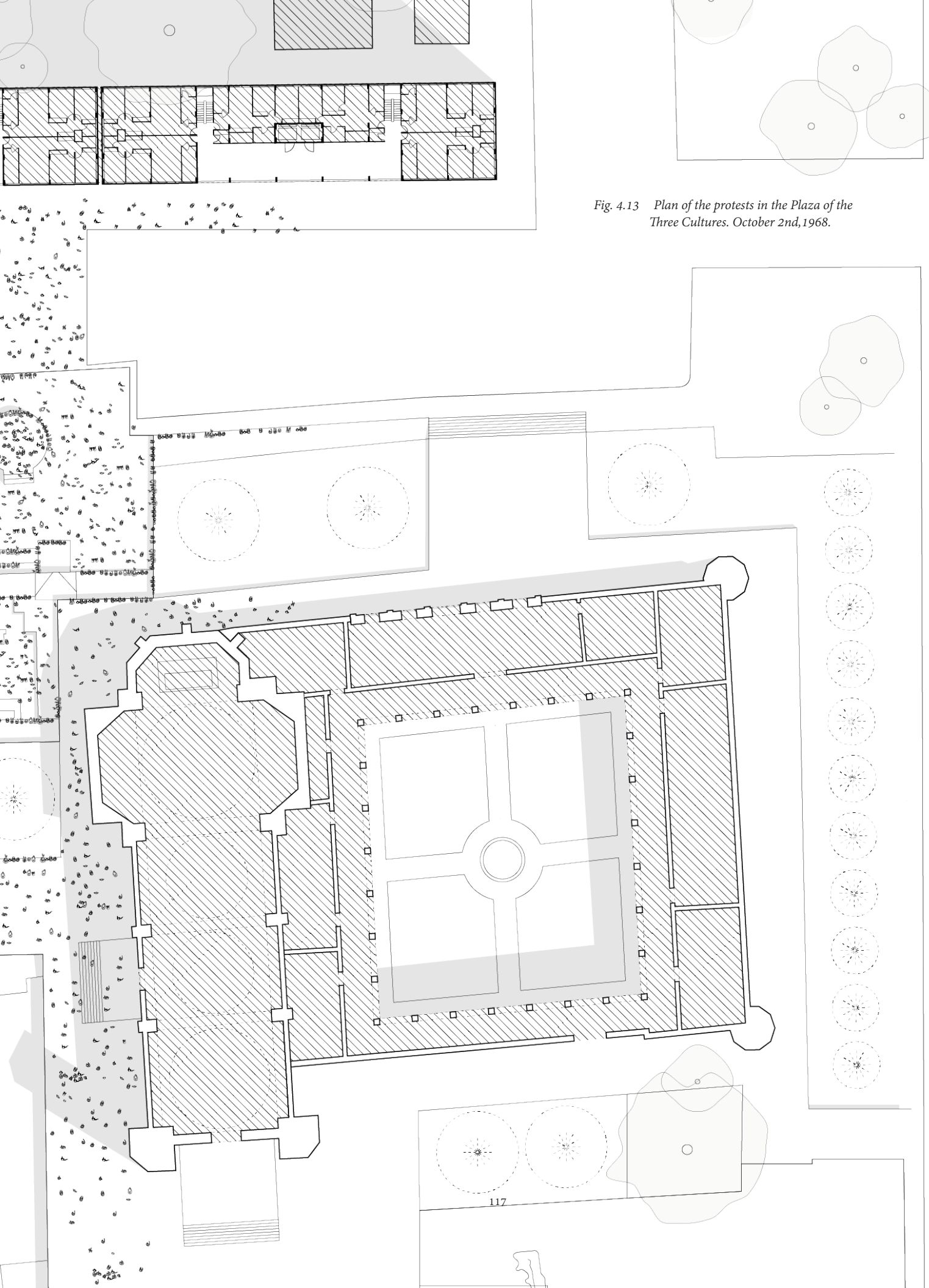

Fig. 4.13 Plan of the protests in the Plaza of the Three Cultures. October 2nd,1968.

LA PRENSA 80 CENTAVOS

el periódico que dice lo que otros callan

Registrado como Artículo de 2a. Clase en la Administración de Correos de México el 30 de agosto de 1951

AÑO XLI | Director General y Gerente, MARIO SANTAELLA | MEXICO, D. F., JUEVES 3 DE OCTUBRE DE 1968 | Director, ROBERTO RAMIREZ CARDENAS | NUM. 14,627

Muchos Muertos y Heridos; Habla García Barragán

BALACERA DEL EJERCITO CON ESTUDIANTES

(PAGINA TRES)

Sangrienta Batalla

Jóvenes y mujeres huyen despavoridos de la explanada de la Plaza de las Tres Culturas, en Tlatelolco, al iniciarse la sangrienta balacera entre terroristas francotiradores que atacaron a la policía y, posteriormente, al Ejército, aprovechando la celebración de un mitin estudiantil. 40 muertos y 150 heridos parecía ser el saldo de la espantosa refriega. (Información en tercera plana y más gráficas en las centrales). Fotos de Francisco Picco, Rodolfo Martínez, Raúl Hernández, Enrique Metinides, Carlos Peláez y Francisco Romo.

Plaza of the Three Cultures.

La Prensa. 'The newspaper that says what others keep quiet.' October 3rd, 1968.

Many dead and wounded, says Garcia Barragán. Shoot-out by the army with the students. A bloody battle. Young men and women run terrified from the Plaza of the Three Cultures in Tlatelolco, when a bloody shoot-out between terrorist snipers that attacked the police, and later, the Army, taking advantage of a student rally. 40 dead and 150 wounded seems to be the result of this horrible skirmish.

EL NACIONAL
DIARIO AL SERVICIO DE MEXICO

MEXICO 68

La delegación, abanderada

6,152 atletas habitan la Villa Olímpica

Los juegos olímpicos no se suspenderán: Brundage

El Centro de Prensa de la Villa Olímpica, inaugurado

64 banderas ondean ya en la "Villa"

Un belga ganó el ciclismo del Inajumex

Dos derrotas para México en voleibol

Hoy llega Willi Daume

Olimpiada Cultural

¡Exclusiva! Programa del campamento juvenil

Fue descubierto el cuadro de S. Dalí

El Festival de Pintura Infantil fue inaugurado

Reconoce Francia al futbol mexicano

Potentes equipos de waterpolo tienen la URSS y Yugoslavia

Roelants o Bikila, dice Emil Zatopek

Atletismo
Basquetbol
Boxeo
Canotaje
Ciclismo
Futbol
Gimnasia
Hockey
Pesas
Lucha
Natación
Remo
Tiro
Voleibol
Waterpolo

The Olympic Games will not be suspended: Brundage.

El Nacional.
October 4th, 1968.

In a stern declaration made yesterday at 1 o'clock by the president of the International Olympic Committee, Avery Brundage, [...] put to rest unfounded rumours spread by irresponsibles, ignorants or by those who wish to cause harm to Mexico. [...] 'We have been ensured that the protests and acts of violence which have occurred in this metropolis of six million people, have not had in any occasion any relation to the Olympic Games, since these have the full support of the Mexican People.

Fig. 4.14 Plaza today. 2018.

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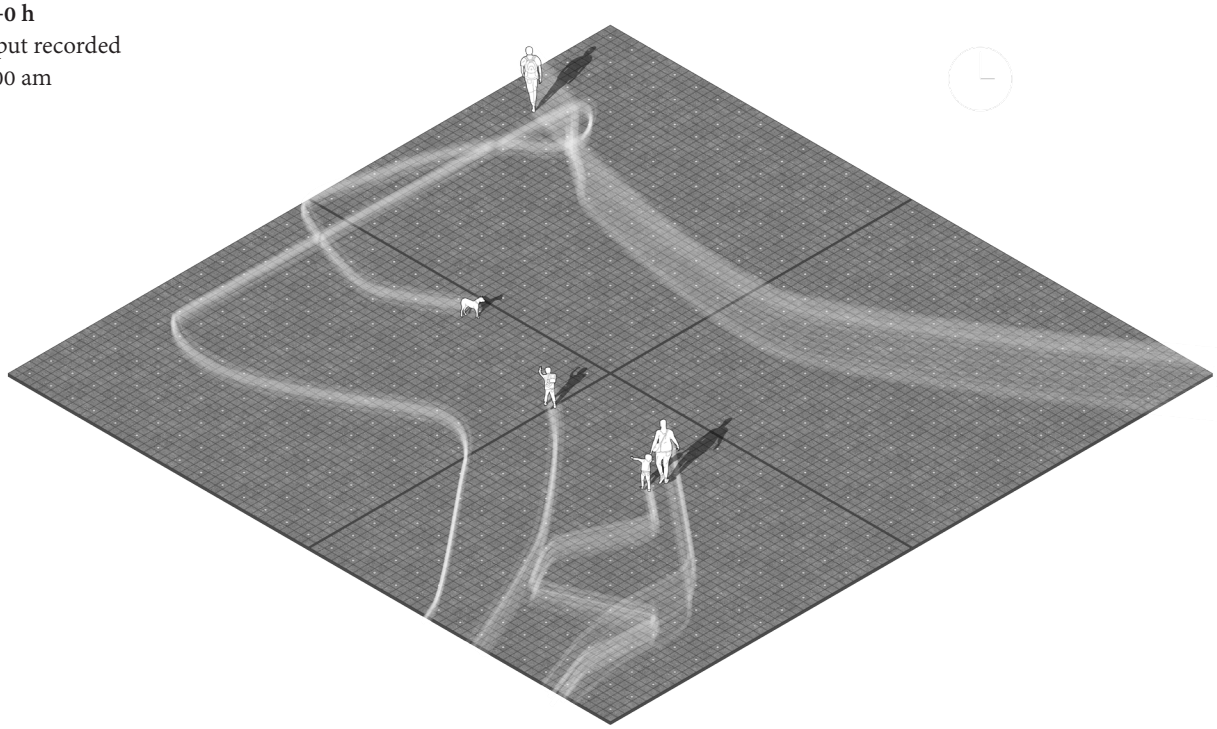
Input recorded
7:00 am



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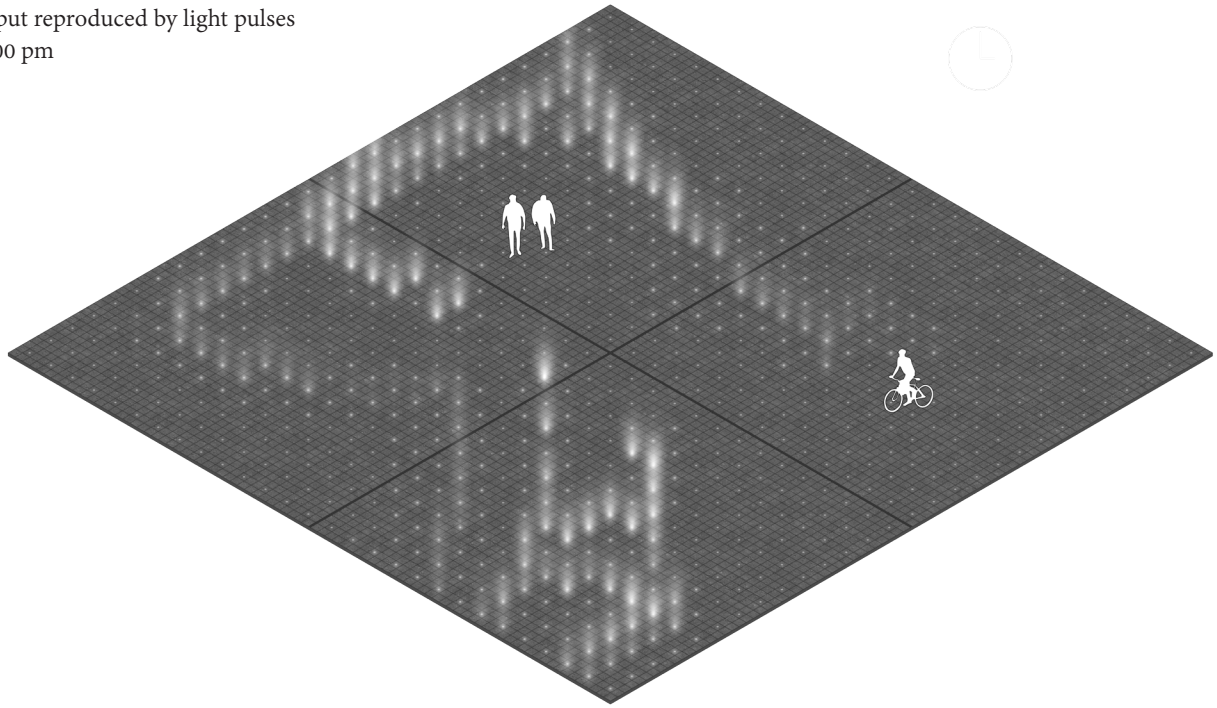


Fig. 4.15 Intervention on the Plaza of the Three Cultures.

TEMPORAL PLAZA

The Plaza of the Three Cultures was designed as the sister public space of the Capital Zócalo (a public square in the centre of power of the city). The apolitical nature of the Plaza of the Three Cultures was the reason the students sought it, and the reason why the massacre was a betrayal of the modernist principles that built it. The intervention seeks to immortalize the memory of a public space and the people who occupy it by installing various small luminaires in the Tezontle pavers. The embedded sensors are triggered when stepped upon, activting light pulses on an eleven hour delay, the average duration of a workday and commute.

This delay multiplies the presence of people in the plaza, from a minimal trail showing the residents going to work as they come home, to the glow left behind after a rally or event.

The mechanisms can be incorporated into the existing materials of the plaza with minimal change to the overall appearance or use.

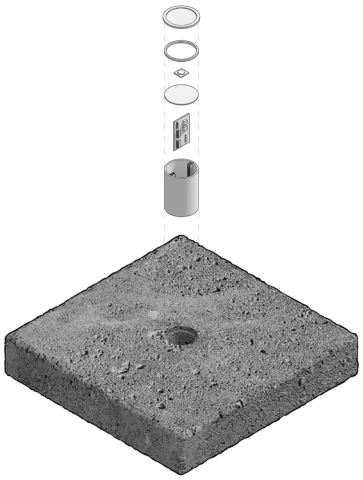
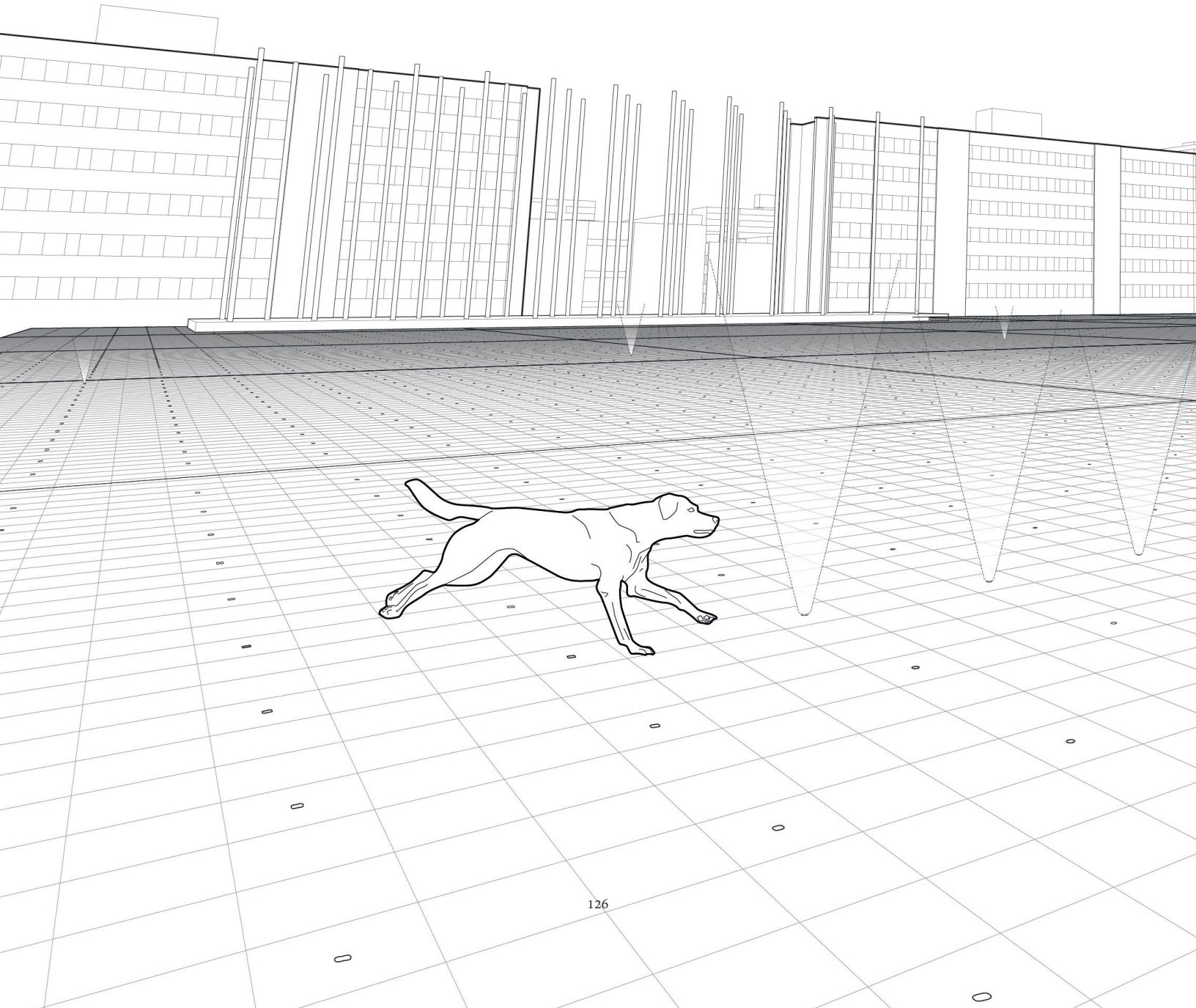


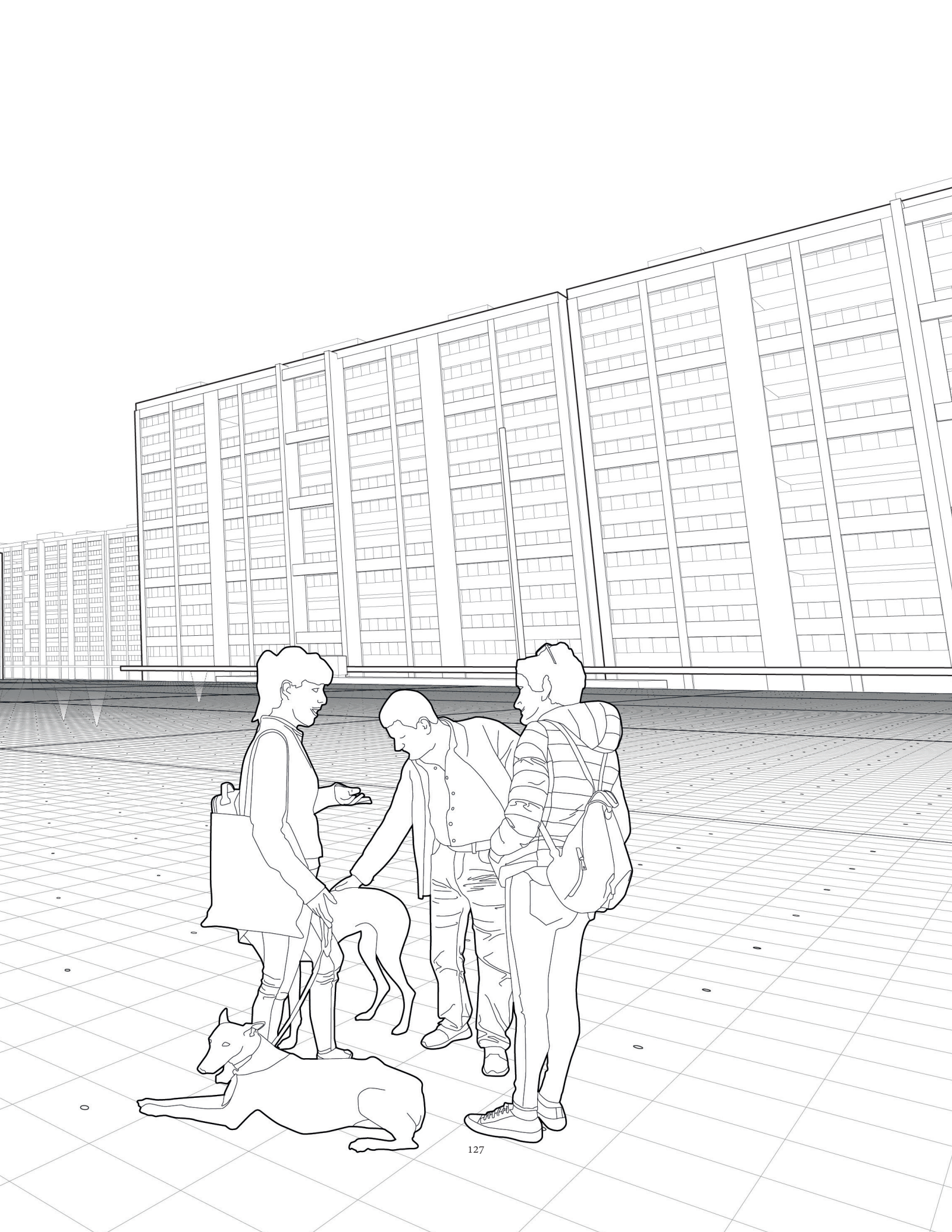
Fig. 4.16 Beacon added to Tezontle tiles.

Fig. 4.17 Plaza surface beacons.

Fig. 4.18 Intervention on the Plaza of the Three Cultures.

Fig. 4.19 Intervention on the Plaza of the Three Cultures.





5. EDIFICIO TIPO ‘C’

Celebrating the Idiosyncrasies in Collective Housing

TYPE C BUILDING

The urban renewal movement of the 1950's set out to demolish and replace *the horseshoe of slums,* a belt of old informal urban fabric that was increasingly unable to handle the demographic explosion. Mario Pani was commissioned to propose an alternative housing solution to replace the 'un-designed' informal city. He believed the existing urban fabric and popular housing stock of the lower classes of Mexico City was unsalvageable, stating that "the only benefit of bad (neighbourhoods) is that they are so bad, one has to entirely demolish them to build them right,"[1] thus justifying a tabula-rasa approach to solve the housing crisis.

The resulting solution went beyond meeting the demand for higher quality dwellings and urban density. Developed by Mario Pani and the secretary of finance Antonio Ortiz Mena, the approach instituted a mechanism for social mobility *within*, through the integration of several socioeconomic strata inside the NTHC, and *without*, through the creation of potential difference with regards to quality of life from the adjacent neighbourhoods while maintaining equal housing cost.

The choices of housing stock, prices of tenancy, and the location of housing units within in the complex were chosen to boost the mobility of families from the existing neighbourhoods into the NTHC. A study done by Pani's workshop and the secretariat of finance under Antonio Ortiz Mena studied the demographics and dwellings types of the Tlatelolco borough and its adjacencies. The

Fig. 5.1 Ciudad Habitacional Nonoalco-Tlatelolco. 1965-1966

1 Graciela de Garay, Mario Pani, Historia Oral de La Ciudad de Mexico: Testimonios de Sus Arquitectos (1940-1990) (Mexico DF: Intituto de Investigaciones Dr Jose Maria Luis Mora, 2000).

Fig. 5.2 Multifamiliares Tlatelolco. 1965

Fig. 5.3 Buttressing of C type building. 1987

population was divided into three socioeconomic groups: (A) low income, (B) working class, and (C) middle class. Each one of these subcategories was then divided into 1 bedroom, 2 bedroom, and 3 bedroom apartments depending on the size of families, thus establishing nine typologies of dwellings to be reproduced throughout the urban complex.[2] The rent of the apartments per meter squared was subsidized for Group A through the higher prices for Group C, with Group B leased at-cost price.[3]

The entire development was conceived as leasehold estates owned by a state institution (BANOBRAS) and administered by a state corporation (AISA).[4] The housing complex was an apparatus of the paternalistic state, a direct public intervention into the social composition of the city. This was the government's attempt to institutionalize Article 123, section XII which obligates employers to provide appropriate housing for workers.

Despite the striking modern façade, the iconic 'C' type buildings manage to reinterpret a popular typology of 19th century low income housing. The ubiquitous *vecindades* are tenements present throughout the north of Mexico City, these were a housing typology created to accommodate the transient industrial workforce. By the 1950's these tenements, defined by a common court with shared services and a gated entrance, housed entire families. The design of the C type building takes this concept and stacks it vertically, thus preserving the existing social norms familiar to most residents of the area. The units converge at a large elevator lobby present every three floors, this in turn funnels the residents of 22 units through a single loggia.

However, the C type building had various catastrophic flaws in its design. The original iconic corrugated fiber glass spandrel panels were extremely flammable and had to be removed by 1972.[5] Second was the incorporation of *pilotis* in a highly seismic area, causing these buildings to suffer the most during the 1985 earthquake. Following the earthquake, all type C buildings where heavily buttressed in a concrete straitjacket which held the floor plates together. This significantly altered the aesthetic of

2 Mario Pani, "Conjunto Urbano Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Regeneracion Urbanistica de la Ciudad de Mexico," Arquitectura Mexico, Dicembre 1960.

3 de Garay, *Mario Pani*.

4 Rubén Cantú Chapa, Tlatelolco. La Autoadministración en Unidades Habitacionales Gestión Urbana y Planificación, 1st ed. (Mexico DF: Plaza y Valdez S.A. de C.V., 2001).

5 Miguel Angel Marez Tapia, "El 'cambio de piel', medida contra incendios en Tlatelolco," Vivir en Tlatelolco Periodismo Comunitario, January 15, 2012.

the complex, which went from a minimalist monolith, where the residents were anonymous, to a heavy concrete skeleton. This destruction of the façade inadvertently opened the building to showcase the identity of each apartment. The aesthetic decomposition of this empty shell switched the roles of the monument, putting people where the icon once was. This post-occupation customization of modernity is not exclusive to the Type C buildings, it can be seen throughout the housing complex, as evidenced by the A-type buildings doorways, where the rigid framework of the modernist paintbrush has allowed people to insert their identities into their dwellings.

Fig. 5.4 'C' type building facade. 2018

Fig. 5.5 Collapse of the Nuevo León building. 1985

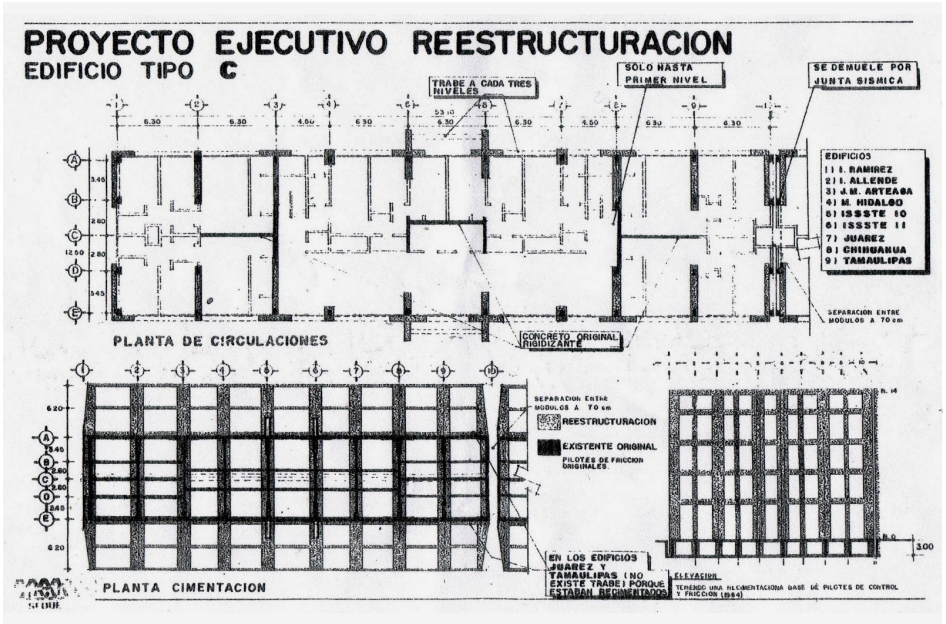


Fig. 5.6 Executive Restructuring Project. 'C' Type building.

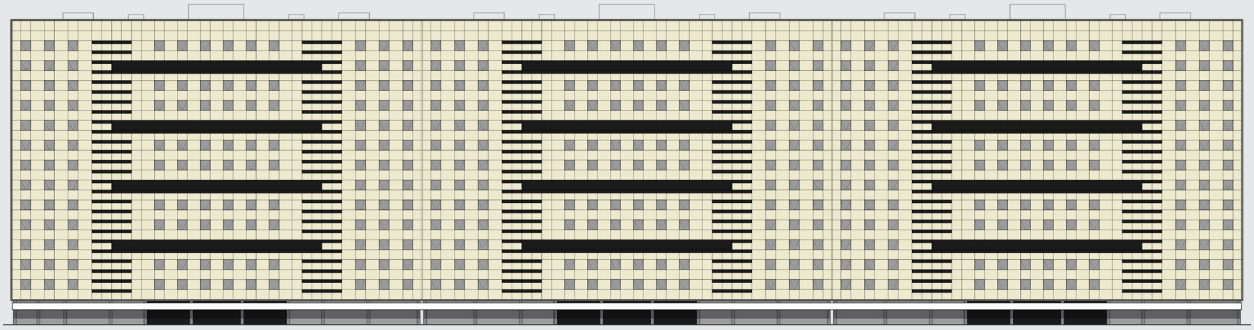


Fig. 5.7 Original Facade of 'C' type Buildings. 1965.

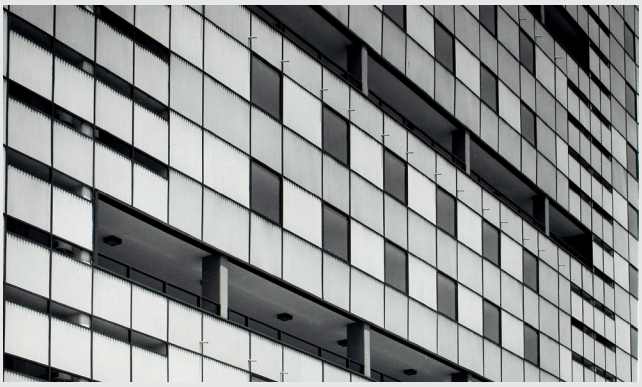


Fig. 5.8 Facade Detail. 1965

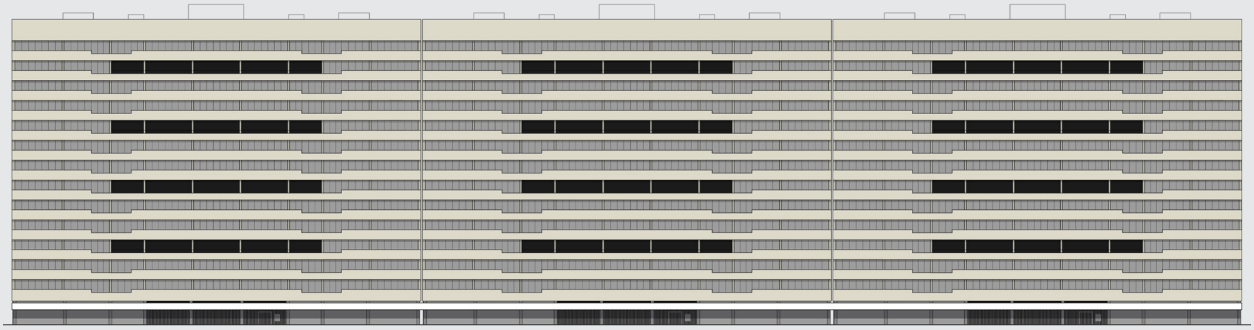


Fig. 5.9 Facade after removal of corrugated facade. 1975

Fig. 5.10 Tlatelolco Fire brigades train extinguishing the corrugated facade panels. c1970

Fig. 5.11 Current facade of 'C' type Buildings.

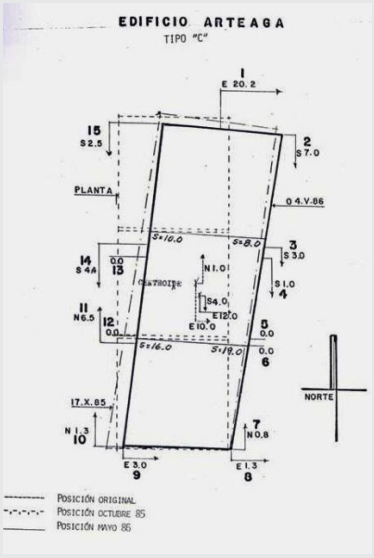


Fig. 5.12 Displacement of Artega building following 1985 earthquake.

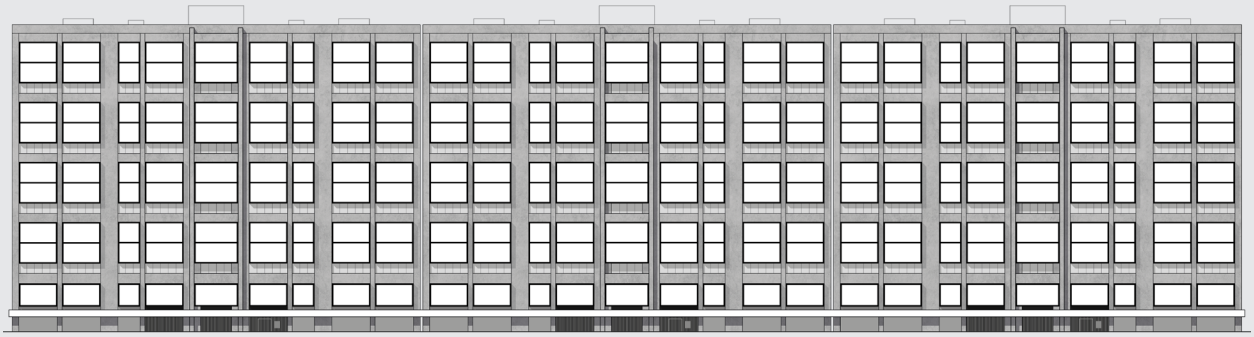


Fig. 5.13 Facade proposal with balcony loggias.

Fig. 5.14 Current occupation of concrete buttressing as window shelves

FARMACIA
ABARROTES
PERFUMERIA
RECARGAS
PRONOSTICOS

PALETERIA Y NEVERIA

Piccolo
PIZZAS
Siempre pensando en ti...
55 83 43 12
ABIERTO
Piccolo

TELOLCO

LERIA MARED

COPIAS
B/N COLOR
REVELADO E IMPRESION DE FOTOGRAFIAS
PAPELERIA
INTERNET

MINISUPER
"PATY"
CHILES SECOS
SEMILLAS
DULCES PIÑATAS GLOBOS
POLLERIA

CAFÉ

Cafetería

ISSSTE
CENTRO CULTURAL

TORRE VERACRUZ

PELLERIA
FATIMA
PRONOSTICOS

LAVANDERIA TINTORERIA
·STAR CLEAN·

RAMIREZ BARBOSA
CINA FAMILIAR

FRUTERIA Y ABARROTES

Coca-Cola

LOS EXPERTOS EN
EXAMENES DE ADMISION

MINISUPER AL

SIX

VELVET · BISTRO

VOLT

OXXO

ABARROTES "LA CONCHITA"

ABARROTES
ACUARIO

COCINA TERE

TINTORERIA

Benedetti's

Farmacias
multiGenéricos
CONSULTORIO 5583-1572 SERVICIO A DOMICILIO SIN COSTO

GENERICOS Y SIMILARES

Cochinita Pibil
Pamachos
Sopas de lima

DENTISTA
UNAM

UNIDAD DE VERIFICACIÓN DE
MASA

Cotinos
Café Bistrot
TACOS
EL PACHO

ESTETICA DOLLY

SASTRERIA
HECHURAS Y COMPOSTURAS FINAS
SERVICIO A DOMICILIO

SuperYa!

COCINA NICO

Coca-Cola
VINOS Y LICORE
RECAUDERIA

PAPELERIA COPIAS B/N

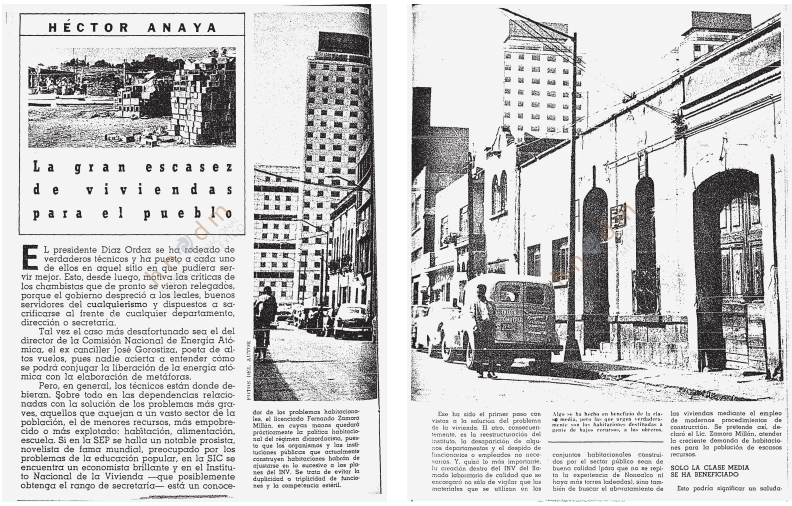
Paleteria y Neveria

DENTIST

CATARSYS
BODY SHOP

¡PIENSALO RATERO!
LOS VECINOS TE VIGILAMOS
Y NOS COORDINAMOS CON:
PGJ

CALLE GU



HÉCTOR ANAYA

La gran escasez de viviendas para el pueblo

EL presidente Díaz Ordaz se ha rodeado de verdaderos técnicos y ha puesto a cada uno de ellos en aquel sitio en que pudiera servir mejor. Esto, desde luego, motiva las críticas de los chambistas que de pronto se vieron relegados, porque el gobierno desprecia a los leales, buenos servidores del cualquierismo y dispuestos a sacrificarse al frente de cualquier departamento, dirección o secretaría.

Tal vez el caso más desafortunado sea el del director de la Comisión Nacional de Energía Atómica, el ex canciller José Gorostiza, poeta de altos vuelos, pues nadie acierta a entender cómo se podrá conjugar la liberación de la energía atómica con la elaboración de metáforas.

Pero, en general, los técnicos están donde debieran. Sobre todo en las dependencias relacionadas con la solución de los problemas más graves, aquellos que aquejan a un vasto sector de la población, el de menores recursos, más empobrecido o más explotado: habitación, alimentación, escuela. Si en la SEP se halla un notable prosista, novelista de fama mundial, preocupado por los problemas de la educación popular, en la SIC se encuentra un economista brillante y en el Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda —que posiblemente obtenga el rango de secretaría— está un conocedor de los problemas habitacionales, el licenciado Fernando Zamora Millán, en cuyas manos quedará precisamente la política habitacional del régimen diazordacista, puesto que los organismos y las instituciones públicas que actualmente construyen habitaciones habrán de ajustarse en lo sucesivo a los planes del INV. Se trata de evitar la duplicidad o triplicidad de funciones y la competencia estéril.

Esto ha sido el primer paso concreto a la solución del problema de la vivienda. El otro, consecuentemente, es la reestructuración del instituto, la desaparición de algunos departamentos y el despido de funcionarios o empleados no necesarios. Y, quizá lo más importante, la creación dentro del INV del llamado laboratorio de calidad que se encargará no sólo de vigilar que los materiales que se utilizan en los conjuntos habitacionales construidos por el sector público sean de buena calidad (para que no se repita la experiencia de Nonoalco si hoy más torres habitadas), sino también de buscar el abaratamiento de las viviendas mediante el empleo de modernos procedimientos de construcción. Se pretende así, declaró el Lic. Zamora Millán, atender la creciente demanda de habitaciones para la población de escasos recursos.

SOLO LA CLASE MEDIA SE HA BENEFICIADO

Esto podría significar un saludo-

la gran escasez de viviendas para el pueblo

de la vuelta

ble cambio en la política oficial en cuanto a la construcción de viviendas. Porque hasta ahora ha sido evidente que los únicos beneficiados con las unidades habitacionales han sido los sectores de la clase media, con recursos superiores a los mil pesos mensuales, o sea la capa de la población a la que el problema no angustia terriblemente.

La población con ingresos menores a los mil pesos mensuales, es por otra parte la más numerosa, la que vive en cuartos redondos, en viviendas ruinosas y decadentes, sin drenaje ni agua potable y en muchas ocasiones hasta sin ventanas. Es también la población con más miembros por familia, lo que les obliga a hacinarse en cuartuchos mal construidos y a destinar una parte mínima para el alquiler de la habitación.

Las familias con ingresos inferiores a los mil pesos mensuales, representan el 81% del total de las familias, ya que son 3 194 695, y el total de los que hay en el país asciende a 6 738 605. Ese mismo sector de escasos recursos ocupa 5 063 710 viviendas, de los 6 035 132 que hay en el país, por lo que a primera vista aparece un déficit de 131 985 viviendas.

Ese déficit repetimos, es sólo aparente, pues visto con detenimiento la situación, se observa que la carencia de viviendas resulta mayor. Bastaría con hacer una simple división para calcular el déficit: la población actual se calcula en 40 millones de habitantes, en tanto que el promedio de miembros por familia se estima en cinco personas, o sea que el número máximo de viviendas debiera ser de ocho millones. El déficit, sin embargo, no es de 1 600 000 viviendas, pues muchas de las que existen están en tales condiciones ruinosas que es necesario demolerlas para garantizar la seguridad de sus moradores; otras deberían ser ampliadas (cuartos de uno o dos cuartos) para cumplir con los requisitos mínimos que los hicieron habitables.

LAS CONDICIONES DE LA VIVIENDA

No se trata, empero, de hacer especulaciones que a nadie convencerían. Contamos, por fortuna, con suficiente información acerca de las condiciones de la vivienda y las razones económicas de quienes las habitan, para no secretarnos en el mundo de las suposiciones.

Cuatro millones de los 7 millones 227 mil viviendas que hay en el país son habitadas por más de cinco personas. De esos cuatro millones, la mayor parte —3 millones— la componen personas que ganan menos de mil pesos mensuales. Lo que ya no sería tan sorprendente de no existir un déficit de vivienda. Porque sumen las viviendas que habitan las familias con más de cinco miembros con las de cinco miembros con las de cinco pero que sólo tienen dos cuartos para dormir, tenemos que de los 7 millones de viviendas que tiene un solo cuarto para dormir son ocupadas por familias con más de cinco miembros. De ellas 200 mil viviendas con dos cuartos para dormir son ocupadas por esas familias numerosas y otras 340 mil viviendas con tres cuartos para dormir son habitadas por esas mismas familias. En total son 3 millones 882 mil viviendas de uno o dos cuartos para dormir que albergan a familias numerosas, con cinco miembros. En pocas palabras, se trata de viviendas insalubres.

La vivienda que ocupa cada una de esas familias con percepciones inferiores a los mil pesas mensuales, se levanta sobre una superficie no mayor de diez metros cuadrados en conjunto representan el 37% del total de las viviendas del país.

Las condiciones en que se encuentran la mayor parte de las viviendas que ocupan las familias con menos de mil pesos mensuales de ingreso, son lamentables en buena medida. Quizá sólo que este sector de familias habite 1 millones de viviendas para las cuales 1 473 624 tiene sus muros en ruinas, 1 508 521 tiene techos ruinosos y pisos en igual estado 1 882 756 viviendas. La mitad de las viviendas destinadas a la población de bajos recursos no tienen drenaje.

Esas cuatro de cada cinco habitaciones carecen de agua entubada. El 40% no tiene luz eléctrica. Más del 50% no cuenta con excusado. Y el hacinamiento, es decir, el hecho de que una misma pieza de tres familias se ve obligada a destinar parte de su pequeña vivienda a usos distintos: taller u oficina, comercio, bodega. No son mucho las habitaciones en esas condiciones para merecer ceros en cuenta al hablarse un balance general del déficit real de habitación: son 602 527 viviendas.

De los cinco millones de viviendas que ocupa el sector de población [illegible] existentes, 1 284 258 carecen de agua, 4 065 808 no tienen regadera, en tanto que a 2 765 853 les falta drenaje.

Para que se vea si no es ese el

la gran escasez de viviendas para el pueblo

de la vuelta

sector que necesita ser atendido preferentemente por el gobierno, ya que no es sujeto de crédito, no alberga que representa el 70% de la población económicamente activa, señalemos hasta donde llegan sus carencias: de acuerdo con los únicos cifras con que contamos (que tal vez sean bastante alegres), sólo hace falta lavar el fluido eléctrico al 39% de las viviendas que hay en el país, o sea a 2 345 953. Pues bien, de ese total de viviendas sin las eléctricas, corresponden a las personas con ingresos menores de mil pesos: 2 422 494.

DIFICULTADES PARA RESOLVER EL PROBLEMA

Visto lo anterior y sin tomar en cuenta a los demás sectores con ingresos superiores a los mil pesos, que, o son sujetos de crédito y por tanto podrían resolver por sí solos su problema o bien, cuentan con el apoyo gubernamental y la confianza de las aseguradoras, se comprende que los más necesitados de la acción oficial para mejorar sus condiciones de habitabilidad y en muchos casos para tener una vivienda, son quienes tienen pocos ingresos y que sin embargo trabajan.

Sabemos que no estamos descubriendo el hilo negro, ni siquiera el agua, al señalar el problema habitacional que padecen los trabajadores de la ciudad, pero ya que no hayan puesto el acento suficientemente en ubicar básicamente el problema de la gente pobre, ¿Y qué gente pobre se ha beneficiado con las unidades habitacionales hasta ahora construidas? Se cuenta que la unidad de Santa Cruz Meyehualco destinada en principio a dotar de habitaciones a los pepenadores, albergaría también a otros pesonros de recursos tan pobres como esos trabajadores de la basura, pero ya mismamos en un reportaje publicado en esta misma revista que tal cosa resultó utópico. Y ¿quién podría decir que la unidad Nonoalco Tlatelolco beneficia a los proletarios de escasos recursos? Tenemos noticia, poderosos elementos, por que el derribar muchas viviendas con ruinas coopinadas se obliga a muchas personas a sumarse al grupo de los

El Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda no podrá continuar por el camino que transcurrido, muy en su provecho. Quetzalli y

mensajeros que se ven obligados a hacinarse para tener una vivienda de un alquiler adecuado.

¿Por qué entonces ni el INV ni el Seguro Social ni el Banco Nacional Hipotecario Urbano y de Obras Públicas ni el ISSSTE ni las instituciones de la banca privada han tratado de construir viviendas para la gente pobre? Se comprende que la iniciativa privada no quiera hacerlo, pues lo mueve fundamentalmente el lucro, pero ¿qué acaso los organismos públicos no tienen un interés distinto?

Ahora ya el INHUCOP va a cambiar, por indicaciones del presidente Díaz Ordaz, el rumbo que estamos señalando, al igual que el ISSSTE. Sólo falta, pues, que ahora se ponga a construir en tal sentido y que el nuevo director del INV, Fernando de la Lama, cuya vasta elaboración sobre que, repetimos, es la que necesita las viviendas.

Sandoya, que el resentamiento pronuncias resolver el angustioso problema de las viviendas que le hacen falta al pueblo.

Se va a atender el renglón de la vivienda verdaderamente popular, se ha dicho, pero hasta ahora no se ha presentado ningún plan específico ni se ha divulgado la forma como se eliminarán los principales obstáculos que frenan la solución del problema. Ya he aventurado la CTM la posibilidad de que el gobierno expropie terrenos y levante edificios habitacionales en ellos, se ha planteado también la posibilidad de que el propio gobierno frene la especulación con bienes raíces, fundo una especie de banco de la construcción que regule el mercado de los materiales y otorgue créditos a largo plazo. Si eso no estamos en la único manera de lograr que el roble llegue a tener una vivienda decorosa, porque si una renta libre de 1 000 pesos mensuales es para otros difícilmente que los necesitados los señalado, el propósito de dotar a la gente pobre de vivienda adecuada se quedará en el papel.

The great shortage of housing for the people.

Hector Anaya
Sucesos para Todos.
April 16th, 1965.

Only the middle class has profited. [The incoming administration] could mean healthy change in the official strategy for the creation of public housing. Up until now, it is clear that the only beneficiaries of the housing complexes are the middle class, those with earnings higher than 1000 pesos per month, for this sector of the population the lack of affordable housing is not of great concern.

Fig. 5.15 *(p132) Type A building entrances as modified by resident.*
Fig. 5.16 *(p134) Type C business façades.*
Fig. 5.17 *(p136) Type A window bars.*

Tlatelolco o la Ciudad Perdida

Al Borde del Colapso la Primera Acción de Reforma Urbana del DF.

EL NACIONAL

55 AÑOS AL SERVICIO DE MEXICO

Sólo 30 mil Ejidatarios le Quedan al DF

Que los Programas de Vivienda no se Queden en Proyecto, Demanda Popular

Lo más Preocupante es que 24 mil de Ellos Promedian una Edad de 60 Años

Daniel Balmaceda y Norma López, Candidatos a Dirigir la Liga de Comunidades Agrarias y Sindicatos Campesinos

Se Agota Otro Recurso en el DF

Pequeños Comerciantes Solicitan al PRI Apoyos Para Competir con Supertiendas

Ciudad en el Aire

Sistema de Abasto

Garantía Arrendataria a Inquilinos del IMSS

¿Qué Opina del Rescate de los Ocho mil Vecindades?

YUCUNDO MARQUEZ
Edad: 54 años
Comerciante

GUADALUPE ROA
Edad: 52 Años
Comerciante

GUSTAVO PEREZ
Edad: 15 años
Estudiante

ARMANDO VELAZQUEZ
Edad: 27 años
Empleado

CARMEN NAVARRO
Edad: 24 años
Ama de Casa

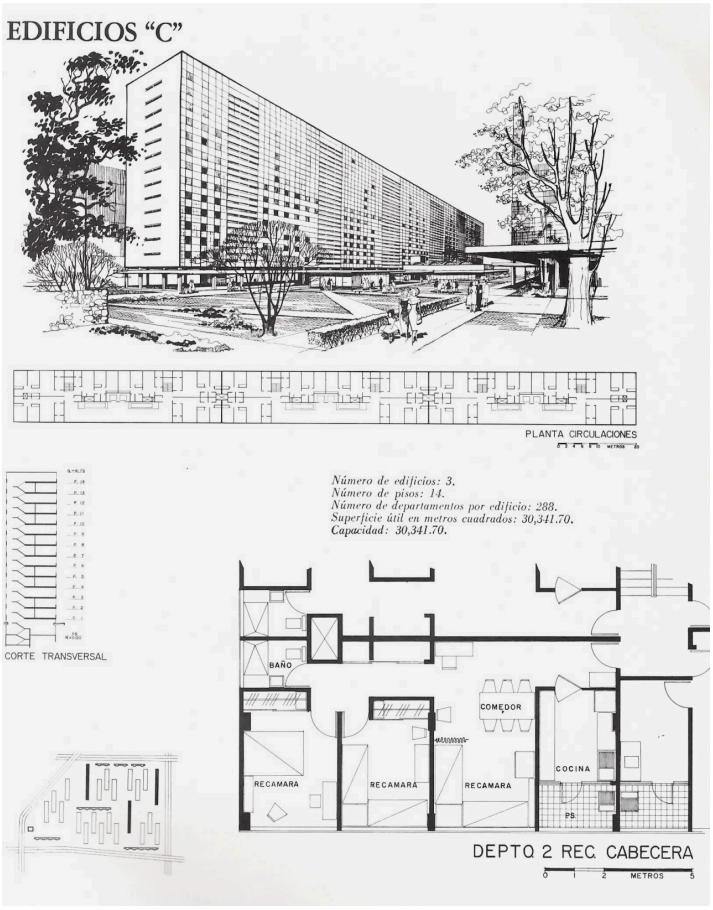
SARA CASTAÑEDA
Edad: 30 años
Empleada Federal

Tlatelolco o la Ciudad Perdida

Tlatelolco a 'lost city.'

El Nacional.
September 28th, 1984.

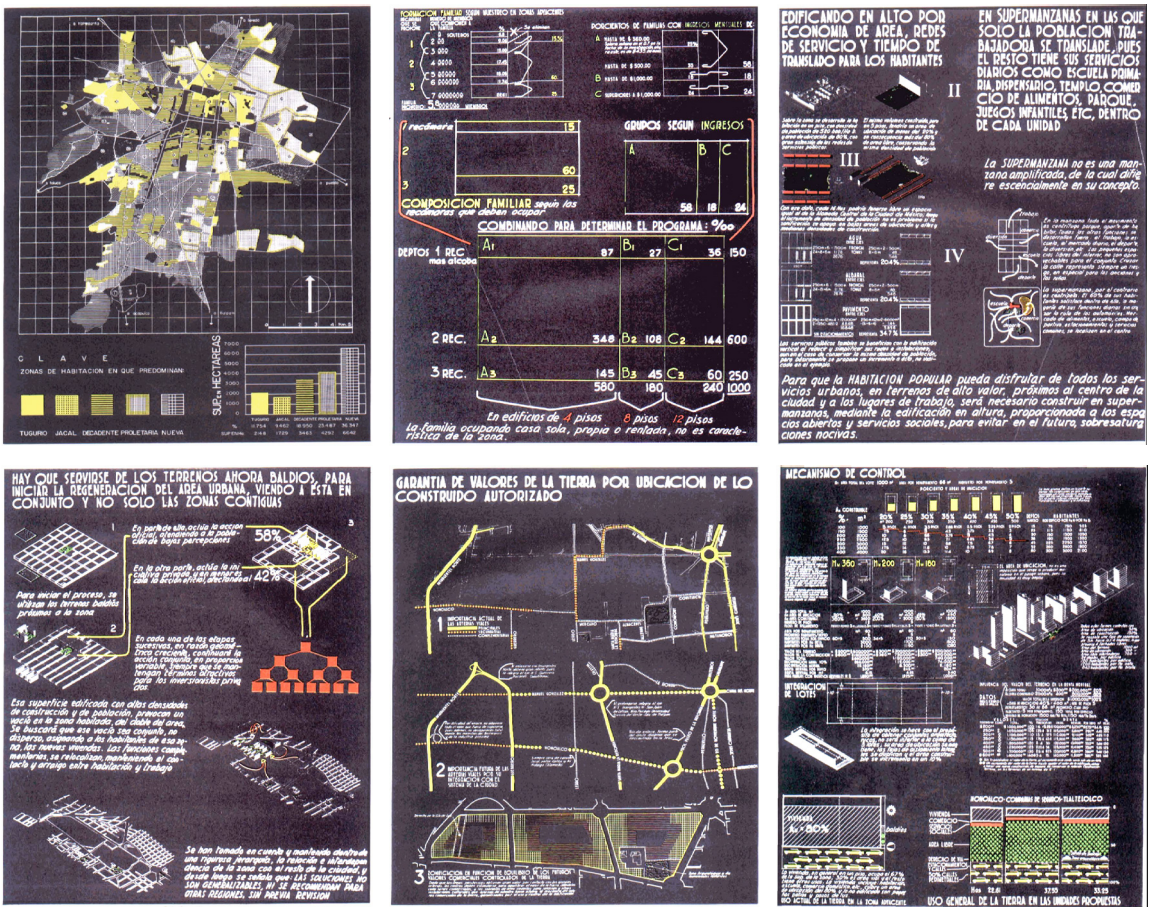
The original project did not foresee that the urban growth would make the Housing Complex insufficient. The Housing Complex Adolfo Lopez Mateos, better known as Tlatelolco, was designed to house an average of 70 thousand residents on 12 thousand apartments, today it houses 150 thousand people. With double the population, the problems multiplied. [The Complex] was planned with rental-only apartments to keep it away from speculation, hoarding, monopoly and other nefarious real-estate practices. The current Tlatelolco is far from the objectives under which it was created. [...] The eventual sale of the apartments gave rise to private management which today charges market level rents. [...] Tlatelolco stopped being a complex of social welfare. It has now become a business where a few exploit many.



Type C Building

Arquitectura Mexico
(Marketing Material)
1965.

"Type C Building
Number of Buildings: 3
Number of Floors: 14
Number of Apartments by Building: 288
Surface: 30,341.70 m^2"



Urban Regeneration of Mexico City

Mario Pani
Arquitectura Mexico
1960.

In order that social housing may enjoy of all the urban services, in the valuable real-estate adjacent to the city centre and places of work, it is necessary to build mega complexes through the edification of height, open spaces and social services, in order to prevent a future with dangerous over-saturation of people.

Fig. 5.18 Facade Loggias

DECOMPOSITION OF AN ICON

The Type 'C' building is the largest building type in the Housing Complex. If fully occupied, it houses approximately 800 people in 288 units. The buildings were originally cladded in pristine white corrugated spandrels panels which gave the façades a unique cohesive aesthetic but it heavily limited the light and views out of the apartment. Following the earthquake of 1985, the buildings had to be emptied and buttressed with concrete pillars and cross beams to ensure their habitability. This new aesthetic inadvertently opened up substantial window space into the apartments, Giving the residents the chance to project their life outwards.

The intervention further extends this organic process by using the massive concrete skeleton to build loggias wherever possible to give the residents full ownership over the aesthetic of their homes, creating collective housing where design does not impose and identity but rather amplifies the existing one.

Fig. 5.19 Concrete seismic buttressing holding emptiness.

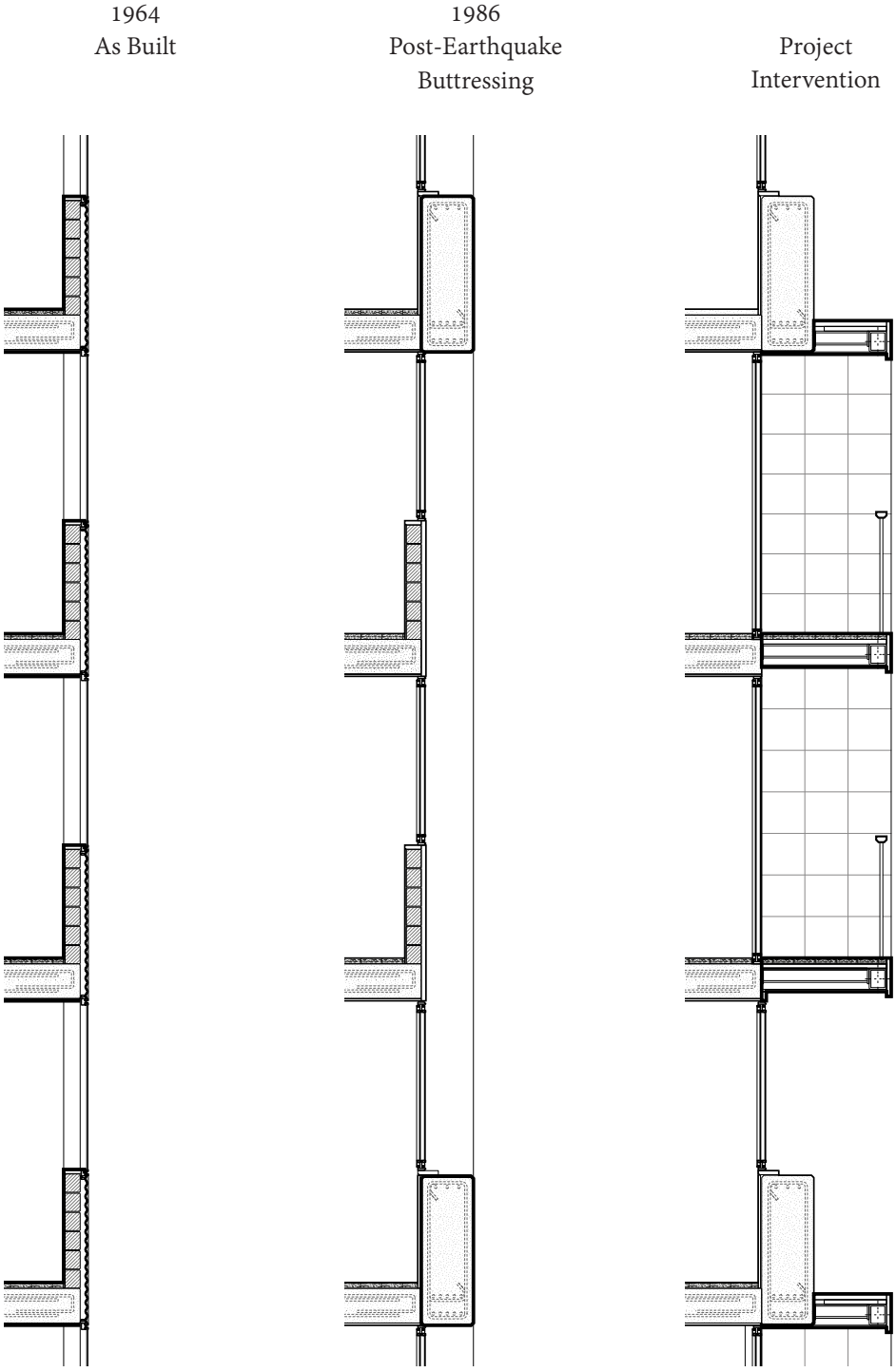


Fig. 5.20 Sectional detail of the C type facade through history.

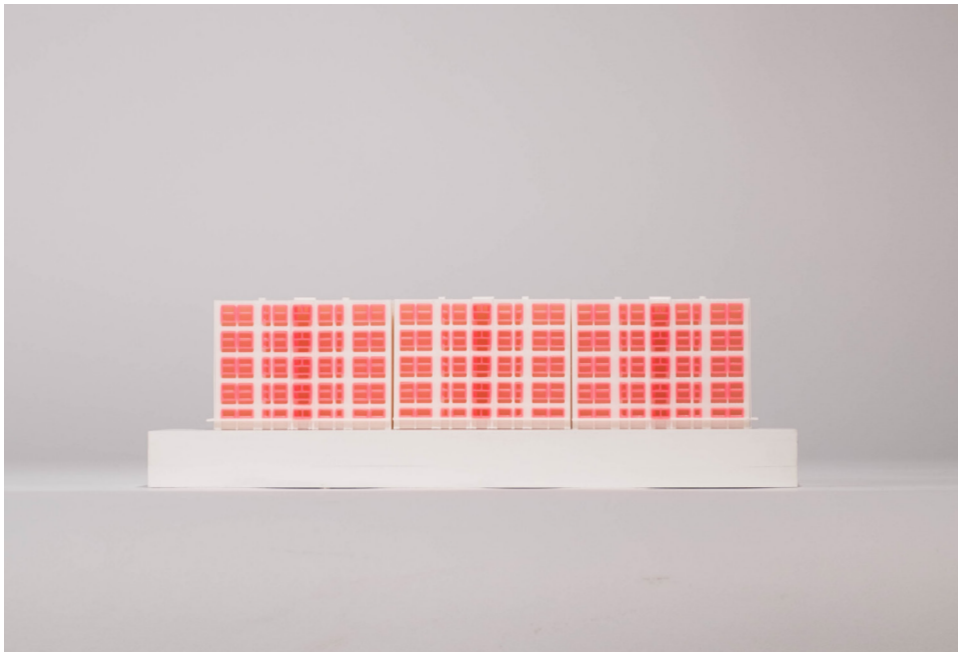
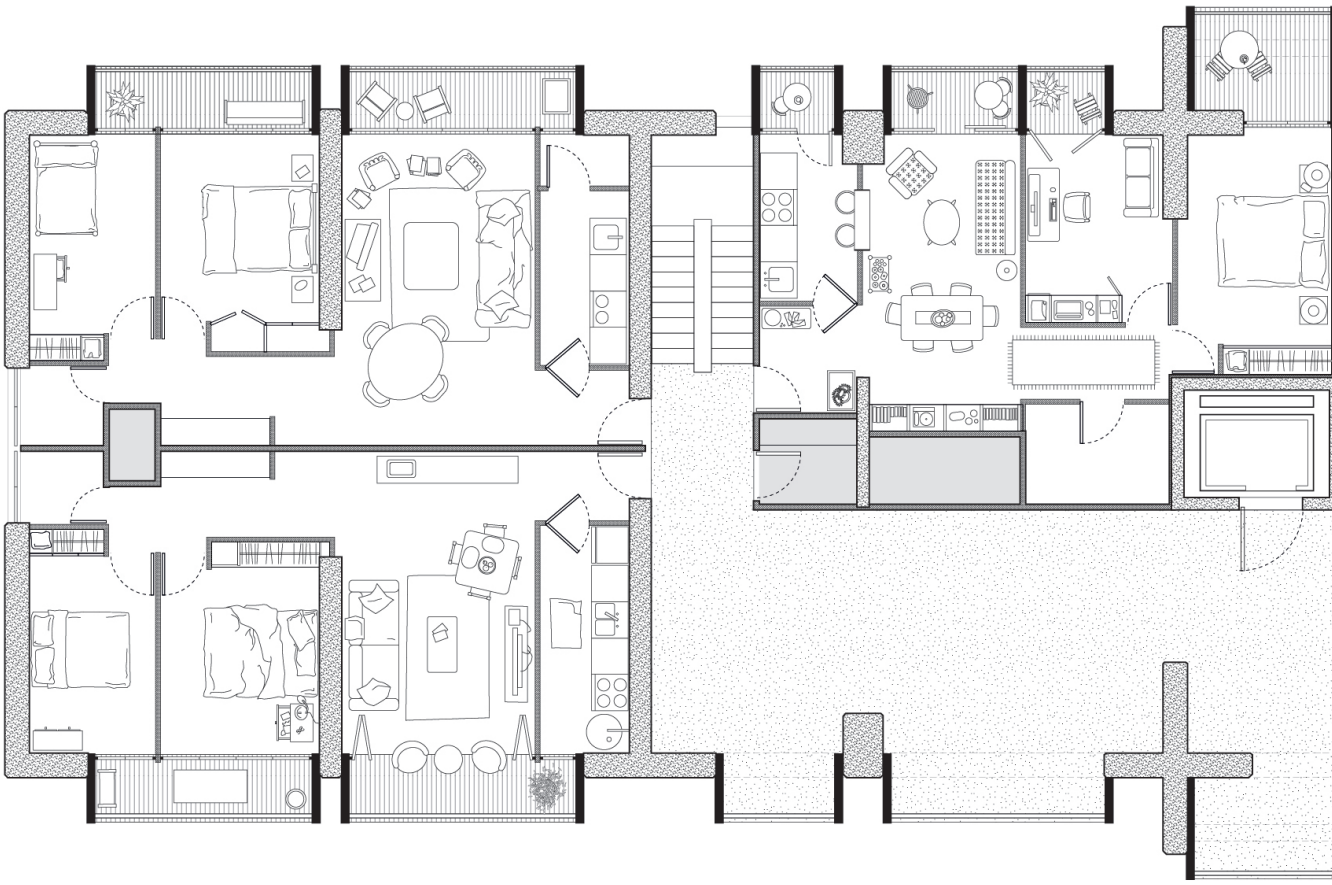


Fig. 5.21 Intervention on the 'C' type buildings.



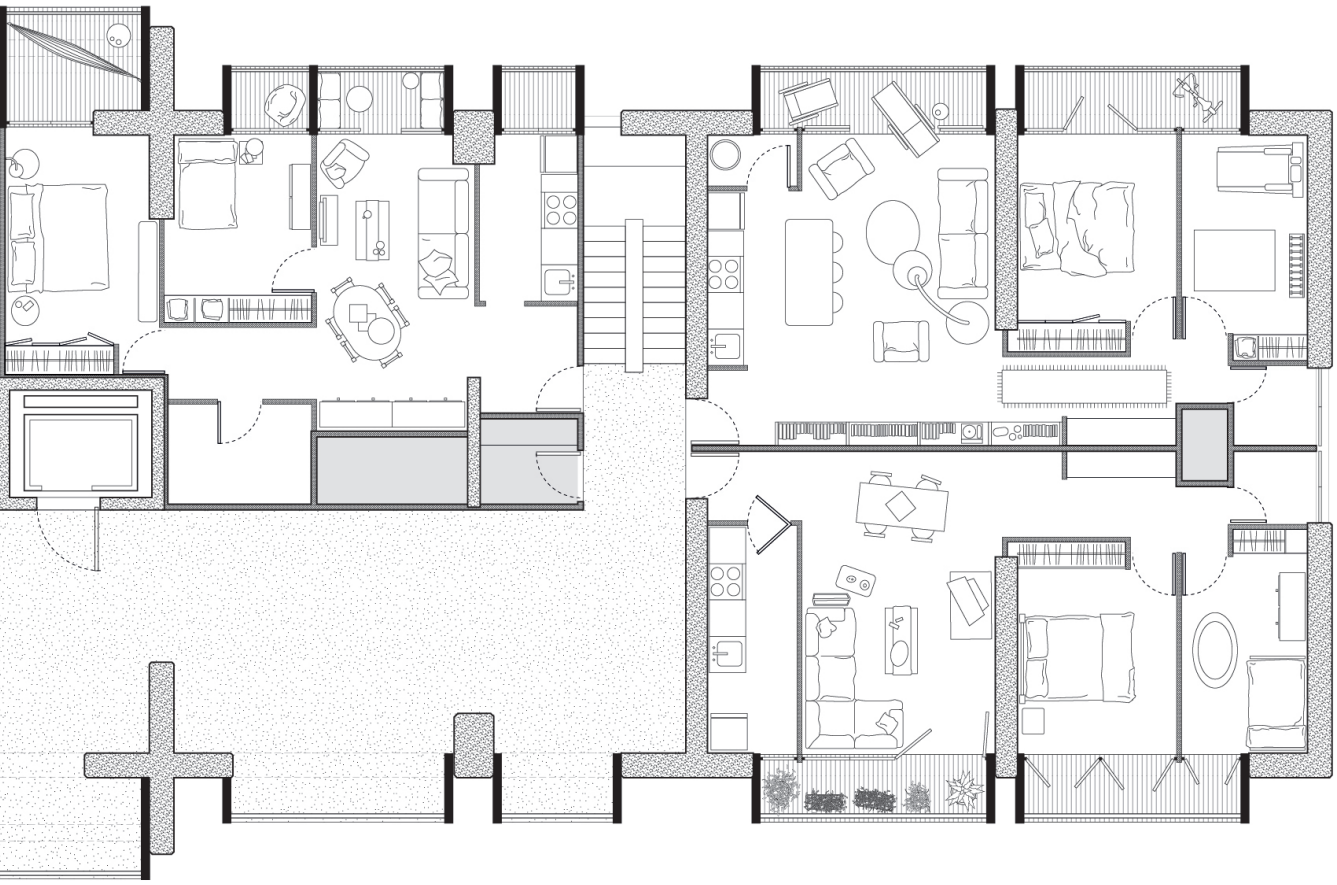
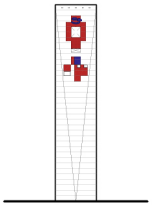


Fig. 5.22 Typical plan of the type C facade with loggias.

6. TORRE BANOBRAS

Hollowing the Apparatus of Power within the Housing Complex



THE BANOBRAS TOWER

The Banobras Tower[1] was built to house the headquarters of the National Bank of Works and Public Mortgage Credit (later BANOBRAS) responsible for the planning, financing, construction, and administration of housing developments in Mexico. Their mission was to investigate the conditions of housing of the lower class in Mexico City and to construct a project of economical housing laws which could provide higher quality housing across the country, especially in the urban cores.[2] The tower, designed by Mario Pani, measures 127 meters through its 25 floors, was at the time the tallest reinforced concrete tower in Mexico.[3] The tower housed the enormous bureaucratic machine which administered and leased the 12,004 apartments, 600 commercial lots, 11 daycares, 8 primary schools, 3 secondary schools, 3 sports centres, and 6 healthcare facilities in the NTHC.[4]

BANOBRAS consolidated several existing financial institutions from previous administrations, some dating back to the Revolution. The mission of this new cohesive state body was to promote and direct resources for the creation of public works and services.[5] It acted as a financial advisory agent to the federal government as well as other public organisms such as the IMSS and ISSSTE.[6] However, the power invested in the institution through its control and management of all public works, social-

Fig. 6.1 Construction of the Insignia Tower. 1963.

1 Other names include: Nonoalco-Tower, Insignia Tower, and Tower of Cards.

2 Gustavo Garza and Marta Schteingart, *La Acción Habitacional del Estado en México* (Mexico DF: El Colegio de Mexico, 1978).

3 Manuel de Sevilla, Obras para Mexico. Conjunto Urbano Presidente Lopez Mateos (Fundacion Televisa, 1964).

4 Rubén Cantú Chapa, Tlatelolco. La Autoadministración en Unidades Habitacionales Gestión Urbana y Planificación, 1st ed. (Mexico DF: Plaza y Valdez S.A. de C.V., 2001).

5 Garza and Schteingart, *La Acción Habitacional del Estado en Mexico*.

6 Mexican Institute of Social Security (IMSS) and Institute of Social Security and Services for the Workers of the State (ISSSTE)

Fig. 6.2 Headquarters of the Urban Mortgage Bank of Public Works. 1963.

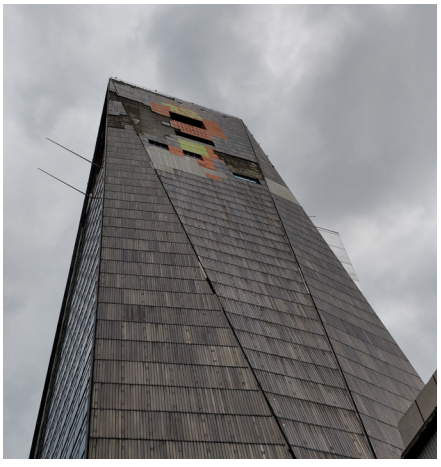


Fig. 6.3 Current state of the Banobras Tower.

interest housing, and essential services, created a powerful apparatus of social control which tied in local organisms of power, and the individual, to the policy of the public works financial institution through binding contracts.[7]

For the construction of the NTHC, BANOBRAS obtained funding of $100,000,000 (Mexican Pesos)[8] for the construction of the first section through the Bank of Mexico at an interest of 4%. The density, number of units, and price of the leaseholds for the entire Housing Complex project were designed around this delicate financial arrangement in order to repay the loan and operate the massive Housing Complex at a profit.

The first section was finished in late 1962, while the government was forced into austerity by a recession. Under risk of cancelling the remaining two sections of the urban complex, finance secretary Ortiz Mena believed the construction of the other two sections had to go forward as interrupting public works would instigate distrust in the administration. However, since the Bank of Mexico could not invest, BANOBRAS had to obtain funding from insurance companies with an interest rate of 10%. Rental prices of the apartments under this new financial structure did not follow the calculations of the preliminary feasibility study.[9] Furthermore, having already designed and delivered the first section of the NTHC at the agreed lease price, BANOBRAS could not modify the price of the leaseholds as they were previously established by the government contract. In 1963, BANOBRAS, abandoned the practice of direct rental systems, and began to reorganize the entire NTHC as a condominium arrangement in order to maintain the set lease prices.

The BANOBRAS restructure leased apartments under a contract known as a *Certificate of Non-Redeemable Real Estate Participation* through which "once all residents of a building had paid the value of the (development) debt, residents could buy their apartments or adopt a co-property regime."[10]

Although the BANOBRAS was originally conceived as the institutional arm of the article 123, regarding the worker's right to housing, BANOBRAS became an apparatus of social control. Through its economic and judicial authority over housing, the bank exerted social control over the residents of the Tlatelolco Housing Complex. Only a state bank like BANOBRAS could fulfil the double purpose of recovering investment at a profit, while behaving as a social

7 Ivonne Santoyo-Orozco, "The Apparatus of Ownership," Scapegoat, no. 6 (2014).

8 Approximately $13.4B CND today, adjusting for inflation.

9 de Garay, *Mario Pani*.

10 Garza and Schteingart, *La Accion Habitacional del Estado en Mexico*.

state's institution by providing housing for the working and middle class. Though this contradiction, the BANOBRAS tower became an empty shell.

In 1972, President Luis Echeverría amended Article 123, replacing the obligation to provide housing with a program of nationwide income contribution towards a mortgage program, where 5% of all workers' salaries are collected to provide housing mortgage products. This program officially ended the production of a holistic housing strategy.

The new Condominium Law introduced by the Echeverría government, left the residents of Tlatelolco at the whim of the Bank, paying *Non-redeemable Certificates* with no possibility to buy their units or even transfer the ownership of the *Certificates* to family, all the while experiencing first-hand the deterioration of the housing complex.

In 1973, a 20% increase in the administration quotas triggered strong push-back from the nascent Tlatelolco community resulting in several buildings declaring self-administration by boycotting the maintenance payments.

By the late 1970's, with most *Certificates* paid for under the original contracts, residents refused to buy their apartments from BANOBRAS without it first considering the paid-for *certificates*, which in many cases, had already surpassed the amortization of the units. Residents demanded to AISA (Real-Estate Administration), the BANOBRAS, and the federal government, a formal way out of the certificates and into a condominium regime.

After six years of struggle, the residents obtained the support of President Echeverría to convert the paid-for *Certificates* into condominium ownership and pursue slef-administration of buildings whenever the residents supported it.

The Bank of Public Works has radically changed since its inception. On the inauguration of the Bank of Public Works, President Cárdenas remarked, "The construction of social housing by the state initiative or by private initiative should never be a profitable business."[11] This stands in stark contrast to the current Mexico's housing market in which 65.4% is held by state-backed mortgages, driving a profitable real-estate market.[12]

The Banobras Tower lost its monumental purpose one year before the inauguration of the NTHC, it became a symbol of social control which was expelled from the complex through the successful resistance of the residents. In 1985, after the earthquake, BANOBRAS abandoned the tower which, to this date, remains empty and for lease.

Fig. 6.4 *San Buenaventura Housing Complex. The urban form resulting from current the mortgage driven (INFONAVIT) housing strategy.*

Fig. 6.5 *Banobras tower as the symbol of Tlatelolco on the subway's iconography.*

11 Enrique Krauze, Biografia Del Poder (Maxi Tusquets Editores, 1997).

12 Infonavit, "Reporte Economico Trimestral. Abrl-Junio 2019 - Num. 1" (Infonavit, June 2019).

1935-1963

Social Modernist Housing Development

Social and national connotation.
Statement of progress, equality, and solidarity.

BNHUOPSA

NATIONAL BANK OF URBAN MORTGAGING AND PUBLIC WORKS

BANCO NACIONAL HIPOTECARIO URBANO Y OBRAS PUBLICAS S.A.

"The construction of affordable housing by [the state] initiative or by private initiative should never be, in any country, a business profitable in the slightest."
~President Cárdenas (1935)

The state provides housing for the workers as per Article 123 (Section XI) of the 1917 Constitution. For corporations with over 100 employees, the employer must provide comfortable housing.

1964-1993

Capitalist Housing Development

Means of capital accumulation through extensive rent and leaseholds, and the concentration of the workforce.

BANOBRAS (BNOSP)

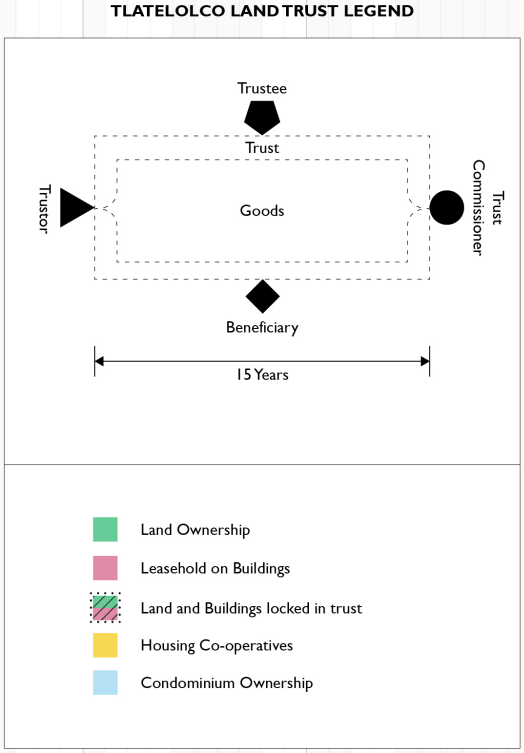
NATIONAL BANK OF WORKS AND PUBLIC SERVICES

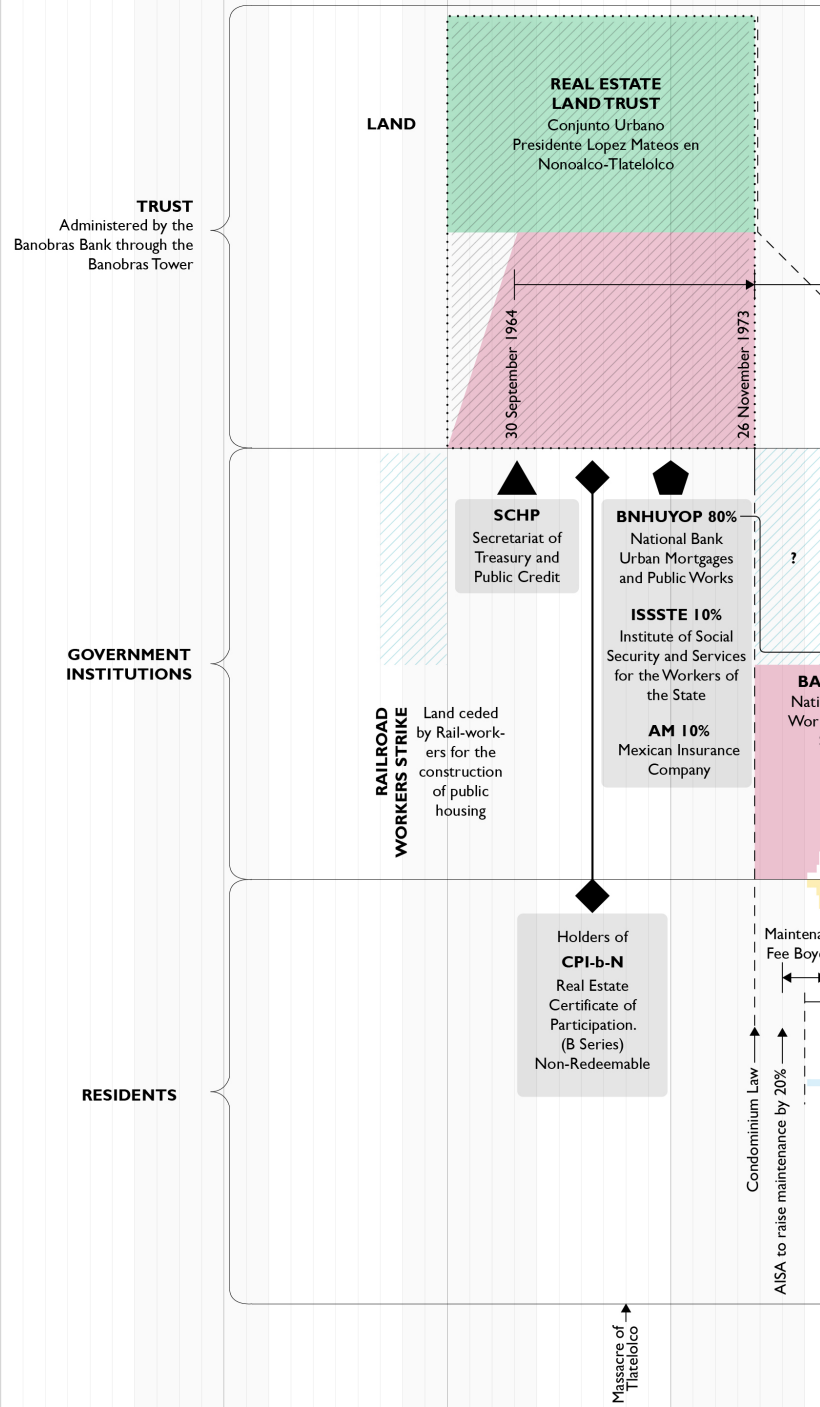
BANCO NACIONAL DE OBRAS Y SERVICIOS PUBLICOS S.N.C.

The INFONAVIT (National Institute for the Funding of Workers Housing) is the driving force of the internal real-estate markets in Mexico."
- Forbes Mexico (2017)

Bank does not provide property but instead provides a hold on the tenant, giving them no real sense for a creation of a patrimony.

1973


TLATELOLCO LAND TRUST LEGEND
Trustee
Trust
Trustor
Goods
Trust Commissioner
Beneficiary
15 Years
Land Ownership
Leasehold on Buildings
Land and Buildings locked in trust
Housing Co-operatives
Condominium Ownership


TRUST
Administered by the Banobras Bank through the Banobras Tower
LAND
REAL ESTATE LAND TRUST
Conjunto Urbano Presidente Lopez Mateos en Nonoalco-Tlatelolco
30 September 1964
26 November 1973
GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS
SCHP
Secretariat of Treasury and Public Credit
BNHUYOP 80%
National Bank Urban Mortgages and Public Works
ISSSTE 10%
Institute of Social Security and Services for the Workers of the State
AM 10%
Mexican Insurance Company
?
RAILROAD WORKERS STRIKE
Land ceded by Rail-workers for the construction of public housing
RESIDENTS
Holders of
CPI-b-N
Real Estate Certificate of Participation. (B Series)
Non-Redeemable
Condominium Law
AISA to raise maintenance by 20%
Massacre of Tlatelolco
RAILROAD WORKERS STRIKE
STUDENT MOVEMENT
Inflation
32.8%
16.5%
6.4%
3.2%
MEXICAN WAR OF REVOLUTION
STABILIZING DEVELOPMENT
THE MEXICAN MIRACLE
POPULIST
Porfirio Diaz Mori
Francisco I. Madero
Victoriano Huerta
...
Venustiano Carranza Garza
Adolfo de la Huerta
Álvaro Obregón Salido
Plutarco Elías Calles
Emilio Portes Gill
Pascual Ortiz Rubio
Abelardo L. Rodríguez
Lázaro Cárdenas del Río
Manuel Ávila Camacho
Miguel Alemán Valdés
Adolfo Ruiz Cortines
Adolfo López Mateos
Gustavo Díaz Ordaz Bolaños
Luis Echeverría Álvarez
1910
1920
1930
1940
1950
1960
1970

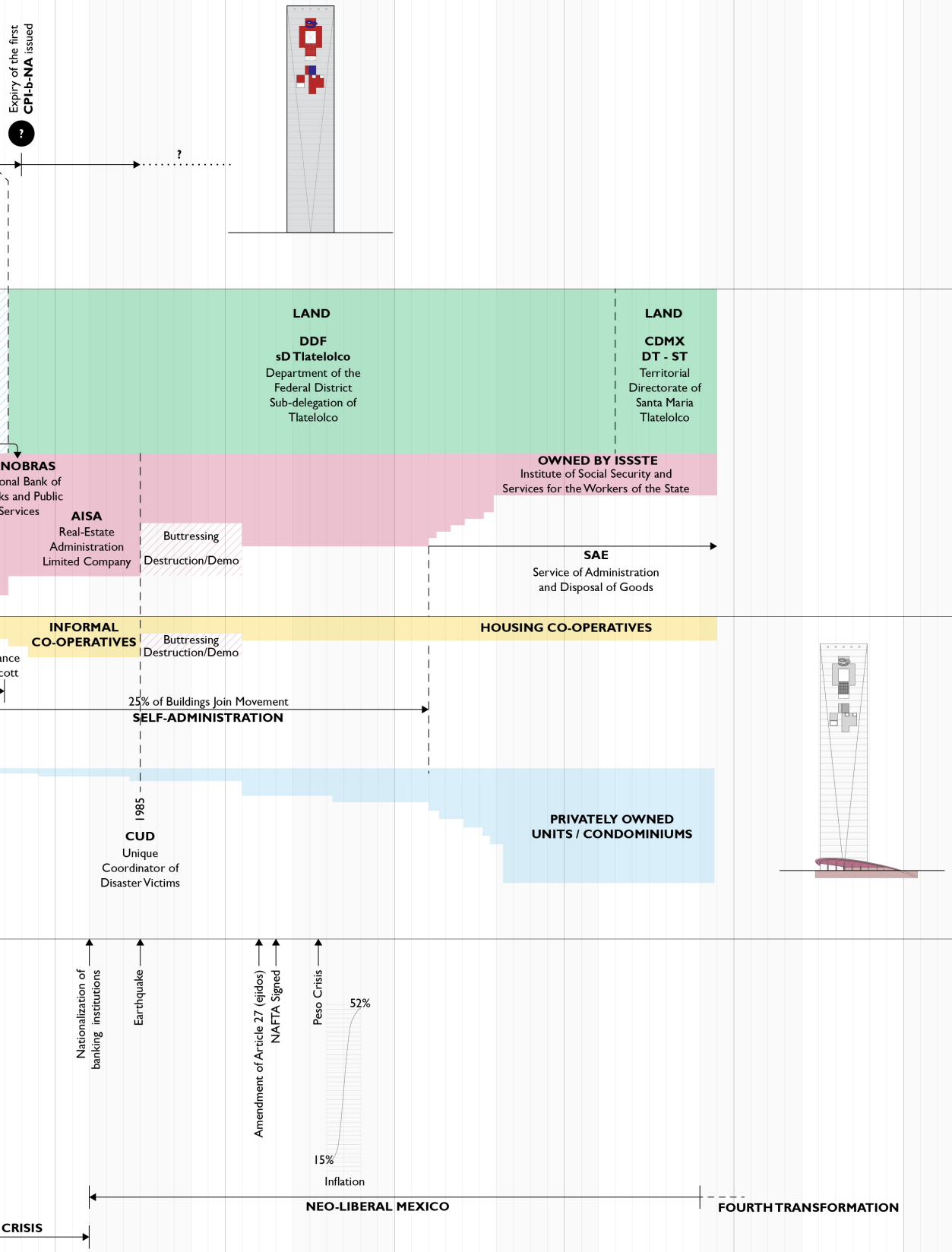


Fig. 6.6 History of the Banobras Tower

Hoy se Inicia la Sexta Convención Nacional del INPI

75 CENTAVOS

EL NACIONAL

AL SERVICIO DE MEXICO

INTENTARON BOMBARDEAR LA CAPITAL CUBANA Y ASESINAR A FIDEL CASTRO

MEXICO, D. F., DOMINGO 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1964

Enriquecimiento de la Metrópoli con Hermosas Avenidas

Entregó el Jefe del País la Unidad Nonoalco Tlatelolco

Considerable Aumento de las Viviendas Para los Diversos Niveles Económicos

Por Alejandro CAMPOS BRAVO, reportero de EL NACIONAL

Conjunción de Esfuerzos

Síntesis de Gran Tarea en Beneficio de la Niñez

La Ganadería en Marcha

Firme Amistad con Honduras

Nuevo Magníficos Resultados by Hombres Colonial de Cirujanos que Celebró Ayer

Interés del Ejecutivo en la Educación

Aplaudió el Jefe de la Nación la Tarea Magisterial

Por Ricardo GONZALEZ CAMARENA, reportero de EL NACIONAL

Balance Positivo

Realizaciones de la Comisión Nacional Consultiva de Pesca

Por Gilberto BRAVO, reportero de EL NACIONAL

PERJUICIOS DEL SOL AL ALCOHOL DEL PULQUE

Concluyeron los Trabajos de la Reunión de Meteorología

Programa General de las Actos Sobre la Transmisión del Poder Efectivo

Mensaje del Jefe del País a Johnson por el I Aniversario de la Muerte de Kennedy

Sexenio de la Paz y la Seguridad

Esfuerzos Oficial en Beneficio de los Trabajadores

Fue Inaugurada Ayer la Prolongación de Reforma

Esta Obra Vial y sus Complementarios Acelerará la Urbanización de Amplia Zona

Por Alejandro CAMPOS BRAVO, reportero de EL NACIONAL

Jornada Presidencial

Irá Mañana a Veracruz y Malpaso el Jefe del País

Se Inaugurará el Nuevo Edificio de la FSTSE

Visitó el Señor Presidente las Instalaciones de la "Cadena de Periódicos García Valseca"

Nombres de los Militares que Fueron Ascendidos el Grado Inmediato Superior

Entregó el Jefe del País la Unidad

Firme Amistad con Honduras

El Diablo Como Elemento

¡¡¡FUTBOL!!!

Atlético de Madrid

VS.

Real Madrid

TOLUCA

VS.

MONTERREY

EN

XERH

1,200 KCS.

COMENTARIO Y CRONICA

EL MORO

Irá Mañana a Veracruz

Tenis Inflexible y Ciego

Mensaje del Jefe del País a Johnson

RADIO UNIVERSIDAD

Programas de TV Para hoy

The Metropolis is Enriched with Beautiful Avenues.

El Nacional
November 22, 1964.

The leader of the country delivered the Housing Complex Nonoalco-Tlatelolco. 'A considerable increase in the housing stock for various socio-economic levels. The sensibilities and grandeur of a leader are measured by their ideals and the breadth of his public works, the fabric of this great urban complex which was rigorously created by you and put to disposition, with great love, to the Mexican people.' said Guillermo H Viramontes, general director of the BANOBRAS, referring to President Adolfo Lopez Mateos [...] 'The honour and responsibility fell on the BANOBRAS to receive the ambitious and difficult task of erecting this complex. To execute this enterprise, an ethic was created of persevering work and moral fortitude. While the bank and its men—he continued—happily achieved their mission, it is you, mister president, who must judge it, but in either case, they delved their best enthusiasm and effort.' [...] Viramontes began his speech with these words: 'This monumental housing complex aspires to be a symbol of the grandeur of Mexico: an ambitious, new, and unique attempt at massive regeneration of a forgotten area, a solution to great and pressing social issues.' He later referred to the system of finance for the project, underlining the fact that despite the elevated costs, it was not necessary to use resources from the state [...] 'The fundamental thesis—he added—consisted on the erection of a self-sufficient city, 102 housing buildings with 42 others dedicated to social services, and a beacon tower, the third tallest building in the world made entirety from reinforced concrete.'

TEMILOTZIN

DEFENSOR DE TENOCHTITLAN Y CANTOR DE LA AMISTAD

ORGANO DE LA ASOCIACION DE RESIDENTES Y ADQUIRENTES D E LOS EDIF. J. M. ARTEAGA Y M. L. DE TEJADA DE LA UNIDAD NONOALCO — TLATELOLCO, A. C.

OFIC. GUERRERO 379-14 MEXICO, D. F.,

REGISTRO EN TRAMITE JULIO DE 1976

Ep. I, No. 4 TEL. 597-54-65

EL AUTOGOBIERNO ES DEMOCRACIA

La toma de la autoadministración por los residentes de varios edificios en Tlatelolco, ha sido resultado, directo o indirecto, del movimiento iniciado en 1974 en contra del arbitrario aumento del 20 por ciento en las cuotas y por los pésimos o nulos servicios de mantenimiento que proporcionaba la empresa AISA. Mediante la organización primero de asociaciones civiles de residentes y adquirentes, pasaron a la autoadministración el edificio Ahuapán en mayo de 1975, el Arteaga y el Lerdo en agosto, en septiembre el Tabasco, y en noviembre y diciembre, respectivamente, el Vicente Guerrero y el José María Chávez; en junio de este año, optaron por el mismo camino los residentes del edificio Jesús Terán. En total, en 7 edificios de los 83 que existen en la Unidad, se ejerce actualmente la autoadministración, abarcando más de 900 departamentos, más de 100 locales comerciales y varios centenares de cuartos de servicio.

La conquista de la autoadministración ha sido un importante triunfo de la lucha organizada de los habitantes de Tlatelolco; no hay duda alguna respecto a que es el único sistema mediante el cual se pueden obtener servicios para una vida decorosa y decente y a un costo más bajo; sus beneficios están a la vista de todos y su ejemplo sigue ganando adeptos.

Ahora bien, la experiencia en torno a la autoadministración en cada uno de los 7 edificios mencionados es diferente y singular, pese a que muchos de los problemas son similares y los objetivos a perseguir los mismos. El camino para llegar a la autoadministración, las formas de organización interna de los residentes, algunas soluciones concretas, etc. Pueden variar dependiendo incluso de las características de ubicación de los edificios o del número de departamentos. Para el mejor éxito y consolidación de la autoadministración resulta básico conocer y estudiar cada una de las diferentes experiencias; observar lo que haya de común y lo que exista de diferencia: aprender de lo positivo y de lo negativo.

Sin embargo, el hecho de que las experiencias sean distintas, no debe hacer que perdamos de vista los objetivos generales y comunes de la autoadministración, así como serie de principios básicos en los que, definitivamente, no puede haber diferencias entre los edificios. De otro modo, la autoadministración se desvía, sus fines se desvirtúan y se convierte en recurso lícito de gente deshonesta.

¿Cuáles son los objetivos de la autoadministración?: mejora sustancial profunda, en cantidad y calidad, de los servicios necesarios para una vida decorosa; cuotas de administración y mantenimiento que correspondan realmente a los servicios proporcionados; solución de los problemas de los residentes en forma comunitaria y democrática, sin tutelas ajenas y sin burocratismo arbitrario control del estacionamiento para uso exclusivo y ordenado de los residentes. Si no mejoran substancialmente los servicios, no tendría razón de ser la autoadministración.

¿Cuáles son los principios básicos que deben regir la la-

(Pasa a la pág. 3)

Primer Aniversario de la Autoadministración

- SE RATIFICO A LA MESA DIRECTIVA.
- POSITIVO BALANCE.

Los residentes de los edificios J. M. Arteaga y M. Lerdo de Tejada nos reunimos en nuestro local, el domingo 6 de junio en Asamblea General Ordinaria, satisfechos con los resultados obtenidos en estos primeros 12 meses de autoadministración. Con un lleno absoluto, se leyó el resultado de la auditoría practicada a nuestra Asociación, cumpliendo así con lo que marcan nuestros Estatutos. La auditoría realizada permitió comprobar el manejo honesto de nuestras cuotas por parte de la Mesa Directiva. (En nota aparte podrá el lector tener este informe que claramente señala las ventajas de que nosotros mismos controlemos nuestro dinero).

Enterada la Asamblea y no habiendo dudas al respecto se pasó a elegir la nueva Mesa Directiva que regirá nuestra Asociación durante los próximos dos años. Con el fin de reforzar la actividad de la Mesa Directiva, fue aprobada la creación de los puestos de vicepresidente y dos vocales por cada uno de los edificios.

Unánimemente el Consejo de Delegados pidió la reelección del arquitecto Rubén Cantú Chapa y del licenciado Martín Reyes, como presidente y secretario respectivamente del edificio Arteaga. Esta petición fue apoyada por la Asamblea en vista de la magnífica labor que estos dos elementos han desempeñado desde el inicio de nuestra lucha en enero de 1974.

Como vicepresidente de este edificio se eligió al señor Max de Menditábal, delegado de la entrada "F", y como tesorero al señor Enrique Torres, delegado de la entrada "E". Los puestos de vocales recayeron en la señora Alicia Bautista, de la entrada "C"

(Pasa a la pág. 4)

Insólita Auditoría en Tlatelolco

Por primera vez en Tlatelolco, para garantizar el manejo honesto de las cuotas de los adquirentes, se realizó una auditoría a la Asociación Arteaga-Lerdo, con resultados altamente satisfactorios, por el despacho contable Zarco Gómez A. P. De esta manera se dió cumplimiento al reglamento de la Autoadministración, en el cual se obliga a la Mesa Directiva a presentar auditorías periódicamente.

Damos a conocer a los residentes de toda la Unidad los resultados del dictamen, extractando los puntos principales:

CAJA Y BANCOS

"Por lo que se refiere a la cuenta bancaria, se confirió y resultó correcta de acuerdo con el saldo en libros de $83,108.05. En cuanto al fondo fijo de caja de $2,000.00 se observó que es insuficiente ya que invariablemente los reembolsos son por cantidades que lo sobrepasan, por lo tanto, sugerimos que el monto de dicho fondo se incremente.

CUENTAS POR COBRAR

"Por lo que respecta esta cuenta, se encontró que el registro de las operaciones se hace en forma global y su saldo representa la diferencia

(Pasa a la pág. 3)

Self-government is Democracy.

Temotzin.
July, 1976.

The achievement of our self-governance has been and important triumph of the organized struggle of the residents of Tlatelolco; [...] What are the objectives of Self-governance? Substantial improvement in the quantity and quality of the services needed for a dignified life; administration and maintenance fees that truly correspond to the services provided; solutions to the residents' problems in a communitary and democratic manner, with no external mediation or arbitrary bureaucracy; Parking control for the exclusive and ordered use of the residents.

EE. UU. Preparado a Negociar el Alto al Fuego en el Vietnam

30 CENTAVOS

EL NACIONAL

AL SERVICIO DE MEXICO

La URSS Está Dispuesta a Tratar los Diversos Problemas Mundiales

MEXICO, D. F., MIERCOLES 15 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1965

Presupuesto Mayor sin Aumentar Impuestos

Aumento Anual del Presupuesto de Egresos Desde 1935 a 1966

Se Aprobó el Control de Compras

Egresos Federales por más de 52 mil Millones en 1966

Ingresos que Percibirá la Federación

Distribución del Presupuesto Federal de Egresos Para 1966

Sesión de los Diputados

Requiere la Cámara una Justicia aún más Expedita

Campos Salas Habla en Londres Sobre la Finalidad de su Viaje

Actividades Presidenciales en Esta Semana

Acuerdo de Colaboración Económica con Nigeria

Hoy se Inaugura un Condominio de Teleféristas

Visitó Ayer Tlatelolco la Misión Polaca

Respaldo Unánime

Pleno Apoyo de la CNIT a la Política Financiera

Satisfactoria Situación en el Fondo de Cultura

Mejor Conservación

Mantenimiento de las Unidades Habitacionales

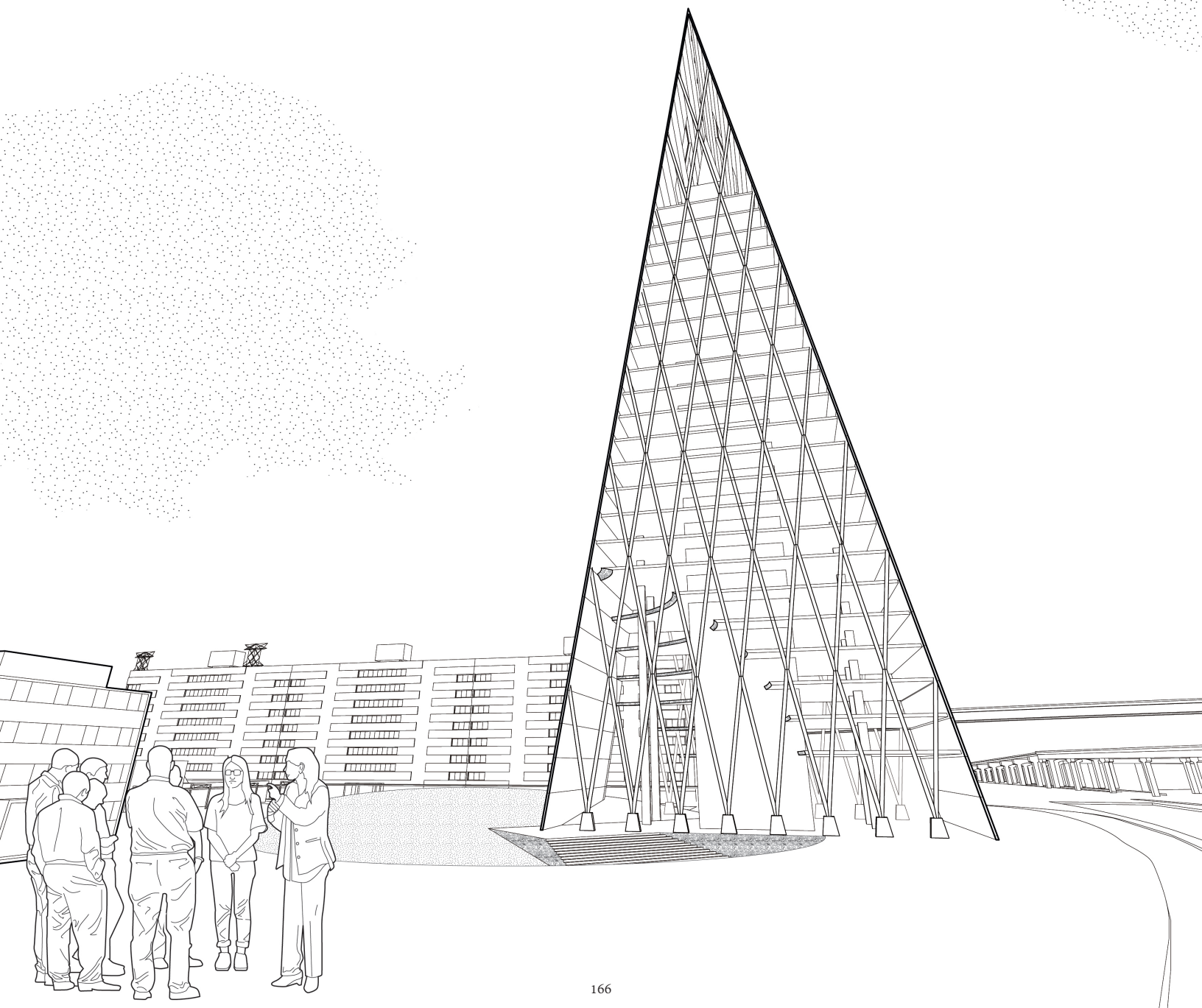
Consejo Nacional de los Trabajadores Textiles

Maintenance of the Housing Complexes.

El Nacional.
December 15th, 1965.

Yesterday the administrators of public housing were urged to acquire appropriate training and architects were asked to remain conscious of their responsibility in fulfilling governmental requirements for the good conservation of housing complexes. [...] Housing administrators have not had adequate training, "we know and we feel—he added—that this seminar will provoke uneasiness in all the institutions dedicated by law to intervene in the constitution which governs of social housing." He signalled shortcomings of administrators when facing technical problems [...] and architects are alarmed as they are being considered a 'luxury,' deeming them an obsolete element when it comes to problems of social housing.

Fig. 6.7 A hollow symbol in the housing complex.



A VOID FOR SELF-ADMINISTRATION

With the introduction of the Condominium Law, which led to the creation of the INFONAVIT, the Banobras Tower lost its purpose as the administrative headquarters of the Tlatelolco Housing Complex. The tower became the place of friction between the resident's discontent and the inability of AISA (Real-Estate Administration) to manage the complex.

For the residents of Tlatelolco, the Banobras Tower is a symbol of bureaucratic ineptitude, and the catalyst for the self-administration movement, which in turn paved the way for the current tight-knit community.

The resulting intervention on this empty shell tackles both the topology and ideology of the tower.

A sphere is subtracted from the pyramid's base and the resulting circular plan is infilled with facilities and program dedicated to the education, communication, and co-operation of the many resident-administrators who have had to pick up the responsibility in the absence of the public works bank. The circular plan uses the eastern tower's concrete facade to organize its program, around which the lobby sinks down into an event space, a lecture hall, and out onto a sunken courtyard.

The intervention only seeks to program the spherical hollowing of the tower, as it stands in opposition to the pyramidal—albeit, no longer existing—centre of administrative power. The office tower may remain in search of a tenant, as it currently is.

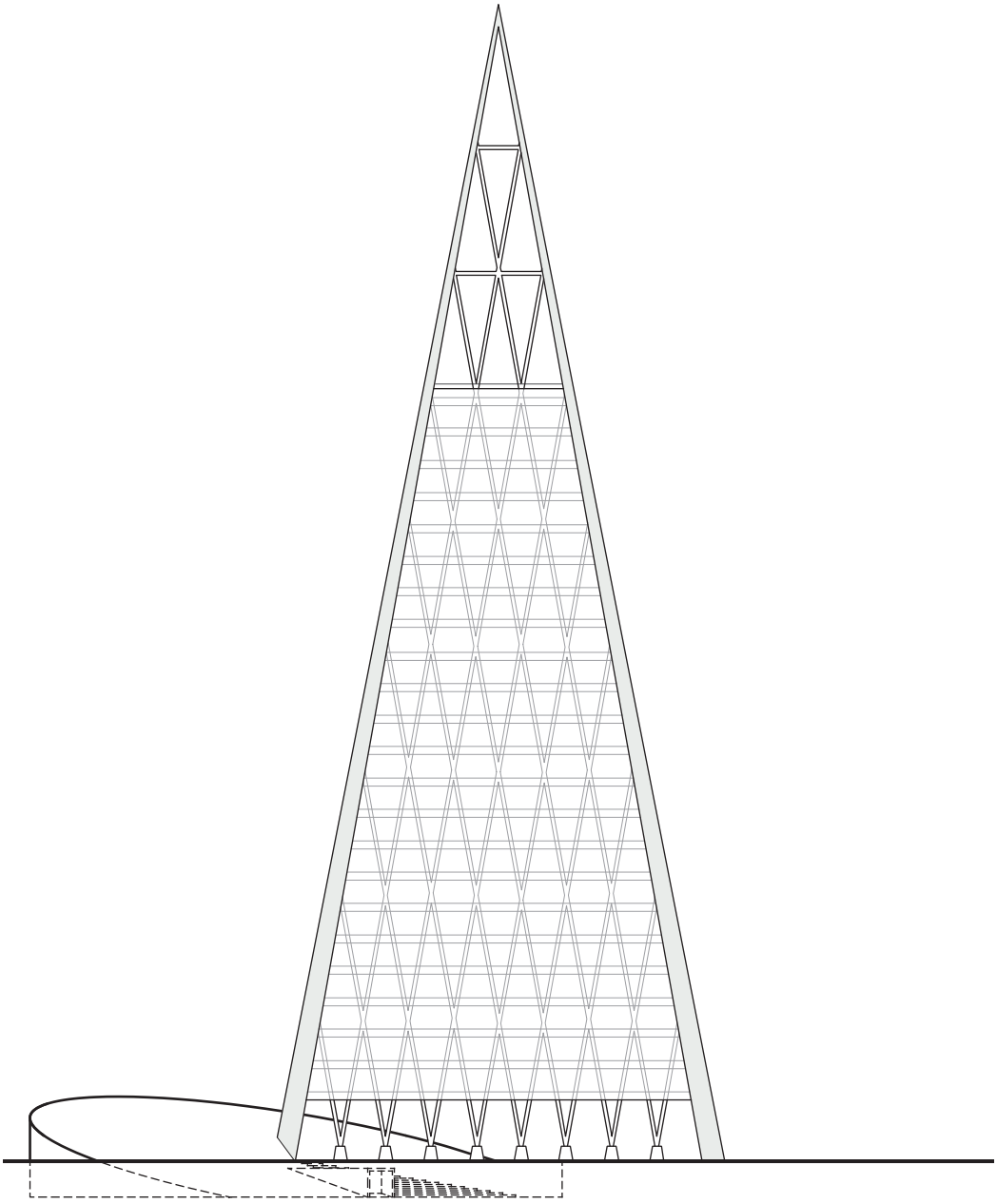


Fig. 6.9 Elevation of Banobras intervention.

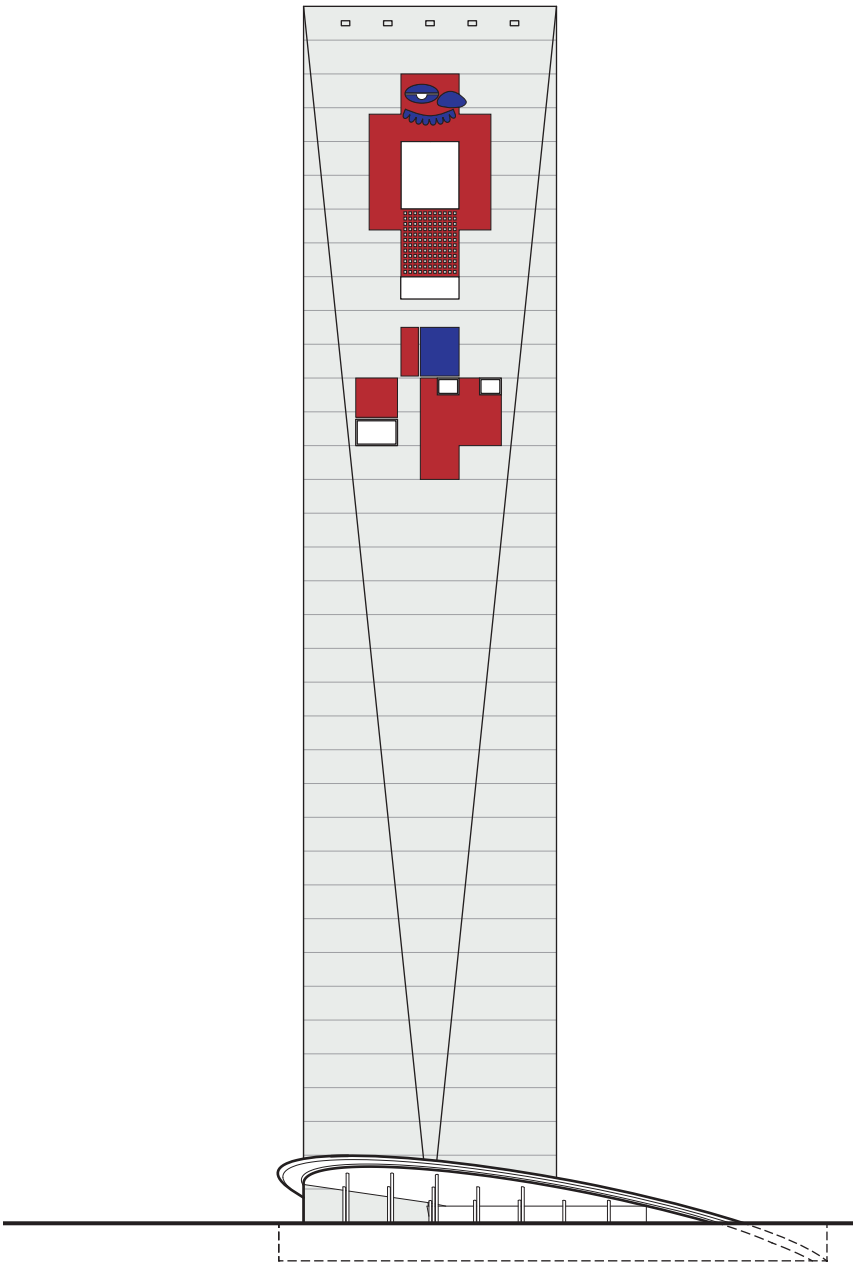
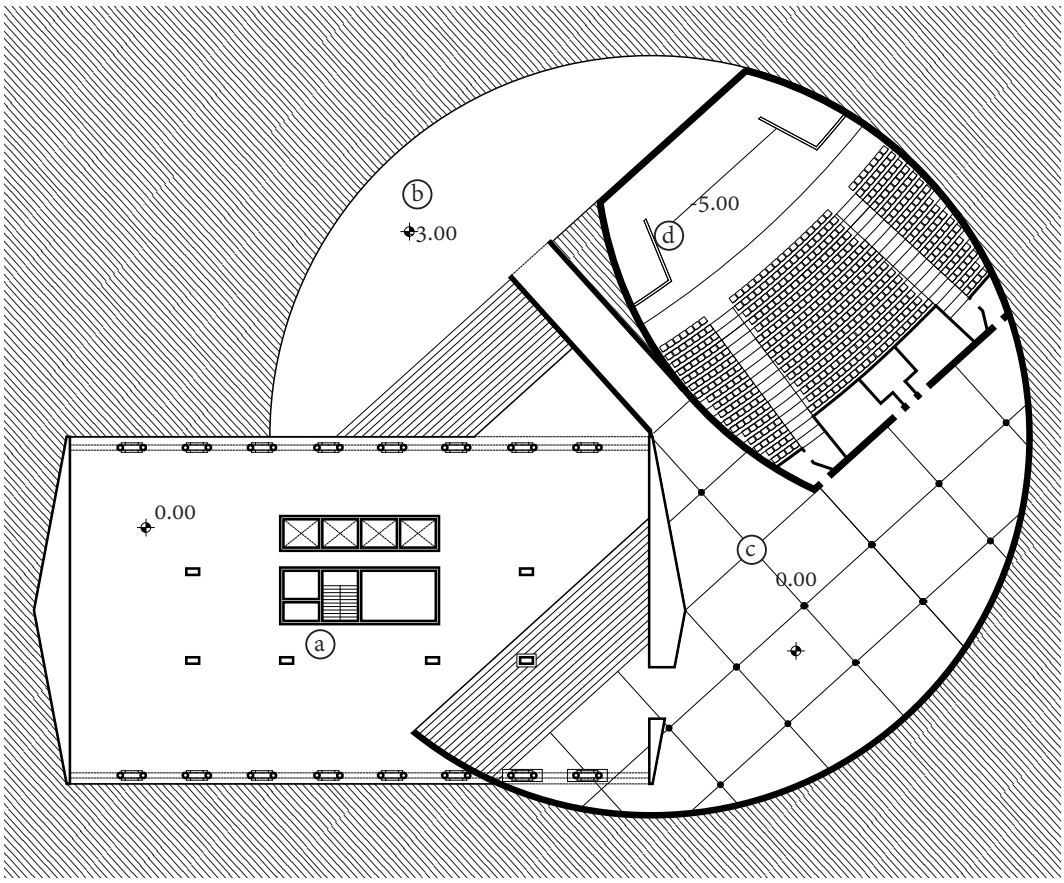


Fig. 6.10 Elevation of Banobras intervention.



a. Existing Office Tower Lobby
b. Exterior Forum
c. Workshop Space
d. Lecture Hall

Fig. 6.11 Intervention of the Banobras Tower.

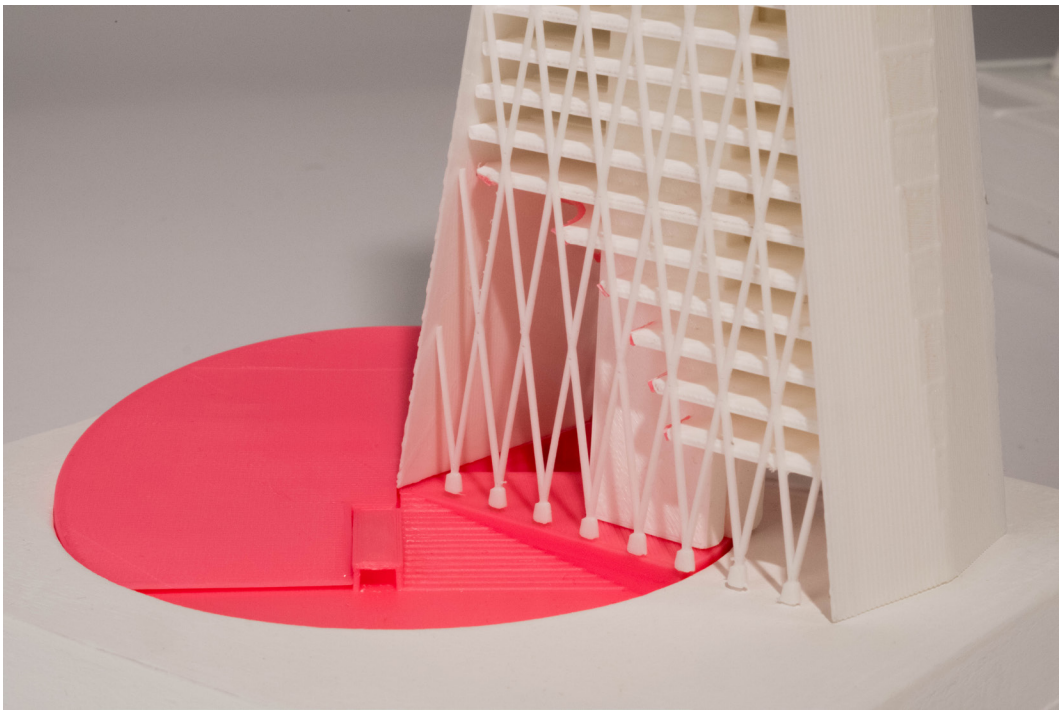


Fig. 6.12 Model of the intervention of the Banobras Tower.

Fig. 7.1 West edge of the NTHC. Banobras Tower. (Nonoalco Tower)

Fig. 7.2 East edge of the NTHC. Secretariat of Foreign Affairs Tower. (Tlatelolco Tower)

Fig. 7.3 Tlatelolco Panorama

Fig. 7.5 (previous) Panorama of Tlatelolco

CONCLUSION

Fig. 7.4 View out my lodging in Chihuahua building.

Through Sert's vision of modern monumentality, we are prompted to search for "important periods of unifying consciousness or unifying culture." As seen through the history of Tlatelolco, unity in consciousness and culture are unattainable through imposition as any society is composed by innumerable narratives, where often the powers and the people sit as opposing attitudes. The emptiness of the six shells is not a lack of purpose, but rather a potential to acquire meaning. The programmatic interventions are suggested through a thorough understanding of the context of each shell. Monuments are not fixed to time or even to their narrative, thus Tlatelolco is understood by the field of voids left by powers now gone, voids having the potential to absorb new meaning, creating true monuments which empower instead of preaching.

Public projects, and particularly public housing projects of this magnitude, are tools of communication. While government institutional buildings might overtly represent a grand vision, housing projects such as Tlatelolco are much more pervasive as they contain the daily lives of people. The shortcomings of a project like Tlatelolco, and the hollowing of these specific artifacts, are opportunities through which we can reinsert agency into the narrative of housing, and therefore the narratives of people.

The hollowing of Tlatelolco's monuments and their empty shells tell six different stories:

Reforma Boulevard
Public housing as a monumental integration into the city fabric.

Secretariat of Foreign Affairs
Social projects as a showcase of nation building in the international stage.

Archaeological Zone
Collaging a narrative by uprooting historical artifacts.

Plaza of the Three Cultures
Public space as a social wound.

'C' Type Buildings
The decomposition of an icon naturally yields the predominant identities.

BANOBRAS Tower
The role of the state and the citizenry in the funding and administration of public housing.

Despite the prolific monumentalization of the Mexican modern regimes, there was a consistent failure to render the ideals of the Revolution into a lasting monumental narrative artifact. According to Octavio Paz, this was an inevitable consequence due to the contradictions of the revolution itself, "the Revolution began as a discovery of our own selves and a return to our origins; later it became a search and an abortive attempt at a synthesis; finally, since it was unable to assimilate our tradition and to offer us a new and workable plan, it became a compromise. The Revolution has not been capable of organizing its explosive values into a world view, and the Mexican intelligentsia has not been able to resolve the conflict between the insufficiencies of our tradition and our need and desire for universality."[1] The resulting empty shells emerge as a solution to the fallacy of the "new modernist beginning," the interventions on the empty shells do not propose a new beginning but rather a continuation.
The empty shells hold the memory of the city. As shown by the University Cultural Centre in Tlatelolco, any new insertions into the site must boldly root themselves and serve the fabric and history of Tlatelolco. The architectural interventions proposed here create linkages between the various strata of memory embodied by the shells, bringing a sense of catharsis to their contradicting identities. Each one focuses on a specific set of circumstances through a unique scope, scale and solution.

1 Octavio, El Laberinto de la Soledad/Postdata/Vuelta a el Laberinto de la Soledad.

Reforma Boulevard
Reclaim modern monumentality through community habits.

Secretariat of Foreign Affairs
Host the voices and expressions of the nations within.

Archaeological Zone
Weave dissociated historical identities.

Plaza of the Three Cultures
Contain of memory of public space.

'C' Type Buildings
Unveil the idiosyncrasies in collective housing.

BANOBRAS Tower
Hollow the apparatus of power within the complex.

Ever since Tlatelolco was founded by Aztec dissidents, the site has remained space of resistance and social contestation. As the neighbourhood has shown time and time again, any constructed symbol of authority or attempt at building permanency is at the mercy of the enduring community. Monuments are not those that "reflect a time of unifying culture and consciousness" but those that foster and nourish the existing culture and consciousness. As tools of communication, cities must consider the lessons learnt and the potential of empty shells, where programmatic and aesthetic decisions can imbue meaning emanating directly form the dynamic collective memory of the community.

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APPENDIX
EXHIBITION MATERIAL

Material produced for the Design Review and
the Masterworks Exhibition

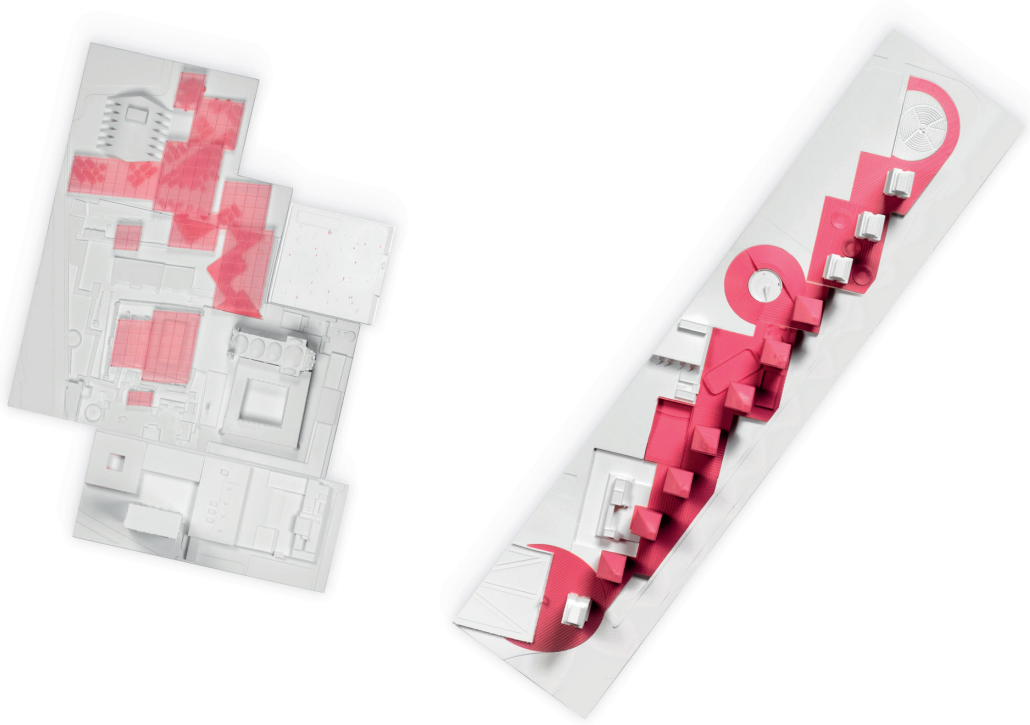

Fig. 8.1 Plan view of the six maquettes of the Empty Shells.

Fig. 8.2 Work as presented at the Masterworks 2019 exhibition.

ZONA ARQUEOLÓGICA
Weaving Dissociated Historical Identities
SECRETARÍA DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES
Hosting the Voices and Expression of the Nations Within
¡LLEGÓ LA HORA!
BLVD REFORMA
Dissolving Modern Monumentality Through Social Habits
EL PAIS

Fig. 8.3 Maquettes as presented at the Masterworks 2019 exhibition.

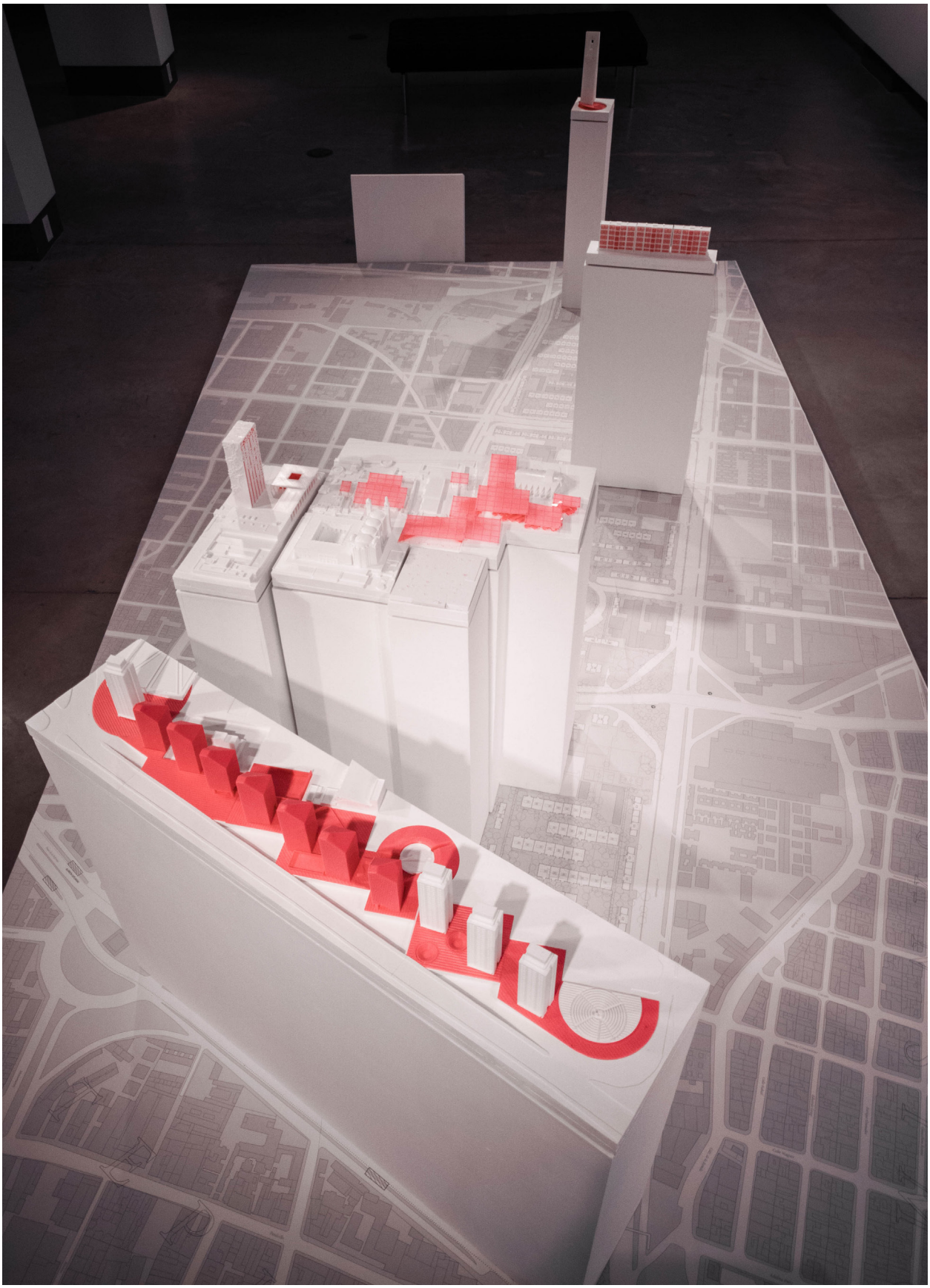

Fig. 8.4 Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, Archaeological Zone, and Plaza of the Three Cultures.

Fig. 8.5 Maquette and broadsheet of the Banobras Tower.

Fig. 8.6 Maquette and broadsheet of the Reforma Boulevard.

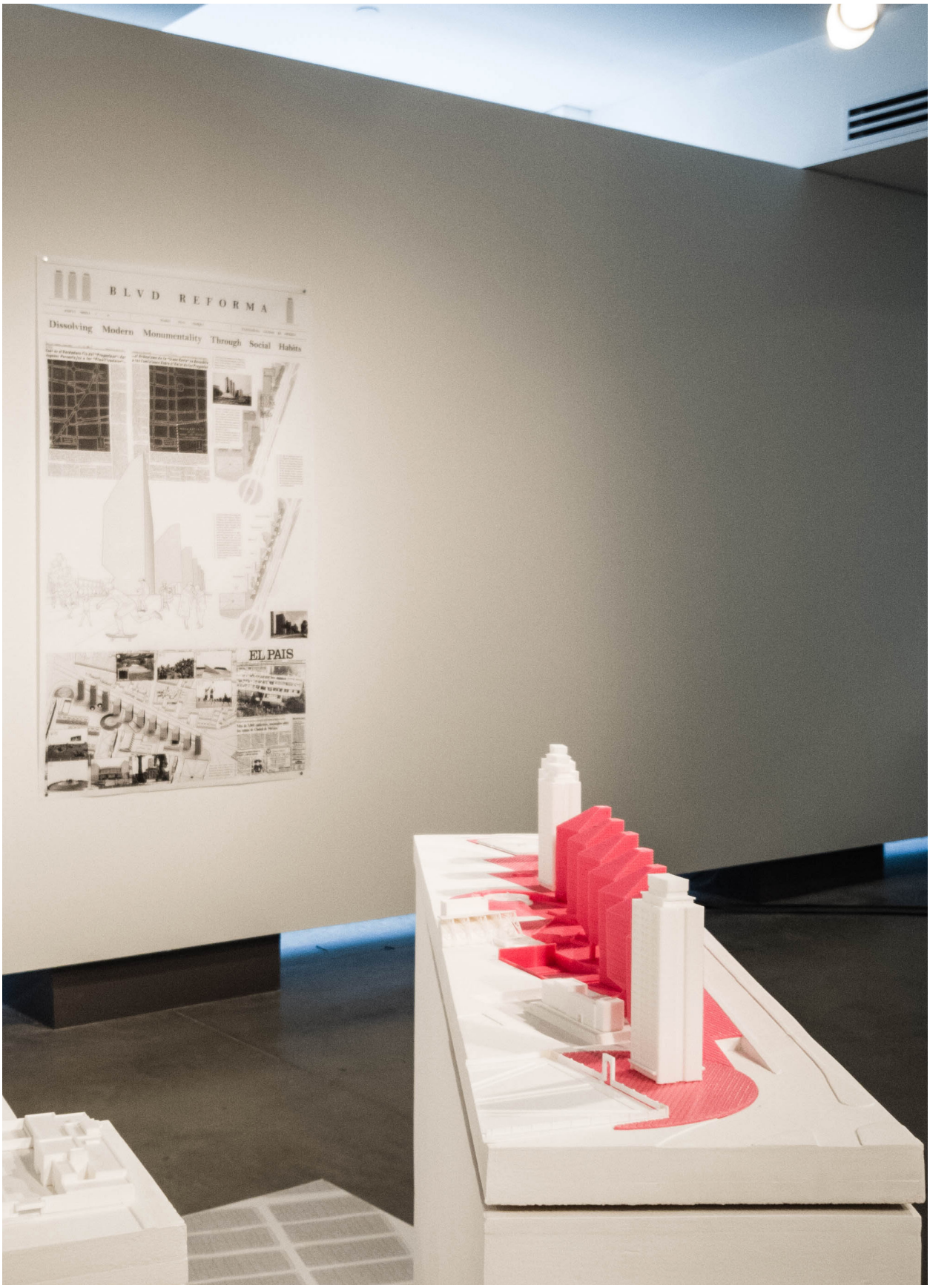

Fig. 8.7 Maquette and broadsheet of the C type building.

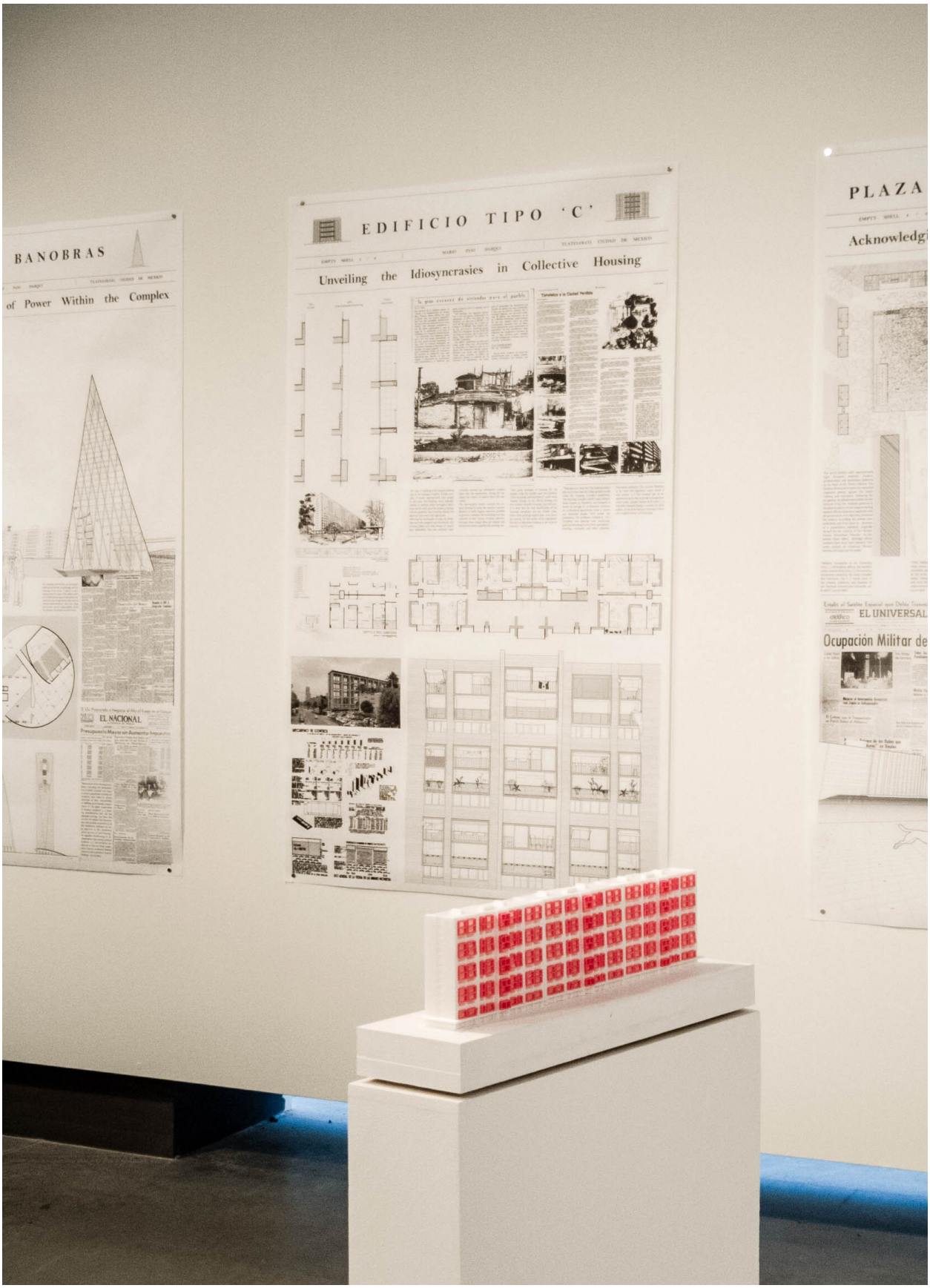

Fig. 8.8 Maquettes and broadsheets of the Archaeological Zone and the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs.

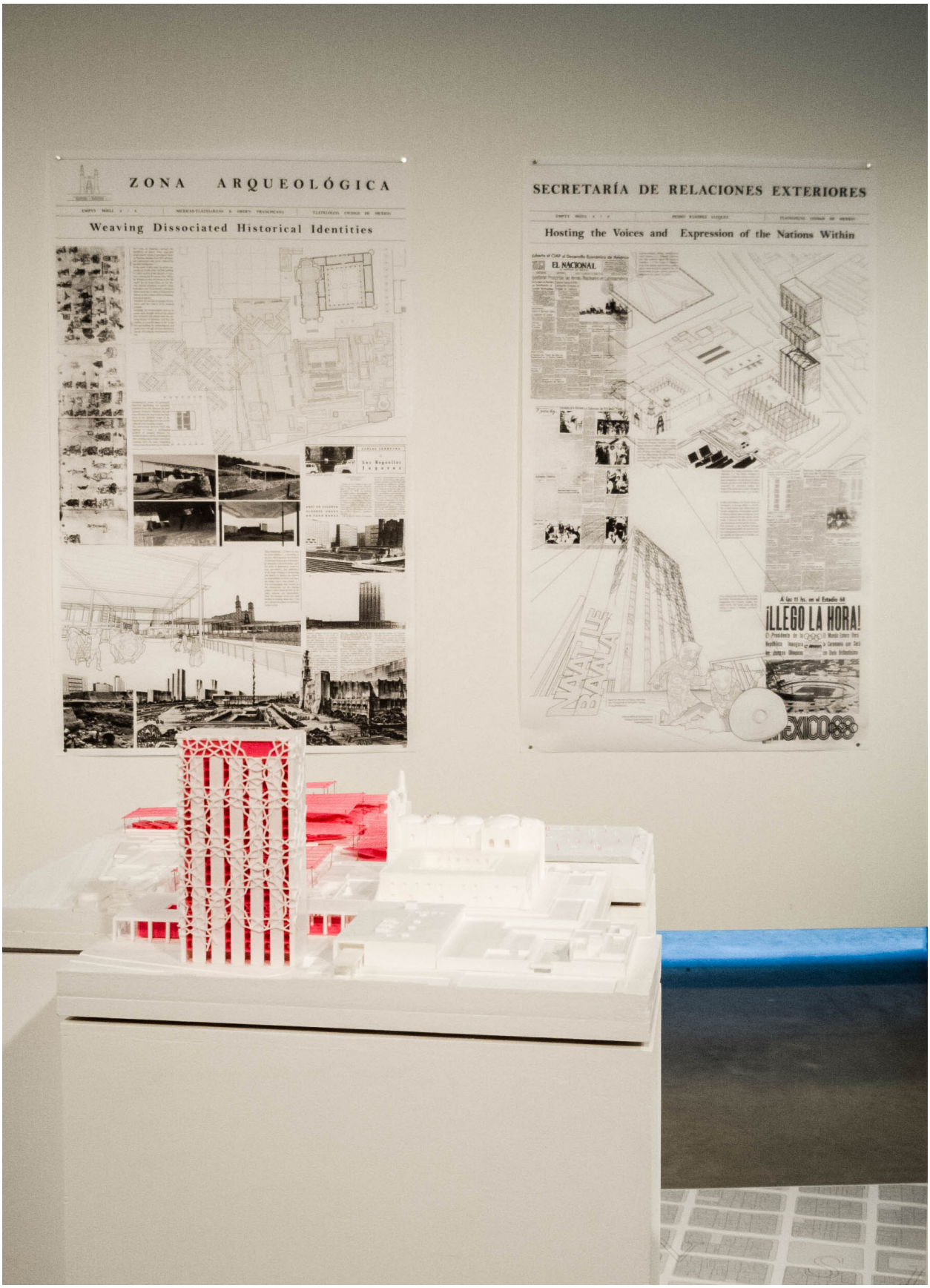

Fig. 8.9 Maquettes of the Six Empty Shells

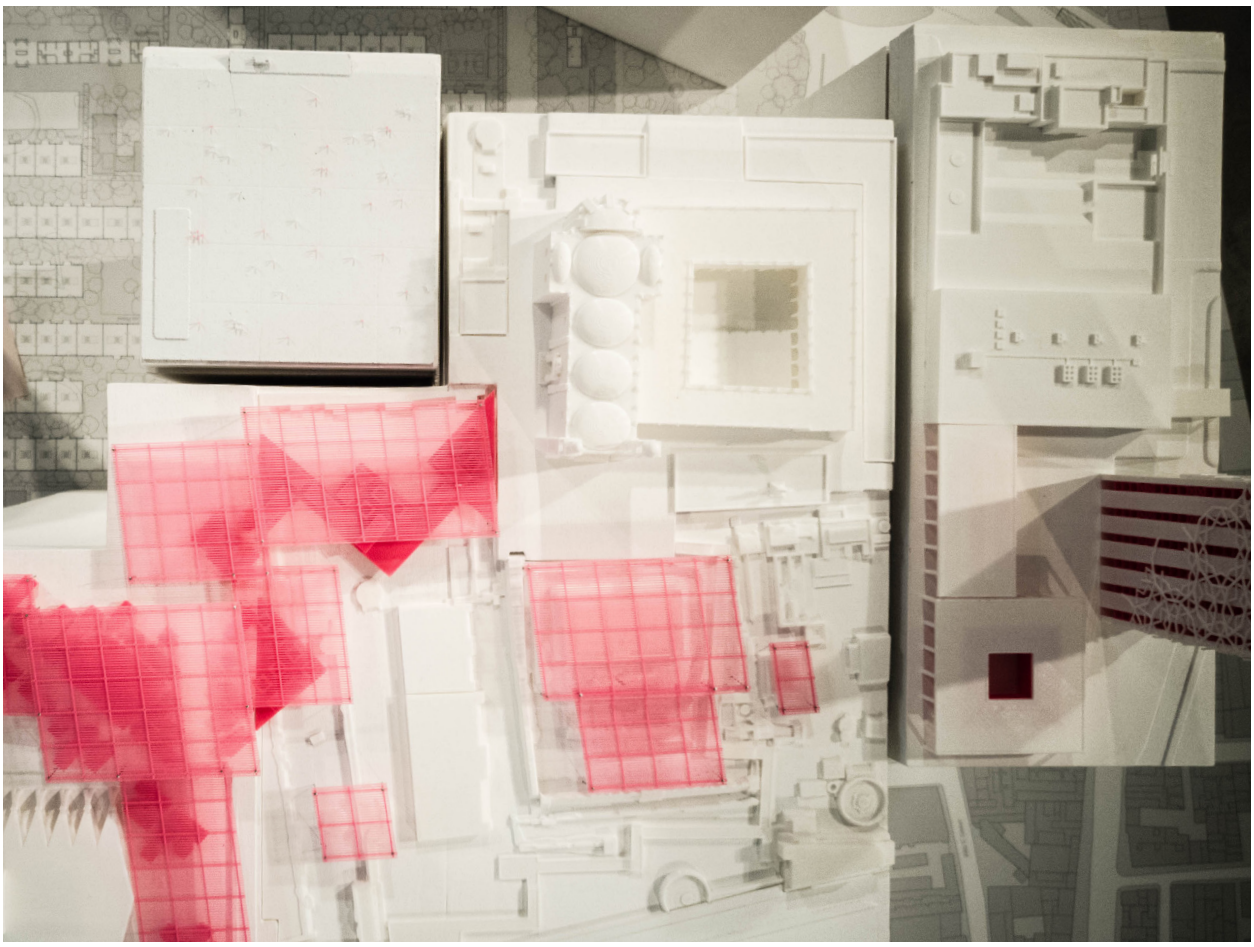

Fig. 8.10 Top view of Maquettes

Fig. 8.11 Broadsheet of the Reforma Boulevard.

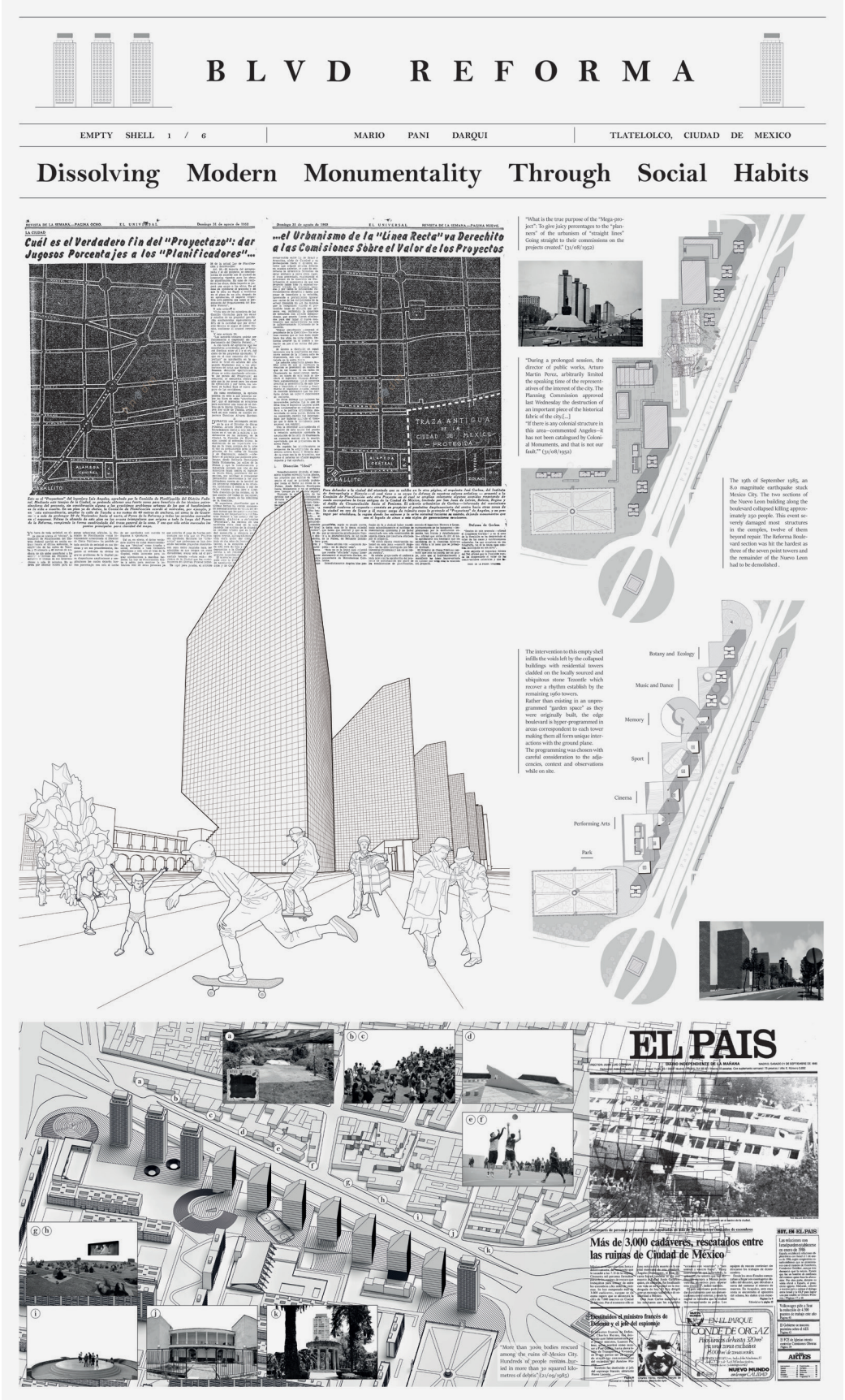

Fig. 8.12 Broadsheet of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs.

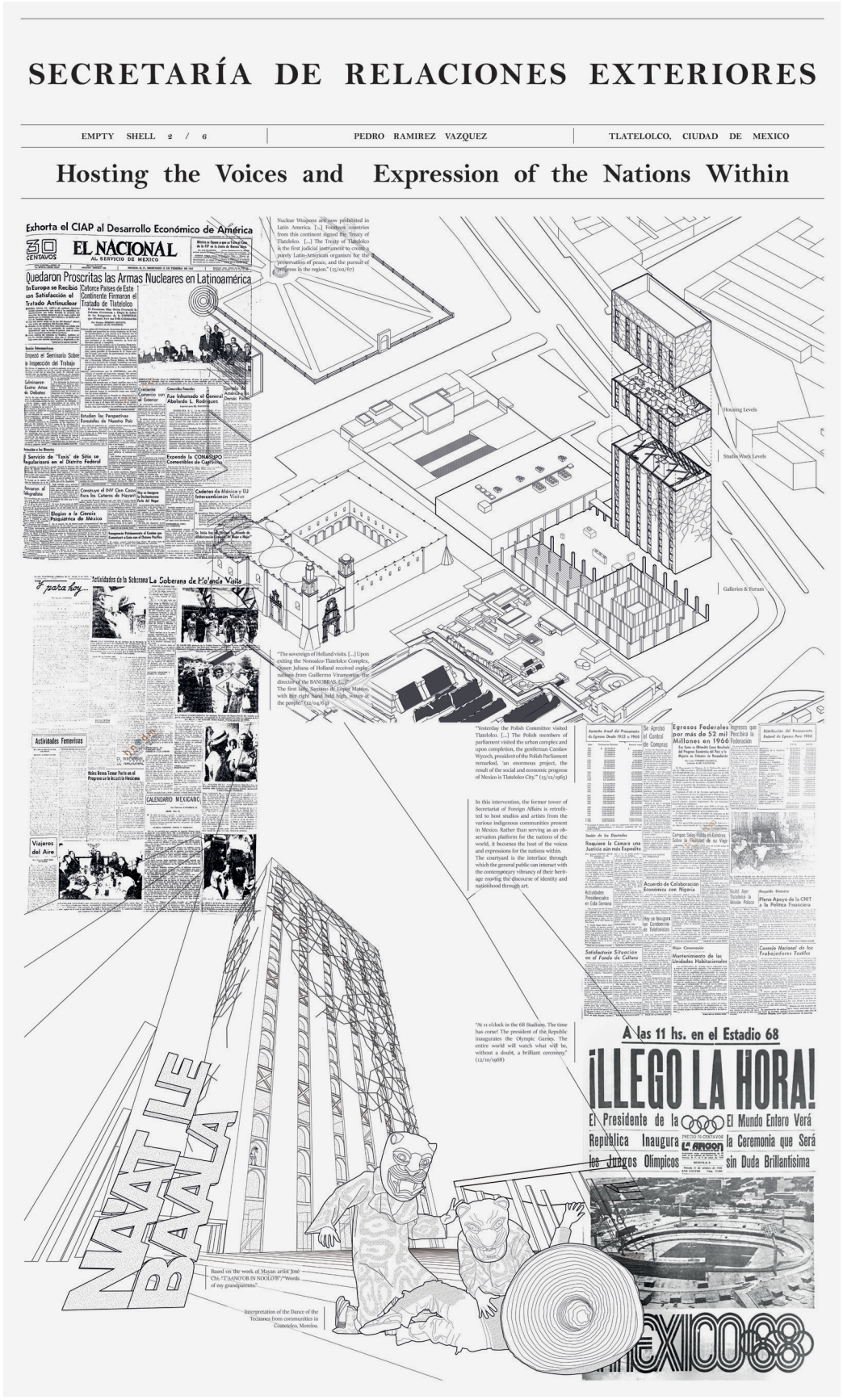

Fig. 8.13 Broadsheet of the Archaeological Zone.

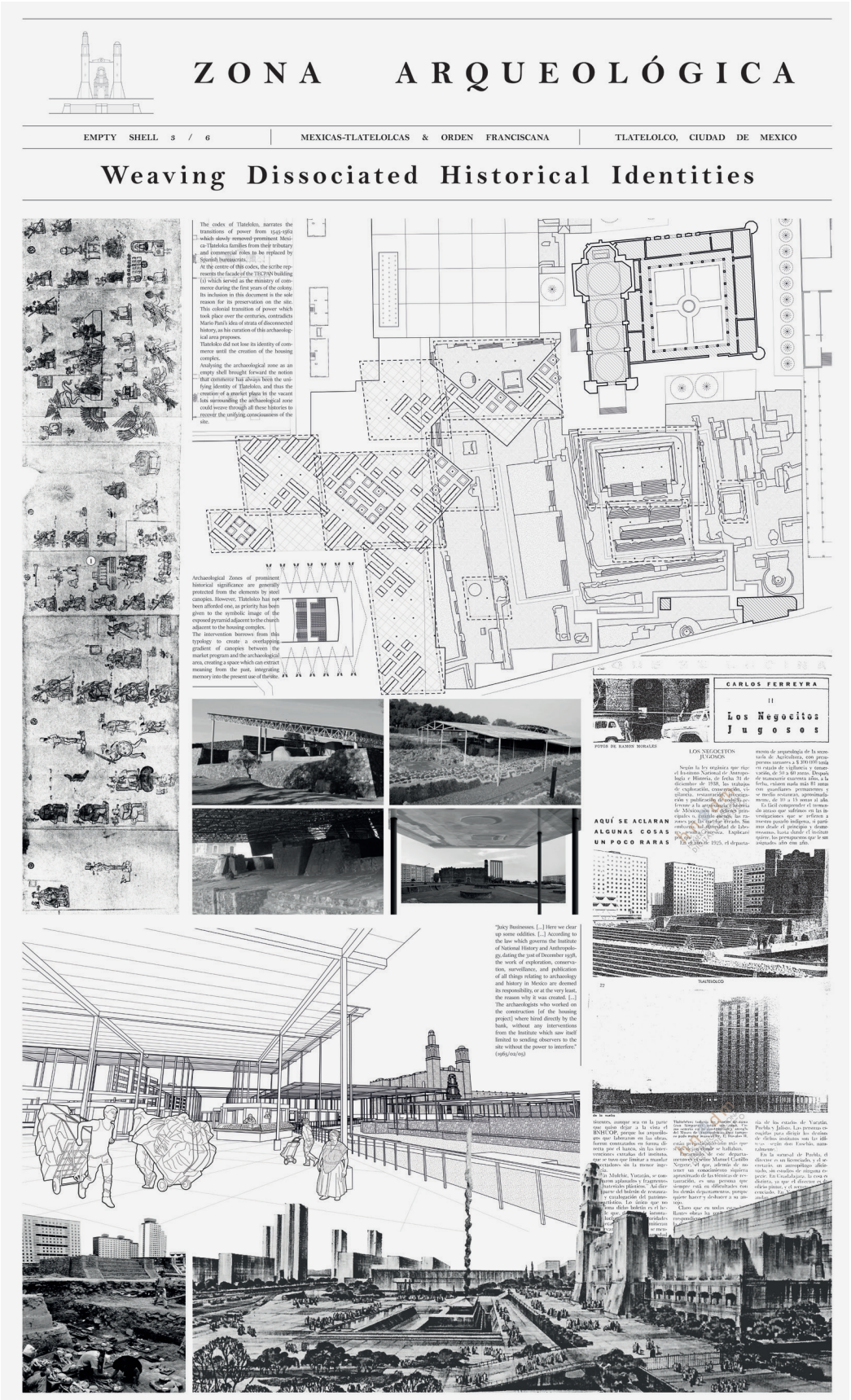

Fig. 8.14 Broadsheet of the Plaza of the Three Cultures

Fig. 8.15 Broadsheet of the Type 'C' Building.

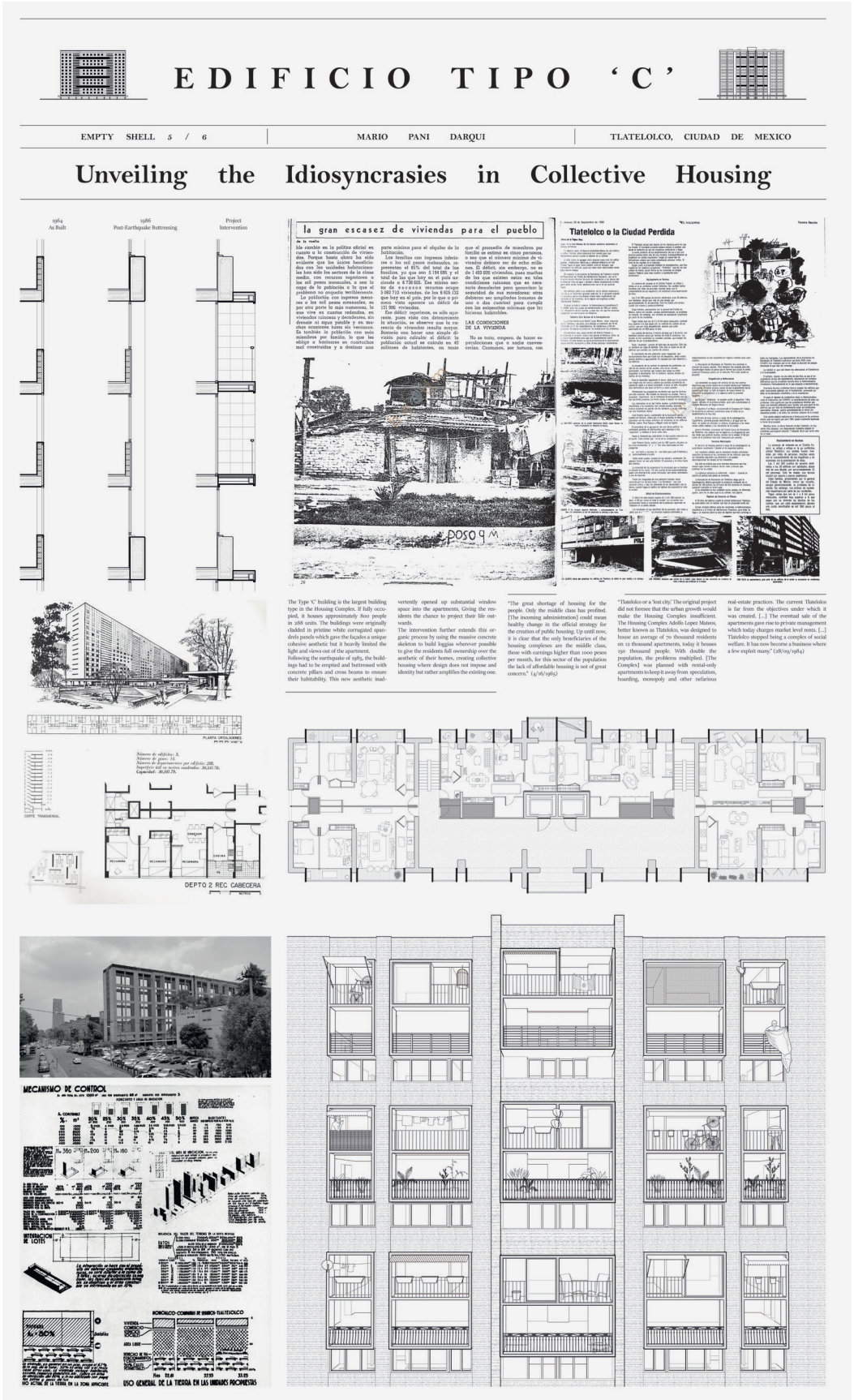
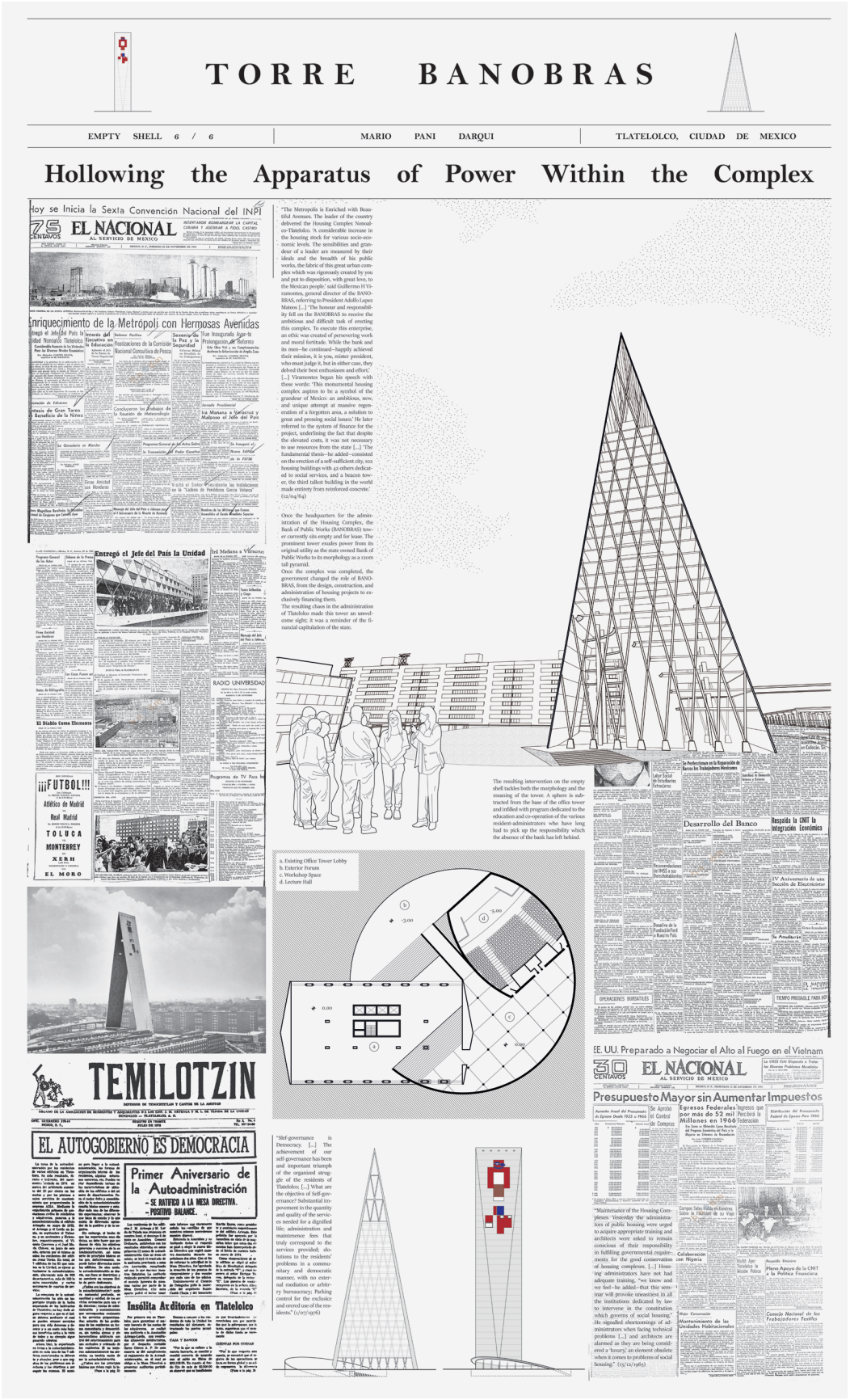
Fig. 8.16 Broadsheet of the Banobras Tower