

Under the government of Lázaro Cárdenas, he was able to return in 1939 to Mexico.

Siqueiros broke with Cárdenas, however, over the Mexican government's decision to grant Leon Trotsky political asylum. Siqueiros considered Trotsky anti-Soviet and led a failed attempt to assassinate him in 1940. In the trial for this attempt he was acquitted of homicide but went into exile, this time to Chile in 1941. He returned to Mexico in 1944, supported by the U.S. government as part of its wartime policy of attempting to foster Pan-American solidarity by enlisting Latin American artists in the campaign against fascism. At this time Siqueiros received the support of the Rockefeller Foundation for a painting of José Martí and Abraham Lincoln, *Two Mountain Peaks of America*.

In the postwar period there was an increase in construction, giving new life to mural painting. Siqueiros began but did not complete *Patricians and Patrician Killers* and *Monument to General Ignacio Allende* in a former convent in San Miguel de Allende, where he was teaching in an international art student school. He also painted several works on the Aztec hero, Cuauhtemoc. On an exterior wall of the administration building of the national university, he created a striking, three-dimensional "sculpture painting," *The People to the University and the University to the People*. Nonetheless, despite his fame, he was imprisoned from 1960 to 1964 during a period of anti-Communist fervor under the government of Adolfo López Mateos. While incarcerated he continued to paint and had an exhibition of his "prison paintings" several weeks after his release.

Among his final outdoor murals in Mexico City were *From Porfirio to the Revolution*, *The March of Humanity*, and *Homage to Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, José Guadalupe Posada, Leopoldo Méndez, Dr. Atl*. He even did an easel painting, *Christ*, now in the Vatican Museum. He died in Cuernavaca on January 6, 1974. He was married to Angélica Arenal and had one daughter.

The best murals of Siqueiros are memorable for their vivid coloring and sweeping visual impact, dramatically involving the viewer. They often are dominated by his ideological perspective because he always was committed to the idea that revolution required a revolutionary art. Although he considered his murals his most important works, it was through his easel painting that he survived financially. Moreover, these smaller works often reveal a more sensitive, insightful artist, and have significantly contributed to his reputation.

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—EDWARD A. RIEDINGER

SISTEMA ALIMENTARIO MEXICANO (SAM)

The Sistema Alimentario Mexicano (Mexican Food System) was an innovative policy reform that attempted both to regain national grain self-sufficiency and to reduce hunger in Mexico. Known as the SAM, its strategy was to use petroleum revenues to invigorate peasant agriculture and to make basic foods more accessible to low-income consumers. At a time when the U.S. government was using food exports as an international political weapon and Mexico was rejecting entry into General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the SAM challenged the neoclassical economic doctrine of comparative advantage. Because of its heavy reliance on subsidies, however, it did not outlive the oil boom. The SAM was announced on March 18, 1980, the 42d anniversary of the oil nationalization, and it ended in 1982 with the close of the administration of President José López Portillo.

The SAM was part of the broader project of nationalist economic development pursued by shifting coalitions of

entrepreneurial and populist state managers between 1971 and 1982. Although the SAM's focus on agricultural issues reflected the political stalemate over whether to roll back or deepen the agrarian reform, it was the last comprehensive government policy intended to make family farming economically viable.

The SAM strategy was an umbrella for a wide range of government programs, carried out mainly by Mexico's then large array of state-owned enterprises involved in agriculture and agro-industry. Three kinds of programs made up the core of the strategy. First, SAM aimed subsidies for producer inputs (mainly credit and agrochemicals) at increasing grain yields in rain-fed areas. Second, SAM increased government crop procurement prices in an effort to increase the area sown and amount marketed. Third, SAM increased the number of subsidized retail food distribution programs, aimed at making staple foods more accessible to the urban and rural poor.

In practice, much of the SAM implementation was dominated by government agencies with priorities that differed from the reform's architects. Most agricultural programs delivered more resources to traditionally favored elites inside and outside the state, although middle peasants with surplus-producing potential also gained greater access to inputs and support prices. Nor all food policy implementation was "more of the same," however. The Peasant Store program, organized jointly by the state grain company CONASUPO and the antipoverty program COPLAMAR, targeted consumer subsidies to millions of rural poor for the first time. Most importantly, the village stores deliberately promoted the creation of regional consumer associations to encourage accountable program implementation. Without the combination of pressure both from above and from below, the food rarely would have been delivered to the village stores. Many of these regional associations gained relative autonomy from the state, and their mobilization ensured the survival of the program for at least a decade after the end of the López Portillo administration. This de facto coalition between autonomous social organizations and reformist officials was the first national experience with what would come to be called *concertación social*.

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—JONATHAN FOX

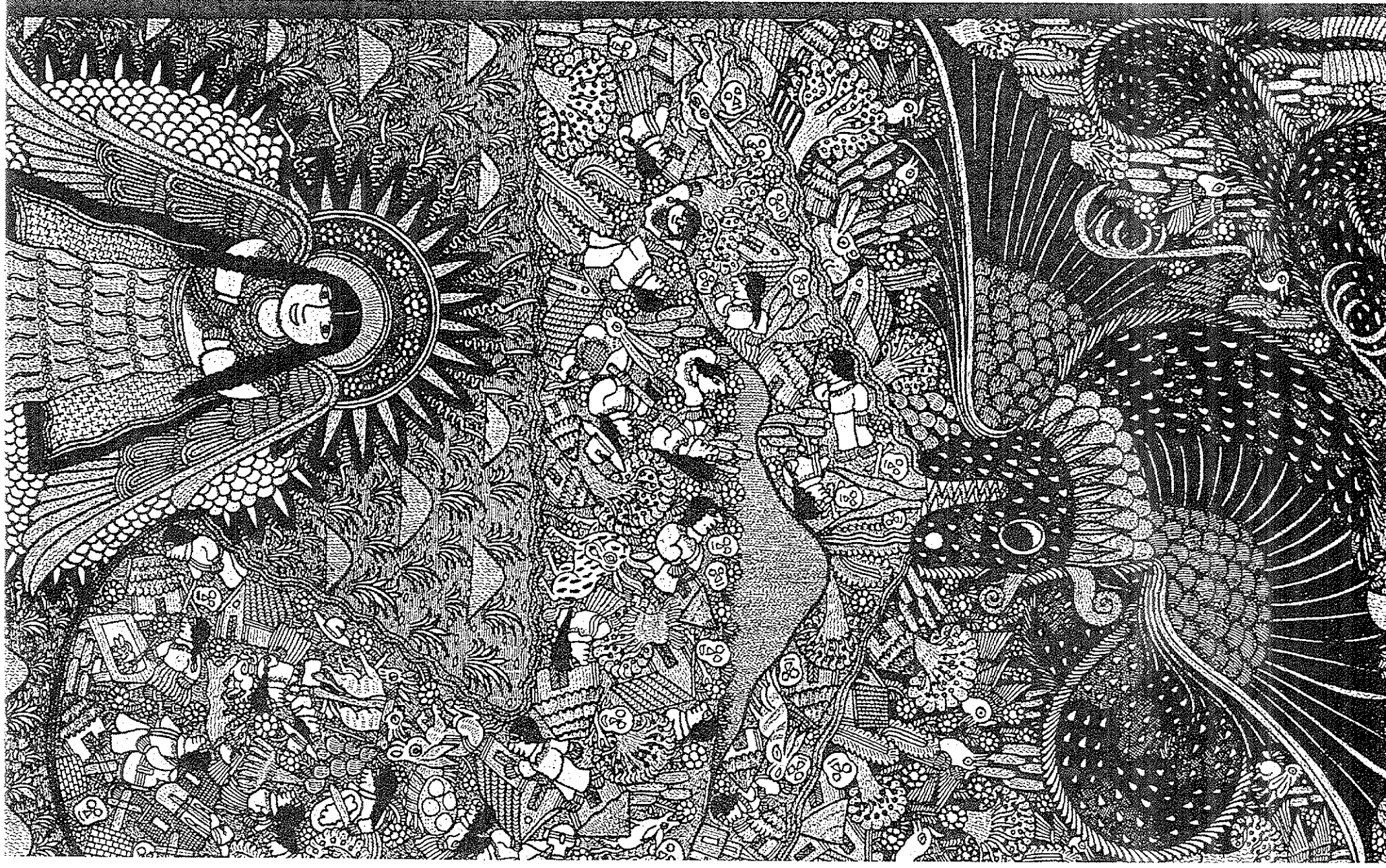
SOCIAL CATHOLICISM

Social Catholicism denotes a common vision or ideology constituted through the collective actions of a multiplicity of individuals, organizations, and movements that sought to challenge the path toward a secularized society set by nineteenth-century liberal reform. Although such movements were common in much of the Catholic world, in Mexico social Catholicism emerged as a political force in the early-twentieth-century context of revolution and reconstruction. Roughly between 1900 and 1926 a multiplicity of locally constituted movements sought to reestablish the basis for religious influence in public life through an orthodox adherence to Catholic dogma and a progressive critique of liberal society. Initially, the parish structure became the organizational means and space for these movements, providing a constituency as well. But by the 1920s a strong emphasis on professional associations such as labor unions pushed social Catholic initiatives to adopt broader spatial parameters.

Historically, social Catholicism became defined in three moments, through three different political realms. It first was defined through the Vatican, as it adjusted to the French Revolution and the postcolonial realignment of church-state relations in Latin America. The Vatican view is carefully plotted through a series of late-nineteenth-century

papal encyclicals that present a critique of modern society including a condemnation of socialism, adherence to the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, the conception of a Christian state, a defense of workers, and other contemporary themes. Second, it was defined through the Mexican Episcopate, as it adjusted to the liberal reforms of 1857 through 1867. Finally, it was defined through the lower clergy and laity, both of which were local intermediaries between church hierarchy and the masses of Catholic Mexicans. In all cases, the Revolutionary process after 1910 transformed the spaces of social action; however, the Revolution should not be understood as a point of closure or the end of an era. The end of social Catholicism in Mexico was instead set in the context of the 1926-29 Cristero Rebellion.

Some authors distinguish "civic" action within the broader category of social action. In this scheme, civic action pertains more directly to party politics, while social action posed the application of Christian principles directly to society's masses in the hopes of attracting men (principally) to the church through nonsacred means. This strategy sought to strengthen the parish structure as the basis of Catholic religiosity and authority, and to articulate social action within civil society through Catholic organizations directed by laity,



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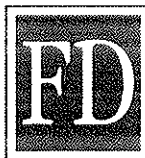
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