## The Cosmic Race

José Vasconcelos\*

In Mexico, a confluence of armed revolts succeeded in toppling the prolonged autocratic presidency of Porfirio Diaz who fled the country in 1911. Comprising a series of violent upsurges in the battle for political power, the Mexican Revolution lasted more than a decade thereafter. During those turbulent years, cultural philosopher José Vasconcelos (1882-1959) had campaigned for Francisco Madero, the democratically elected head of state, assassinated within two years of his term during a 1913 coup d'état staged by General Victoriano Huerta. Vasconcelos was forced to seek exile in France and, later at odds with Venustiano Carranza's presidency, sought refuge in the United States. Eventually in 1920, under the presidency of General Alvaro Obregón, the nation was now prepared to begin a material, ideological, and cultural reconstruction. Vasconcelos had returned to Mexico as rector of the National University of Mexico, and later as Minister of Public Education (1921-4). In that capacity, he gathered artists and intellectuals to contribute to the emerging revolutionary culture: a progressive agenda aimed to provide social welfare, widespread literacy, and art for the people. The muralist movement in Mexican art flourished thanks to the support of Vasconcelos who commissioned painters to cover walls of public buildings with nationalist content.

José Vasconcelos and the muralist painters sought to reverse the aesthetic and intellectual dependency of Mexico on foreign models by firmly grounding art and culture in native tradition. *Indigenismo*, that is, a renewed attention to Mexico's ancient civilizations and indigenous culture, linked art to the nation-building project,

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even as indigenous subjects could be portrayed emptied of active historical participation and meaning. Mexico was forging an image of itself by foregrounding the value of its Indian ethnicity, its ancient ruins, its manual arts, the country's long history and volcanic landscape, and with mythologies old and new.

Vasconcelos published *La raza cósmica* [*The Cosmic Race*] in 1925. It is a dense piece of rhetoric filled with internal contradictions and ambivalent motives. Just as science fiction is otherwise known as speculative literature, one might consider *The Cosmic Race* a speculative ethnography. Its argument is with Anglo-European and US. American "exceptionalism," even as it makes special claims of its own. Vasconcelos sought to refute those attitudes that considered the Iberian Americas as some sort of "lesser new world." To this end, he found recourse in the ancient civilizations of Mesoamerica and the Andes, along with that unique phenomenon resulting from the conquest's foundational violence: namely, *mestizaje*, the sweeping integration over time of peoples and cultures from Europe (above all Spain and Portugal) with native peoples of Indo-America. A diagnostic and a philosophy of the future, *The Cosmic Race* submits *mestizaje* as "the moral and material basis for the union of all men into a fifth universal race, the fruit of all the previous ones and amelioration of everything past."

The Cosmic Race may strike readers today as alarmingly racialist or utterly outlandish. It is important to recall the unifying nationalist goals of Mexico's new state formation at the time this was written, as well as the audience to which the essay was directed — namely, the cultural elites of "Our America" (see Roberto Fernández Retamar on José Martí, this volume). Vasconcelos opposes the notion that there can be anything resembling an impartial empirical history. Instead, he offers what Fernández Retamar refers to as a "vast comprehensive theory" grounded in experimental intuition. For Vasconcelos, Europe's expansionist project had served as "a bridge" uniting the "four racial trunks: the Black, the Indian, the Mongol, and the White." An overarching cultural difference remained between the dominant colonizers of the modern period, Spain and England, but more precisely, between "Latinism" and "Anglo-Saxonism." As a child, Vasconcelos had grown up on the US—Mexico border and attended school in Eagle Pass, Texas. Having experienced the United States first hand, he would claim that, "ideologically, the Anglos continue to conquer us."

In a 1932 issue of a US journal Vasconcelos later came to his own defense against those who depicted him as an "anti-foreigner" or as "a racial patriot overzealous for the interests of Mexico and Spanish America." He did not object to the United States, he clarified; he opposed its "political influence in Mexico because it has always been exercised for the benefit of the big business interests, and for the behoof of a few Mexican traitors whose conduct is that of despots and military dictators."

Despite the prevailing *indigenismo* of Mexico's cultural renaissance, Vasconcelos did not disavow the cultural heritage of Spain. On the contrary he values the Spanish over the Anglo-Saxon precisely because of the former's capacity to assimilate "a mixture of dissimilar races." He writes: "Spanish colonization created mixed races [whereas] the English kept on mixing only with the whites and annihilated the natives." It is in Iberian America whence there will emerge a

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future — as remote as Atlantis stands in relation to the past — for "the definitive race, the synthetical race, the integral race, made up of the genius and the blood of all peoples and, for that reason, more capable of true brotherhood and of a truly universal vision."

A racial thinker, Vasconcelos was not exempt from his own period-based racism, especially with regard to peoples of African and Asian descent. The Cosmic Race, however, was not meant as a prescriptive text submitting a form of eugenics. It was not a plan for improving the human species. Rather, it proposes an ethics that views complexity as an aesthetic value, and benevolence capable of producing a more dignified\_humanity: "Procreation by love is already a good antecedent for a healthy progeny, but it is necessary that love itself be a work of art, and not the last resort of desperate people." Equally important as his writings are those works he commissioned from José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Diego Rivera. The latter's murals at the National Palace are discussed by Leonard Forgarait in this volume. Rivera also produced an ambitious series of narrative murals in the Palace of Public Education in Mexico City. There, Vasconcelos had allegories carved to represent "Spain, Mexico, Greece, and India EAfrica and the rest of Asia are glaring omissions], the four particular civilizations that have most to contribute to the formation of Latin America." 建设。由于国际公司中国企业营业的基础企业。

Consider Leonard Folgarait's analysis of Diego Rivera's murals at Mexico City's National Palace. What were the pitfalls of *mestizaje* as employed in the ideological service of Mexico's revolutionary regime? Who does this vision exclude? How does Vasconcelos's biological model of utopian advancement account for the place of women or that of alternate sexualities? Does Vasconcelos argue for the eventual disappearance of racial difference? Or does he rehearse compelling language to cast doubt altogether on the term "race" as a methodically quantifiable category? How is *mestizaje* in *The Cosmic Race* of 1925 comparable to the Brazilian metaphor of consumption in Oswald de Andrade's 1928 "Cannibalist Manifesto"? How are these two essays a response to the racial beliefs associated with Eurocentrism? Compare Vasconcelos's racialism with commentary by Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, and Ousmane Sembène in the African modernism section.

## Further Readings

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## Mestizaje

I

In the opinion of respectable geologists, the American continent includes some of the most ancient regions of the world. The Andes are, undoubtedly, as old as any other mountain range on earth. And while the land itself is ancient, the traces of life and human culture also go back in time beyond any calculations. The architectural ruins of legendary Mayans, Quechuas, and Toltecs are testimony of civilized life previous to the oldest foundations of towns in the Orient and Europe.

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If we are, then, geologically ancient, as well as in respect to the tradition, how can we still continue to accept the fiction, invented by our European fathers, of the novelty of a continent that existed before the appearance of the land from where the discoverers and conquerors came?

The question has paramount importance to those who insist in looking for a plan in History.

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Greece laid the foundations of Western or European civilization; the white civilization that, upon expanding, reached the forgotten shores of the American continent in order to consummate the task of re-civilization and re-population. Thus we have the four stages and the four racial trunks: the Black, the Indian, the Mongol, and the White. The latter, after organizing itself in Europe, has become the invader of the world, and has considered itself destined to rule, as did each of the previous races during their time of power. It is clear that domination by the whites will also be temporary, but their mission is to serve as a bridge. The white race has brought the world to a state in which all human types and cultures will be able to fuse with each other. The civilization developed and organized in our times by the whites has set the moral and material basis for the union of all men into a fifth universal race, the fruit of all the previous ones and amelioration of everything past.

White culture is migratory, yet it was not Europe as a whole that was in charge of initiating the reintegration of the red world into the modality of preuniversal culture, which had been represented for many centuries by the white man. The transcendental mission fell upon the two most daring branches of the European family, the strongest and most different human types: the Spanish and the English.

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Our age became, and continues to be, a conflict of Latinism against Anglo-Saxonism; a conflict of institutions, aims and ideals.[...] Not only were we defeated in combat; ideologically, the Anglos continue to conquer us. The greatest battle was lost on the day that each one of the Iberian republics went forth alone, to live her own life apart from her sisters, concerting treaties and receiving false benefits, without tending to the common interests of the race.[...] We keep ourselves

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jealously independent from each other, yet one way or another we submit to, or ally ourselves with, the Anglo-Saxon union.

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So that we shall not be forced to deny our own fatherland, it is necessary that we live according to the highest interests of the race, even though this may not be yet in the highest interest of humanity. It is true that the heart is not satisfied with less than a full-fledged internationalism, but given the present world conditions, internationalism would only serve to consummate the triumph of the strongest nations; it would only serve the aims of the English. Even the Russians, with their two hundred million population, have had to postpone their theoretical internationalism, in order to devote themselves to the support of oppressed nationalities such as India and Egypt. At the same time, they have strengthened their own nationalism in order to defend themselves against a disintegration which could only favor the great imperialist states. It would, then, be puerile for weak countries like ours, to start denying what is rightfully theirs in the name of aims that could not crystalize in reality. The present state of civilization still imposes patriotism on us as a necessity for the defense of material and moral interests; but it is indispensable for this patriotism to seek vast and transcendental aims. Its mission was cut short, in a sense, with independence. Now it is necessary to bring it back to the flow of its universal historical destiny. अस्ति के तार कार्यात के इस्ति क्षा कर्मा हुए कर के किया की अस्ति कर कर कर कर के

The first stage of the profound conflict was decided in Europe and we lost. Afterwards, when all the advantages were on our side in the New World, since Spain had conquered America, the Napoleonic stupidity gave Louisiana away to the Englishmen from this side of the ocean, to the Yankees; this decided the fate of the New World in favor of the Anglo-Saxons. [...] Napoleon, in his foolishness, was not able to surmise that the destiny of the European races was going to be decided in the New World. When, in the most thoughtless manner, he destroyed French power in America, he also weakened the Spaniards. He betrayed us and placed us at the mercy of the common enemy. Without Napoleon, the United States would not exist as a world empire, and Louisiana, still French, would have to be part of the Latin American Confederation.

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Should one talk to the most exalted Indianist of the convenience of adapting ourselves to Latinism, he will raise no questions; but tell him that our culture is Spanish and he will immediately bring up counter arguments. The stain from the spilled blood still remains. It is an accursed stain that centuries have not erased, but which the common danger must annul. There is no other recourse. Even the pure Indians are Hispanized, they are Latinized, just as the environment itself is Latinized. Say what one may, the red men, the illustrious Atlanteans from whom Indians derive, went to sleep millions of years ago, never to awaken. There is no going back in History, for it is all transformation and novelty. No race returns. Each one states its mission, accomplishes it, and passes away. This truth rules in Biblical times as well as in our times; all the ancient historians have formulated it. The days

of the pure whites, the victors of today, are as numbered as were the days of their predecessors. Having fulfilled their destiny of mechanizing the world, they themselves have set, without knowing it, the basis for a new period: The period of the fusion and mixing of all peoples. The Indian has no other door to the future but the door of modern culture, nor any other road but the road already cleared by Latin civilization. The white man, as well, will have to depose his pride and look for progress and ulterior redemption in the souls of his brothers from other castes. He will have to diffuse and perfect himself in each of the superior varieties of the species, in each of the modalities that multiply revelation and make genius more powerful.

[...] It seems as if God Himself guided the steps of the Anglo-Saxon cause, while we kill each other on account of dogma or declare ourselves atheists. How those mighty empire builders must laugh at our groundless arrogance and Latin vanity! They do not clutter their mind with the Ciceronian weight of phraseology, nor have they in their blood the contradictory instincts of a mixture of dissimilar races, but they committed the sin of destroying those races, while we assimilated them, and this gives us new rights and hopes for a mission without precedent in History.

For this reason, adverse obstacles do not move us to surrender, for we vaguely feel that they will help us to discover our way. Precisely in our differences, we find the way. If we simply imitate, we lose. If we discover and create, we shall overcome. The advantage of our tradition is that it has greater facility of sympathy towards strangers. This implies that our civilization, with all defects, may be the chosen one to assimilate and to transform mankind into a new type; that within our civilization, the warp, the multiple and rich plasma of future humanity is thus being prepared. This mandate from History is first noticed in that abundance of love that allowed the Spaniard to create a new race with the Indian and the Black, profusely spreading white ancestry through the soldier who begat a native family, and Occidental culture through the doctrine and example of the missionaries who placed the Indians in condition to enter into the new stage, the stage of world One. Spanish colonization created mixed races, this signals its character, fixes its responsibility, and defines its future. The English kept on mixing only with the whites and annihilated the natives. Even today, they continue to annihilate them in a sordid and economic fight, more efficient yet than armed conquest. This proves their limitation and is indication of their decadence. [...] To build an English world and to exterminate the red man, so that Northern Europe could be renovated all over an America made up with pure whites, is no more than a repetition of the triumphant process of a conquering race. This was already attempted by the red man and by all strong and homogeneous races, but it does not solve the human problem. America was not kept in reserve for five thousand years for such a petty goal. The purpose of the new and ancient continent is much more important. Its predestination obeys the design of constituting the cradle of a fifth race into which all nations will fuse with each other to replace the four races that have been forging History apart from each other. The dispersion will come to an end on American soil; unity will be consummated there by the triumph of fecund love and the improvement of all the human races. In this fashion, the synthetic race that shall gather all the treasures of History in order to give expression to universal desire shall be created.

The so-called Latin peoples, because they have been more faithful to their divine mission in America, are the ones called upon to consummate this mission. Such fidelity to the occult design is the guarantee of our triumph.

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ad in agrinde i an sên di Geldin Dirak ese yê barin da kidasek bi (kirolikakê) da 2 dirên Pinjel [...] In Latin America, the repulsion of one blood that confronts another strange blood also exists, but infinitely more attenuated. There, a thousand bridges are available for the sincere and cordial fusion of all races. The ethnic barricading of those to the north in contrast to the much more open sympathy of those to the south is the most important factor, and at the same time, the most favorable to us, if one reflects even superficially upon the future, because it will be seen immediately that we belong to tomorrow, while the Anglo-Saxons are gradually becoming more a part of yesterday. The Yankees will end up building the last great empire of a single race, the final empire of White supremacy. Meanwhile, we will continue to suffer the vast chaos of an ethnic stock in formation, contaminated by the fermentation of all types, but secure of the avatar into a better race. In Spanish America, Nature will no longer repeat one of her partial attempts. This time, the race that will come out of the forgotten Atlantis will no longer be a race of a single color or of particular features. The future race will not be a fifth, or a sixth race, destined to prevail over its ancestors. What is going to emerge out there is the definitive race, the synthetical race, the integral race, made up of the genius and the blood of all peoples and, for that reason, more capable of true brotherhood and of a truly universal vision. The sale for a feet factor of the page was the feet for the sale

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[...] So many races that have come and others that will come. In this manner, a sensitive and ample heart will be taking shape within us; a heart that embraces and contains everything and is moved with sympathy, but, full of vigor, imposes new laws upon the world. And we foresee something like another head that will dispose of all angles in order to fulfill the miracle of surpassing the sphere.

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snow and cold. The basis of white civilization is fuel. First, it served as a protection against the long winters. Then, it was discovered that its power could be used not only for warmth, but also for work; and the motor was born. And so it is that, from the hearth and the stove proceed all the machinery that is transforming the world.

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At the beginning, the Whites will try to take advantage of their inventions for their own benefit, but since science is no longer esoteric, it is not likely that they will succeed. They will be absorbed in the avalanche of all the other races, and, finally, deposing their pride, they will combine with the rest to make the new racial synthesis, the fifth race of the future.

The conquest of the Tropics will transform all aspects of life. Architecture will abandon the Gothic arch, the vault, and, in general, the roof, which answers to the need for shelter. The pyramid will again develop. Colonnades and perhaps spiral constructions will be raised in useless ostentation of beauty, because the new aesthetics will try to adapt itself to the endless curve of the spiral, which represents the freedom of desire and the triumph of Being in the conquest of infinity. The landscape, brimming with colors and rhythms, will communicate its wealth to the emotions. Reality will be like fantasy. The aesthetics of cloudiness and grays will be seen as the sickly art of the past. A refined and intense civilization will answer to the splendors of a Nature swollen with potency, habitually generous, and shining with clarity. The panorama of present day Rio de Janeiro, or Santos, with the city and the bay, can give us an idea of what the future emporium of the integral race that is to come will be like.

[...] With the resources from such region – the richest on earth, filled with all kinds of treasures – the synthetic race will be able to consolidate its culture. The world of the future will belong to whoever conquers the Amazon region. Universopolis will rise by the great river, and from there the preaching, the squadrons, and the airplanes propagandizing the good news will set forth. If the Amazon becomes English, the world metropolis would not be called Universopolis, but Anglotown, and the armies would come out of there to impose upon the other continents the harsh law of domination by the blond-haired Whites and the extinction of their dark rivals. On the other hand, if the fifth race takes ownership of the axis of the future world, then airplanes and armies will travel all over the planet educating the people for their entry into wisdom. Life, founded on love, will come to be expressed in forms of beauty. Naturally, the fifth race will not pretend to exclude the Whites, just as it does not propose to exclude any of the other races. [...] Latin America owes what it is to the white European, and is not going to deny him. To the North Americans themselves, Latin America owes a great part of her railroads, bridges, and enterprises. By the same token, it needs [all of] the other races. However, we accept the superior ideals of the Whites but not their arrogance. We want to offer them, as well as to all other peoples, a free country where they will find a home and a refuge, but not a continuation of their conquests. The Whites themselves, unhappy with the materialism and social injustice in which their race, the fourth race, has fallen, will come to us for help in this conquest of freedom.

Perhaps the traits of the white race will predominate among the characteristics of the fifth race, but such a supremacy must be [a] result of the free choice of personal taste, and not the fruit of violence or economic pressure. The superior traits of culture and nature will have to triumph, but that triumph will be stable only if it is based on the voluntary acceptance by conscience and on the free choice of fantasy. Up to this date, life has received its character from man's lower faculties; the fifth branch will be the fruit of the superior faculties. The fifth race does not exclude but accumulates life. For this reason, the exclusion of the Yankee, like the exclusion of any other human type, would be equivalent to an anticipated mutilation, more deadly even than a later cut. If we do not want to exclude even the races that might be considered inferior, it would be much less sensible to keep from our enterprise a race full of vigor and solid social virtues.

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end official in the tentody of the landship for a fill of the second of If we acknowledge that Humanity is gradually approaching the third period of its destiny, we shall see that the work of racial fusion is going to take place in the Ibero-American continent according to a law derived from the fruition of the highest faculties. The laws of emotion, beauty, and happiness will determine the selection of a mate with infinitely superior results than that of a eugenics grounded on scientific reason, which never sees beyond the less important portion of the love act. [...] The entire species will change its physical makeup and temperament. Superior instincts will prevail and, in a happy synthesis, the elements of beauty apportioned today among different races will endure.

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A mixture of races accomplished according to the laws of social well-being, sympathy, and beauty, will lead to the creation of a type infinitely superior to all that have previously existed. [...] Make some along the old of those Richards are insulated.

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No contemporary race can present itself alone as the finished model that all the others should imitate. The mestizo, the Indian, and even the Black are superior to the White in a countless number of properly spiritual capacities. Neither in antiquity, nor in the present, have we a race capable of forging civilization by itself. The most illustrious epochs of humanity have been, precisely, those in which several different peoples have come into contact and mixed with each other. India, Greece, Alexandria, Rome are but examples that only a geographic and ethnic universality is capable of giving the fruits of civilization. [...] The truth is that vigor is renewed with graftings, and that the soul itself looks for diversity in order to enrich the monotony of its own contents. Only a long lasting experience will be able to show the results of a mixture no longer accomplished by violence, nor by reason of necessity, but by the selection founded on the dazzling produced by beauty and confirmed by the pathos of love. We are small the restrict the appropriate and the

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The doctrine of sociological and biological formation we propose in these pages is not a simple ideological effort to raise the spirits of a depressed race by offering it a thesis that contradicts the doctrine with which its rivals wanted to condemn it. What happens is that, as we discover the falsity of the scientific premise upon which the domination of contemporary power rests, we also foresee, in experimental science itself, orientations that point the way, no longer for the triumph of a single race, but for the redemption of all men.

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[...][I]n the new order, by its own law, the permanent elements will not support themselves on violence but on taste, and, for that reason, the selection will be spontaneous, as it is done by the artist when, from all the colors, he takes only those that are convenient to his work.

If in order to constitute the fifth race we should proceed according to the law of the second period, then a contest of craftiness would ensue, in which the astute ones and those lacking in scruples would win the game over the dreamers and the kind at heart.

[...] The joy-creating faculty is contained in the law of the third period, which is a feeling for beauty and a love so refined that it becomes identified with divine revelation. [...] Its dynamism is contagious, it moves the emotions and transforms everything, even destiny itself. The race best qualified to discover and to impose such a law upon life and material things will be the matrix race of the new civilization. Fortunately, such a gift, necessary to the fifth race, is possessed in a great degree by the mestizo people of the Ibero-American continent, people for whom beauty is the main reason for everything. A fine aesthetic sensitivity and a profound love of beauty, away from any illegitimate interests and free from formal ties, are necessary for the third period, which is impregnated with a Christian aestheticism that puts upon ugliness itself the redemptive touch of pity which lights a halo around everything created.

We have, then, in the continent all the elements for the new Humanity: A law that will gradually select elements for the creation of predominant types; a law that will not operate according to a national criterion, as would be the case with a single conquering race. [...]

The people that Hispanic America is forming in a somewhat disorderly manner, yet free of spirit and with intense longings on account of the vast unexplored regions, can still repeat the feats of the Castilian and Portuguese conquerors. The Hispanic race, in general, still has ahead of it this mission of discovering new regions of the spirit, now that all lands have already been explored.

Only the Iberian part of the continent possesses the spiritual factors, the race, and the territory necessary for the great enterprise of initiating the new universal era of Humanity. All the races that are to provide their contribution are already there: The Nordic man, who is today the master of action but who had humble beginnings and seemed inferior in an epoch in which already great cultures had appeared and decayed; the black man, as a reservoir of potentialities that began in the remote days of Lemuria; the Indian, who saw Atlantis perish but still keeps a

quiet mystery in the conscience. We have all the races and all the aptitudes. The only thing lacking is for true love to organize and set in march the law of History.

Many obstacles are opposed to the plan of the spirit, but they are obstacles common to all progress. Of course, some people may object, saying that how are the different races going to come to an accord, when not even the children of the same stock can live in peace and happiness within the economic and social regime that oppresses man today. But such a state of mind will have to change rapidly. All the tendencies of the future are intertwined in the present: Mendelianism in biology, socialism in government, growing sympathy among the souls, generalized progress, and the emergence of the fifth race that will fill the planet with the triumphs of the first truly universal, truly cosmic culture.

If we view the process panoramically, we shall find the three stages of the law of the three states of society, each one vivified with the contribution of the four fundamental races that accomplish their mission and, then, disappear in order to create a fifth superior ethnic specimen. This gives us five races and three stages, that is, the number eight which in the Pythagorean gnosis represents the ideal of the equality of all men. Such coincidences are surprising when discovered, although later they may seem trivial.

In order to express all these ideas that today I am trying to expound in a rapid synthesis, I tried, some years ago, when they were not yet well defined, to assign them symbols in the new Palace of Public Education in Mexico. Lacking sufficient elements to do exactly what I wished, I had to be satisfied with a Spanish renaissance building, with two courtyards, archways, and passages that give somewhat the impression of a bird's wing. On the panels at the four corners of the first patio, I had them carve allegories representing Spain, Mexico, Greece, and India, the four particular civilizations that have most to contribute to the formation of Latin America. Immediately below these four allegories, four stone statues should have been raised, representing the four great contemporary races. The white, the red, the black, and the yellow, to indicate that America is home to all and needs all of them. Finally, in the center, a monument should have been raised that in some way would symbolize the law of the three states: The material, the intellectual and the aesthetic. All this was to indicate that through the exercise of the triple law, we in America shall arrive, before any other part of the world, at the creation of a new race fashioned out of the treasures of all the previous ones: The final race, the cosmic race. යා යා කණුව ප්රතිය වූ වන්නේ ප්රතිය විය විද්යා කර වී වැඩි කරන්නේ වූ දිනියට විද්යා කරන්නේ

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