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Artículos Científicos

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Hilario Ramírez Morales e a OEEM. Resistencia cultural mixteca en Ayutla de los Libres, Guerrero

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Resumen

Este documento se centra en la lucha social emprendida por el líder del *te savi* (mixteco) Hilario Ramírez Morales, la cual comenzó a mediados de los años 60 en el municipio de Ayutla de los Libres, estado de Guerrero, y que le llevó a ser asesinado en 1981. El objetivo principal de esta investigación se inscribe en el paradigma hermenéutico-reflexivo. Con este tipo de análisis, se inicia un acercamiento a la vida de este personaje histórico a fin de dar a conocer la lucha que realizó, revestida y caracterizada de resistencia cultural. Los procedimientos llevaron a registrar principalmente información documental, complementada en menor medida con testimonios orales, que resumen las tareas que coordinó el dirigente mixteco para promover, junto con otros jóvenes de su etnia, acciones liberadoras pacíficas encaminadas, primero, a establecer redes intercomunitarias y asociaciones civiles mediante



la constitución de la Organización de Estudiantes y Ex-Estudiantes Mixtecos (OEEM); y segundo, en la construcción consensuada en las localidades originarias de un “programa de lucha” que retomaba las demandas más sentidas de la población. Entre los resultados destaca que Hilario Ramírez fortaleció alianzas con un grupo de catequistas católicos liberales y, con ellos, robusteció la estructura organizacional a nivel municipal que hasta el día de hoy perdura. Asimismo, Ramírez logró impulsar congresos étnicos en La Concordia, Coapinola, Ahuacachahue, ciudad de Ayutla y otras localidades. Su lucha, a la postre, contribuyó a que la OEEM lograra la introducción del sistema de educación bilingüe, conquista legítima para las comunidades que no querían perder su lengua, y que reclamaban a la vez el uso del idioma castellano para defender sus derechos sojuzgados por la clase mestiza opresora en la región mixteca. Sin embargo, en 1981, la embestida reaccionaria de cacicazgos locales de la otrora estirpe indígena se recrudeció. Frente a las denuncias de la OEEM, aquellos grupos adinerados optaron por ultimar al líder el 21 de mayo. Con esa acción criminal los caciques creyeron acabar la lucha y resistencia de Hilario Ramírez.

Palabras clave: discriminación, explotación, grupos caciquiles, intercambio desigual, región mixteca, resistencia cultural.

Abstract

This document focuses on the social struggle waged by the *te savi* (Mixtec) leader Hilario Ramírez Morales, which began in the mid-1960s in the municipality of Ayutla de los Libres, Guerrero state, and was cut short with his death in 1981. The main objective of this research is inscribed in the hermeneutic-reflexive paradigm. With this type of analysis, an approach to the life of our historical person begins in order to publicize the struggle he carried out, covered and characterized by cultural resistance. The procedures led to the recording mainly of documentary information, complemented to a lesser extent by oral testimonies, which summarize the tasks that the Mixtec leader coordinated to promote, together with other young people of his ethnic group, peaceful liberating actions aimed, first, at establishing inter-community networks and civil associations through the constitution of the Organización de Estudiantes y Ex-Estudiantes Mixtecos (OEEM); and second, in the consensual construction in the original localities of a “struggle program” that took up the most heartfelt demands of the population. Among the results, it stands out that Hilario Ramírez strengthened alliances



with a group of liberal Catholic catechists and, with them, strengthened the organizational structure at the municipal level that continues to this day. Likewise, Ramírez managed to promote ethnic congresses in La Concordia, Coapinola, Ahuacachahue, the city of Ayutla and other locations. Their struggle, in the end, contributed to the OEEM achieving the introduction of the bilingual education system, a legitimate conquest for the communities that did not want to lose their language, and that at the same time demanded the use of the Castilian language to defend their rights under the control of the oppressive mestizo class in the Mixtec region. However, in 1981, the reactionary onslaught of local chiefdoms of the former indigenous line intensified. Faced with complaints from the OEEM, those wealthy groups chose to kill the leader on May 21. With this criminal action, the caciques believed that the struggle and resistance of Hilario Ramírez ended.

Keywords: discrimination, exploitation, unequal exchange, Mixtec region, cultural resistance.

Resumo

Este documento enfoca a luta social empreendida pelo líder do te savi (Mixtec) Hilario Ramírez Morales, que teve início em meados da década de 1960 no município de Ayutla de los Libres, estado de Guerrero, e que o levou ao assassinato em 1981. O objetivo principal desta pesquisa insere-se no paradigma hermenêutico-reflexivo. Com este tipo de análise, inicia-se uma abordagem sobre a vida desta figura histórica no sentido de dar a conhecer a luta que travou, percorrida e caracterizada pela resistência cultural. Os procedimentos conduziram ao registo principalmente de informação documental, complementada em menor medida por testemunhos orais, que sintetizam as tarefas que o dirigente mixteca coordenou para promover, em conjunto com outros jovens da sua etnia, acções pacíficas de libertação visando, em primeiro lugar, a estabelecimento de redes e associações intercomunitárias civil, através da constituição da Organização de Estudantes e Ex-Estudantes Mixtec (OEEM); e, segundo, na construção consensual nas localidades originárias de um “programa de luta” que atendesse às demandas mais sinceras da população. Entre os resultados, destaca-se que Hilario Ramírez fortaleceu alianças com um grupo de catequistas catecistas liberais e, com eles, fortaleceu a estrutura organizacional em nível municipal que continua até hoje. Da mesma forma, Ramírez conseguiu promover congressos étnicos em La Concordia,



Coapinola, Ahuacachahue, na cidade de Ayutla e em outras localidades. A sua luta, no final, contribuiu para que a OEEM conseguisse a introdução do sistema de ensino bilingue, uma conquista legítima para as comunidades que não queriam perder a sua língua e que ao mesmo tempo exigiam o uso da língua castelhana para se defender. seus direitos sob o controle da classe mestiça opressora da região Mixteca. No entanto, em 1981, o ataque reacionário de chefias locais da antiga linha indígena se intensificou. Diante das reclamações da OEEM, esses grupos ricos optaram por matar o líder em 21 de maio. Com essa ação criminosa, os caciques acreditaram que a luta e a resistência de Hilario Ramírez acabaram.

Palavras-chave: discriminação, exploração, grupos caciquile, troca desigual, região Mixtec, resistência cultural.

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Introduction

The municipality of Ayutla de los Libres is located on the Costa Chica, southeast of the current state of Guerrero, in one of its seven natural regions, with a local area of 7.35 km² (Raúl Luna, 2004, p. 3), and has as head to the city of Ayutla. Since 1522, the territory was the scene of violent territorial defenses by its inhabitants against the Aztec Empire, the Spanish Crown and the tyranny of López de Santa Ana, among others, without losing sight of contemporary threats, whose powers could not and have not been able to destroy the original communities living there, since, as Silvia Soriano (1994) has said, “they remain, they reproduce themselves and they continue” (pp. 71-72).

In such historical context, the life of the university student and leader of *na savi* ('the people of the rain' or Mixteca), Hilario Ramírez Morales, signified the daily social discontent of his *Ñuu Savi* ('people of the rain'), expressed in cultural resistance and ethnic struggle of the communities in defense of their natural resources and their own identity. This gained strength since 1965, when, together with Benito Narciso Morales, Filemón Francisco Santos, Agustín Morales and other colleagues, they decided to organize and founded, after 12 years of gestation, in December 1977 (Narciso, 2002, p. 43), the Organization of Mixtec Students and Ex-Students (OEEM) of the municipality of Ayutla de los Libres, until it is killed by indications of wealthy



people - settled in Coapinola, Rancho Ocoapa and La Concordia -, in the middle of the Mixtec region, in 1982 (Filemón Francisco Santos, May 2016, interview).

In the life of Hilario Ramírez Morales, multiple interrelated events are contrasted that impact him personally and socially. Since 1971, the Guerrero entity was very convulsed by the presence of strong insurgent movements under the leadership of professors and guerrilla commanders Genaro Vázquez Rojas and Lucio Cabañas Barrientos, who demanded justice for the Mexicans. Within this framework, in May 1972, at the Autonomous University of Guerrero (UAGro), Dr. Rosalío Wences Reza assumed as new rector, who raises the popular educational project called University-People, with which he opens the doors of the institution to the Guerrero society, and shelters the children of workers, peasants, artisans and subaltern classes of humble origin. So, several "popular high schools" are founded in the regions of the state, university canteens, student houses, medical dispensaries and, something very important, economic scholarships and payment waivers on school enrollment of 50 and 100% are extended, which benefit poor indigenous students when entering the maximum house of studies.

In the city of Chilpancingo there was the Authentic House of the Guerrerense Student (ACEG), which until September 1971 was located in Mariano Abasolo number 30 and then moved to Calle 16 de Septiembre number 18 (Tapia, 2015), a hostel that housed young people very low-income students, middle school, high school, and higher-level career students. In 1972, the democratic and vindictive student movement resurfaces in the UAGro, largely encouraged by the leadership of the ACEG and the presence in its bosom of young people such as Juan García Costilla, Octaviano Santiago Dionisio and Abelardo Alarcón Orduña, among others. In this period, the first stage of the university political organization called the Guerrerense Student Union (UEG) was founded, where countless boys led by Guillermo Sánchez Nava, Víctor Hugo Herrera Pegueros and Ernesto Alarcón Orduña converged, who identify with the social struggles of sectors outcasts of Guerrero.

Under this environment, with language difficulties in a field of "mestizos", the young Mixtec Hilario Ramírez Morales arrived in Chilpancingo. Coming from the community of El Piñal —in the mountainous area of the Ayutleco municipality—, he spared no effort in promoting his cultural identity: he openly pointed out that the Mixtec localities that made up his municipality suffered from extreme poverty, lack of bilingual schools and countless



millenary problems that They had to be resolved, as was the sale at a good price of their small business of agrarian origin. In this context, in September 1973, Hilario enrolled as a student at the Ernesto Che Guevara Popular High School, dependent on the UAG, and entered as a disciplined resident of the ACEG, where he stood out for his insistence on making his ethnic identity known and finding solidarity for his cause, always with his saying: "I am a Mixtec from Ayutla de los Libres" (Tapia, 2015).

Between 1976-77, almost at the end of his high school studies, Hilario Ramírez Morales became a regular student activist, along with Gumersindo Parra Barrera, Francisco Santiago Dionisio, Gustavo Ávila Serrano and Ofelio Martínez Yanes, who made him act as a team through study circles. . Likewise, he joins the restructuring project of the Guerrerense University Student Federation (FEUG), directed by the ACEG and the University Dormitory. During these struggles, on a tour of the Tierra Caliente region in the company of a teacher, the Volkswagen car in which they were traveling at night skidded —or the driver fell asleep—: the vehicle ended up overturned on the road. The accident in question had as consequences for Ramírez Morales bruises on the body and damage to his face, with the destruction of his front teeth, a fact that contributed to earning the nickname of Grandfather, with which he will be known among many university students until his death.

Hilario Ramírez Morales always had among his objectives the vindication of the rights of his Mixtec people. For this, he sought to improve his speech to make himself understood. Guillermo Sánchez and other colleagues from ACEG were his advisers in popular oratory. This allowed him fluidity in his political messages. Thus, since 1975, in the company of his countryman Agustín Morales Hernández, also a Mixtec high school student, and the *na savi* teachers Filemón Francisco Santos, Benito Narciso Morales and Leonardo Santiago, he devoted himself to the creation of the OEEM, with the purpose of making against the caciques and hoarders who stole the natural resources (wood) of the community area (Narciso, 2002), since these sinister characters also profited from the low prices of their agricultural products (Creole avocado, mamey, soursop, pineapple, panela , domestic animals) and exploited the cheap labor force of the original Mixtec communities.

At that time, the Mixtec student group led by El Abuelo received broad support from ACEG and the democratic nuclei led by FEUG, until the indigenous social organization (OEEM) achieved its first congress, held in the community of La Concordia los June 26, 27 and 28, 1977. This event records the participation of 29 ethnic communities, whose main



objective was: 1) to combat illiteracy prevailing in the Mixtec area of the municipality, 2) to stop the abuses carried out by merchants who They took away agricultural products from the Mixtecs on the roads and 3) abolished the tax measures that the Ayutla City Council imposed for the transfer of goods of indigenous origin and for their sale in the Sunday markets. An additional issue is the complaint against hoarders and intermediaries who, in collusion with local officials, bought the products on the community foot or on the roads and gaps at very low prices, where any refusal of the peasants prevented them from continuing their journey to the capital city . The other demands of the population were the construction of new dirt roads and the installation of a bilingual school zone (García Costilla, January 20, 2011).

In the following congresses of the OEEM, other demands continue towards the governmental entities, which ignore to listen to them and comply with them. But the na savi feels that a transition stage is being lived. For this reason, in successive events (congresses, assemblies), it is agreed to establish inter-ethnic relations with other brotherly peoples, to fight for common rights, "since there is a slight change in mentality, particularly in young people." (Narciso, 2002, p. 29).

Theoretical-methodological referential

Benito Narciso (2002), comrade of struggle of Hilario Ramírez Morales, disclosed that the communities that were part of his own ethnic group for a long time were only visited during electoral campaigns by the ruling State party. After these processes, the Mixtec "becomes the most remote and ignored being" (p. 21). Then, the problems related to the misery, social abandonment and cultural resistance of the Ñuu Savi de Ayutla to survive were quite unknown aspects outside of his communities until the end of the 70s (Tapia, 2018, pp. 136-152). In other words, said Mixtec cultural resistance comes from afar, since their "indigenous refuge areas" were part of this millennial strategy.

With various data collected in the Mixtec regions of Guerrero, the authors of this essay have managed to consolidate a database that refers to the history of the resistance that occurred in the legendary Ayotlán (Ayutla) and areas of the old Acatlán, in San Luis. It was through bibliographic reviews, parochial archives and reconstruction of historical memory that part of the local past of na savi could be recovered and systematized. Thus it was possible to know that the Mixtec area of Ayutla was subject to a lengthy process of tax dispossession, perpetrated, first, by the pre-Hispanic Triple Alliance headed by Mexico-Tenochtitlan



(Rafael Rubí, 1993), information that Raúl Vélez Calvo (1998, p. 242), who affirms that in 1487 almost all the Mixtec areas of the current state of Guerrero fell under the power of the Aztec Empire; and, second, it was also possible to understand, with other historical data, how the Mixtec area of the Costa Chica of the entity was inscribed in the slope of penetration of savage capitalism in its regional habitat, from the colonial stage to our times.

Danielle Dehouve (2001) asserts that, in their resistance struggle, the Mixtecos of Ayutla expanded to the east, leaving part of the southern coast at “the expense of the Tlapanecos” or me 'phaa (p. 42), with whom they were allies. The extraction of tributes in products and labor decimated the coastal population and wreaked havoc in Ayutla, which is rebelling against the colonial system (Dehouve, 2001, pp. 101-102).

Rolf Widmer (1990, pp. 77-79 and 116) relates in turn that the Costa Chica de Guerrero was attacked and militarily conquered between 1521 and 1522 by Spaniards under the orders of Pedro de Alvarado (Tonatiuh), where its inhabitants initially presented a weak indigenous resistance, but that exploded among the Yopes or Yopis, Tlapanecos and Mixtecos of Acaxitla, who never wanted to obey or serve Moctezuma in the previous stage (Vidal, 1987, p. 32). Therefore, without major difficulties by military means, the conquerors invaded their lands and persecuted them through the mountains, and the Spanish Crown distributed their ethnic rights to encomenderos like Pedro Lozano.

In the case of the Mixtec and Tlapaneca regions of Acatlán and Ayotlán (Ayutla), what happened after the Hispanic invasion gave way to the stage of greater sociocultural disagreements. On the one hand, against the conqueror Diego Pardo, an Andalusian from Moguer who had acted in Cuba and in Las Higueras, who founded and entrusted the Villa de San Luis (Acatlán). On the other, against the despot encomendero Pedro Lozano, who was installed in Ayutla. Both imposed “excessive tax levies” on the Indians, as was the trend of these characters throughout Latin America (Gunder, 1967, p. 91). This situation worsened between 1523 and 1530 and culminated with the uprising of the warlike and bellicose Yopes or Yopis in 1531 in the two coastal areas, which forced the bulk of the peninsular to flee from San Luis and withdraw from Ayutla for fear of the rebels; Only Pardo remains, along with the priest and a councilor, protected by his "white guards". Lozano and his family settled in Chilapa, although he administers the Ayutla encomienda through caciques from the area, who served as intermediaries. However, the yope or yopi conspiracy was drowned in blood



and the survivors pursued to the foothills of the mountain and coastal sierra (Vidal, 1987, p. 33).

Based on these appraisals, it is necessary to add that Pedro Lozano was an invader of Spanish origin who between 1523-1524 obtained permission from Hernán Cortés - through the intervention of Alvarado - to take over the encomienda of old Ayotlán; at the same time, he acquired houses in the Chilapa area and cattle ranches near Jicayán de Pedro Nieto and Tututepec (Widmer, 1990, p. 127), in territories of what is now Oaxaca. Obtaining the royal permit, this encomendero undertakes over several years the extraction of mineral wealth (gold), timber (pine-oak) and local textiles (woven clothing). This long process of expropriation and separation of the means and living conditions of the laborer - indigenous and peasant - in the Mixtec area of Ayutla by savage capitalism has at the same time meant the existence of original forms of resistance through which the communities They have sustained their sustainable vital relationships, faced with adverse Western socio-cultural structures; community media that are pronounced as a “different” and profound project. These relationships express the survival of an original “civilizing matrix” whose source was partially truncated, but where its source and true source continued —and continue to flow— to feed and rebuild its autonomic project in the new times.

Likewise, it cannot be hidden, as Rafael Rubí (1993) refers, that the social or community surpluses gradually torn from indigenous hands and their territory in the form of tributes particularly benefited the Crown, encomenderos, the Church and indigenous nobility, and this occurs since the regional commission enters and is established, whether in free labor service, in goods-product (gold powder, blankets, cocoa), forced labor service and in the obligation to contribute new taxes valued in gold pesos, aspects that come to constitute original capital in the hands of the encomenderos, that is, in labor and raw materials not paid to the direct producers of native origin.

According to recent data rescued from the historical memory by Mixtec sages of Ayutla, the population emigrated to the refuge spaces - made up of the bulk of the communities of this ethnic group in Ayutla - located in Coapinola, Ahuacachahue and Rancho Ocoapa (Tapia, 2018, p. 140-147). According to oral sources, the main (elders) attribute that their communities have resisted since the invasion process and subsequent colonization by migrating to the mountains, where they were less culturally hit by the encomendero, not that segment located on the coastal side.



Later, faced with disagreement, General Morelos ignited discontent in Tlapa, Metlatónoc and the Pacific coast in 1811, with the social fire of the independence movement that reached the coast of the South Sea through San Luis and Ayutla. Francisco López Bárcenas (2015) affirms that, in the Costa Chica of Oaxaca and Guerrero, the dispossessed Mixtecs saw in the war of independence the opportunity to “avenge the grievances suffered by the Spaniards” and were raised in their vast majority (pp. 31 -3. 4).

However, it was not enough, because although the text *Sentimientos de la Nación*, promulgated in Chilpancingo in 1813 by Generalissimo José María Morelos (Fernández, 2013, pp. 114-118), declares slavery abolished and vindicates the rights of the peoples. Originally, the *na savi* of Ayotlán continued enslaved by usury and its inhabitants lived stripped of their lands and territory. Thus, it can be understood that, years later, the Mixtecos of Ayutla incorporated their forms of cultural resistance in the final struggle for the independence of Mexico against the Spanish, alongside the insurgent general Don Vicente Guerrero.

For this reason, in 1854, by following the old insurgent Juan Álvarez, some of his pawns joined the struggle proclaimed by the Ayutla Plan, commanded in the Ayutla area by Florencio Villarreal, a military conspirator in the death of General Guerrero. Although many Mixtecos participated in the armies that fought head-on to overthrow the dictator Antonio López de Santa Ana, their ethnic communities continued and continue in extreme poverty, despite even the Zapatista revolutionary wave of 1911-1919.

Results achieved in the study

When starting the qualitative research that allows this essay to be presented, basic purposes of inquiry were oriented in the form of questions and working hypotheses to learn about central aspects of the 70s such as: 1) what was the sociocultural situation of *na savi* in the municipality of Ayutla in front of to the scope of the Mexican Revolution; 2) reasons or causes that made their native communities continue in high marginalization and acute economic misery; 3) even, according to Benito Narciso (1989, interview), why in 1970 the local Mixtec did not seem to exist on the municipal map, since “they were not even consulted in local and federal elections”, since the decisions They were taken by the leaders of the party in power, without consulting the population, and 4) the sociocultural roots that influenced the social struggle of young people, particularly Hilario Ramírez Morales.



The results of the investigation allowed to corroborate that the OEEM “was an organization of students and teachers that was constituted as a civil association of indigenous origin, due to the lack of leaderships and managers that could recover the demands of the inhabitants of the na savi area.”(García Costilla, January 20, 2011).

The ethnic struggle undertaken by Hilario Ramírez was born, in fact, at the beginning of the 70s, when study circles were formed at UAGro and reflected on the problems that the Guerrero Indians were experiencing then; However, this cultural resistance struggle had as its axis the social action of the Mixtec ethnic movement based on its own decisions and socio-historical inspiration.

The study circles identified with Hilario Ramírez Morales, who joined this project soon becoming its coordinator and, in 1976, the main leader of this form of organization and self-reflection. Thus, as already mentioned, this leader managed to organize and conduct his first regional congress in the community of La Concordia on June 26, 27 and 28, 1977, an event where the OEEM was formally constituted on the 28th of the same month and year. (García Costilla, January 20, 2011). Since then, successive Mixtec congresses continued to be scheduled for several years, which were conducted by Hilario Ramírez, following the same programmatic path until his death.

The representation of 29 Mixtec communities attending the first OEEM congress strengthened their structure due to the importance of their demands: 1) bilingual teachers for the communities; 2) solution to high illiteracy rates; 3) rejection of the taxes established de facto by the hoarders and the City Council to the peasants who traveled with merchandise on the roads and gaps to the municipal seat; 4) repeal of taxes instituted for the sale of products in the municipal market; 5) management of opening new gaps that will communicate with Ayutla, and 6) demand for the creation of a bilingual school zone.

According to the accounts of Juan García Costilla, the fight against taxes on the roads and the response given to this problem by the Ayutla City Council strengthened and strengthened the social and political structure of the OEEM.

According to inquiries made on this subject (Tapia, 2018), one of the first actions undertaken by Hilario Ramírez with the support of his organization was the management and training of literacy brigades of the popular education program of UAGro, where the presence of Professor Arquímedes García Castro, within the framework of the University-People project.



With this study it is possible to know that the support given to the communities by the UAGro was successful due to the formation and training of literacy teachers in the region, aimed at the secretaries of the police stations and high school graduates; The University only donated armchairs, blackboards, gasoline lamps, among other implements for study circles to the indigenous communities (García Costilla, January 21, 2011), with the aim of solving alarming illiteracy problems of up to ninety percent in the majority of the population.

The university leaders of high social sensitivity, Guillermo Sánchez Nava, Saúl López Sollano and Juan García Costilla, from the UAGro supported the initiatives of the coordinator Hilario Ramírez and of Professor Benito Narciso Morales, deputy coordinator of the OEEM, who proposed to respond to the complaints of the communities in the Mixtec congresses; both led the fight to provide localities with bilingual teachers, which ultimately allowed them to learn about the nature of the mestizo world and reproduce their own culture. This is the root of the ethical resistance of *na savi* in the aspect of the cultural matrix that they claim.

Regarding the results produced by this nodal struggle of Hilario Ramírez, referring to preventing the continuation of taxes on highways and roads, García Costilla (January 21, 2011: paragraph 10) mentions:

The OEEM leadership set out to find a solution to this demand from the indigenous communities; The opportunity arose in January 1978, at the inauguration of Mr. Leonardo Vázquez as municipal president, where, breaking the protocol, the list of demands of the communities was presented in the rostrum, which the mayor did not want to receive. This was one of the organization's first momentous actions, and from that moment on, road taxes were abolished, leaving only the taxes that were collected in the market.

The foregoing refers to the proposed claims, which is evident in the annotations made by García Costilla (January 21, 201: paragraph 11), who indicates that:

From that moment on the visits of the organization to the communities were [intensified], where there was an atmosphere of harassment by the caciques [towards] the indigenous leaders, who were surprised with the scope of the new organization, and the information that community leaders and OEEM sympathizing commissioners would be eliminated.

From all of the above, it is observed in the central hypothesis that the enemies to be defeated were the local chieftains in possession of the communal property police stations. Of



course, Pedro Luisa denied the facts and argued that he always had an interest in leaving the Comisaría de Bienes Comunales de Coapinola. In his interview, he maintains that he had nothing to do with the death of Hilario Ramírez Morales, whose crime is still blamed on him. He added that he deposited financial resources in the bank that amounted to 50,000 pesos, coming from an advance that a lumber businessman from El Ocotito gave them, who lowered the wood for his sawmill. But he added that that money was to fix the highway to the Mixtec communities; that he had loaned the local police station the amount of 15,000 pesos for the Virgin's festivities, although that money would return to the bank. However, the community struggle made him leave office.

Assassination of the Mixtec leader

In 1978, Hilario Ramírez Morales was enrolled as a regular student at the UAGro School of Medicine. However, his situation becomes hazardous, as wealthy chiefs of Coapinola, Rancho Ocoapa and La Concordia, led by Pedro Luisa and Don Juan Álvarez, ordered his assassination. To achieve this, they paid a hit man, who besieged him in El Piñal and waits for him on the roads of Rancho Ocoapa to "hunt him down." He, for his part, fears being decimated like a deer from some cliff in the hills, or killed from behind, as the hired gunmen are used to doing in those places. Yet he sneaks out and acts clandestinely. Someone from his teammates, out of necessity, presented him with a .38 Super pistol with five shots. However, the leader seriously feared for his life, since it was evident that the thugs of his land were hitmen who had no limits when they were about to forge and carry out an assassination; Hence, he told a comrade of his that he was changing the square pistol that he carried, for a three-eighty with thirty cartridges. The deal was done. Then Grandfather returns to his town, prowling the roads, ready to face his fate. Tiredness and forced marches through paths and hills diminish his strength, which even in his capacity as a 25-year-old is derisive. Sleep overcomes him and the cruel hunter finds him asleep one morning at his house, next to the foot of a leafy tree, on May 21, 1981. There, without regard, he shoots him with a 12-gauge shotgun, while the indigenous leader remains dreaming forever.

Hilario Morales Ramírez is assassinated in Rancho Ocoapa, while serving as coordinator of the OEEM; His crime was to denounce that the chiefs of Coapinola and La Concordia were thriving with the resources from mortgaging the timber forests of the Mixtec area, and for demanding that the intermediaries not keep the value of indigenous labor. He



was the victim of the conspiracy of those who conspired with the forest exploiters from the decentralized parastatal organization Forestal Vicente Guerrero, and saw in Hilario a rival who opposed the rapamontes. There was already a death threat from the brothers Pedro Luisa and Juan Álvarez, who were the chiefs and hoarders of Coapinola; Pedro was for more than 15 years the agrarian commissioner, and Juan the community secretary and chief commissioner (Benito Narciso Morales, 1989, interview).

García Costilla maintains (January 21, 2011: paragraph 15):

After the assassination of Hilario Ramírez Morales, a chain of crimes was unleashed by indigenous leaders who kept on moving against the immoderate felling of the forests, presuming the responsibility of the group of caciques that had their antecedent in 1970, the year in which Juan Álvarez took office. communal power, seconded by Pedro Luisa, who usurped the communal property commission from 1982 to 1998 and opposed giving it up, supported by a group of bandits who had devastated the region and intimidated the Mixtec elders.

In that long wave of sequential crimes, in February 2009 Raúl Lucas and Manuel Ponce, continuing the struggle of Hilario Ramírez, were killed. With details, Luís Hernández Navarro (February 24, 2009) recounts this episode in his column “Astillero” of the national newspaper La Jornada, where the impunity enjoyed by local criminal groups is expressed.

Discussion

The wave of crimes and intimidation led OEEM members to take extreme precautions in 1978 as they walked through the Mixtec area. Most of them suspended visits to the communities; they tried to arrive with advance notice only between colleagues; people arrived sporadically and walked the sidewalks at night. Its main leaders went into clandestine life, as is the case of Professor Benito Narciso Morales, a situation that brings about the suspension of public organic life.

However, Hilario Ramírez Morales considered in a certain way to assume a heroic attitude. At one time, when Rector Wences Reza asked to be protected from armed men at the service of factual groups that disputed the university rectory, he proposed himself to participate in 1978 as part of the protective brigade, when he only carried a .22 caliber pistol in poor condition. . On another occasion, he was about to shoot a teacher from UAGro High



1, because he disagreed with some of the young leaders' tactics. He showed, then, this Mixtec leader, courage and determination to confront those who he believed to be his adversaries, and greater courage against the enemies of his social struggle.

In contrast, the leaders located in the Mixtec area of Ayutla chose to take precautions, and even decided not to directly confront their detractors. This is stated in interviews by leaders Benito Narciso (June 1999, interview) and Filemón Francisco Santos (May 2016, interview), who add that "Comrade Hilario" did not heed the indications proposed by the leading group, as he trusted in which he could go to visit his family and friends overcoming the risks.

It can be affirmed that Hilario's tough character prevented him from being afraid of death, since he even told his companions that he was "willing to fight head-on with his enemies", as long as they did not attack him for the back. However, he was overcome by sleep and was left unprotected, at the mercy of the hitmen hired by those who were against his culture.

After the death of Hilario Ramírez, his comrades in struggle founded the Organization of Mixtec-Tlapanecos Peoples (OPMT) Hilario Ramírez Morales of the municipality of Ayutla, and they retake in their declaration of principles the foundations of the movement undertaken by the OEEM. This new social organism was constituted by an average of 22 communities of Na Savi origin and five from Me'phaa (Tlapanecas). In the organizational nature of the OPMT it was already noticed (as a necessity) what the savi Jaime García Leyva (2012) has foreseen today: the demand to articulate the resistance with the historical continuity of the social struggle of the peoples.

This essay seeks to highlight and make visible the struggle of the Mixtec leader Hilario Ramírez Morales in the distance, although na savi does not want to talk much about the subject. However, its historicity deserves to be treated in greater depth and approach in its determined social context, taking up the living documentary and testimonial sources, reviewing the impact of its contribution in the light of the new forms of community organization, which have a continuity, since the Mixtec area continues to be one of the poorest in the state. This area is also the hotbed of community self-defense movements and the scene of a permanent fight against paramilitarization and insecurity. Although the scope of this article may be limited when trying to describe his future and the actions that the analyzed character undertook, his contributions allow us to reflect on broader issues such as



the new indigenous leaderships and the role of the university in their formation, or well in its co-option, as well as the importance of making known to the new generations of Ayutla people the characters like Hilario Ramírez, who is now part of their history and that of the state of Guerrero.

But the main strength is that from the perspective of social anthropology it is possible to delve into the historical memory and oral tradition of the “people of the rain”. A recoverable fact is still the contact that one has with old leaders and bilingual teachers, whose experience in the struggle and knowledge of the communities are veins of research that can contribute to enrich the history of the Ñu Savi. However, there are weaknesses that are related to foreseeable risks in the face of diverse factual sectors that roam the Mixtec area and endanger both the lives of their countrymen and social researchers. Therefore, it is convenient not to lose sight of this factor that could make participant research and anthropological work impossible.

Conclusions

The leading group of the OPMT considered that it was necessary for Mixtec children to learn and reproduce social life in their mother tongue and other national languages, since the monolingual teachers were only in charge of “Spanishizing teaching”, and the children did not go beyond third year of primary school. In these times, this was the highest level in the area, and those who wanted to complete their primary education had to do so in the municipal seat, Ayutla, a place where there was no bilingual school zone. The first school of this type was founded in Rancho Ocoapa, in the heart of Mixtec, in June 1983, dependent on the jurisdictions of Igualapa and Tierra Colorada, one of the wishes that Hilario Ramírez always raised.

The movement increased its demands: all communities wanted bilingual schools. They asked for a mentor like a first teacher who came to Rancho Ocoapa, who worked in a grass hut. People knew that this was possible from 1981 to 1982, because the OEEM had carried out a “brigade” throughout the area, taking censuses of inhabitants and school-age children, as well as signatures to support the founding of schools, with applications that were sent to the National Indigenous Institute, an institution where it was proclaimed to give attention to the indigenous people. Simultaneously, several young people went out to train in



bilingual education to impart this education: Agustín Morales Hernández, Filemón Francisco Santos and Leonardo Santiago, among others.

The ethnic resistance struggle waged by Hilario Ramírez Morales and the active members of the OEEM from Ayutla de los Libres, Guerrero, since the early 1970s, first, and later in the OPMT, has marked the foundations of a long period of confrontation. against wealthy local caciques and other factual actors with a disgraceful presence in the Mixtec area of Ayutla.

This social struggle, despite the setbacks and human losses on the part of its leaders, resulted in new forms of organization of *na savi* in that area, which today are expressed as historical survival in defense of their original rights.

Hilario Morales Ramírez left an indelible legacy among his Mixtec counterparts, which translates into the fact that today many young men and women have embarked on the route of self-defense against others who do not understand the importance of their culture, but also against mercenary criminals. the bad mestizo government and old commercial intermediaries that lose political presence every day. The townspeople remember the leader in an indigenous school in the La Fátima community that bears his name, as the Popular Preparatory School of Ayutla remembered him on occasion.

The Mixtec and Tlapanec peoples of Ayutla have achieved other levels of organicity and resistance. They have community self-defense bodies and have managed to establish a system of government by uses and customs, whose example shows the great opportunity that the original communities of Guerrero have to govern themselves and generate new systems of life and work.

The educational knowledge of quality and university social relevance cannot but offer solidarity and respect to these resistance movements.

We can conclude by pointing out that the scientific investigation of the life of *na savi* in Guerrero has an irrefutable aspect in the reflexive hermeneutical methodology, in first-hand documents, such as codices, municipal and parochial archives, theses of scholars on the subject, colonial and Spanish manuscripts. archaeological heritage, which serve anthropological and historical research.

Analysts who highlight the importance of qualitative research with hermeneutical approaches advise following processes of reflection, analysis and comparison that allow us to understand the meanings and understand the actors that are related in their direct contexts



(González, 2013, pp. 1-4). In this regard, Jairo Pérez Vargas, Johan Andrés Nieto and Juan Esteban Santa María (2019) also appear, who argue that "the proposals emanating from the texts" depend on "intersubjective understanding", that is, the appropriation of contextual reality by the student, who is the field of experience of the subjects he investigates (pp. 21-27).

Based on these propositions, the reflective and comprehensive hermeneutical historical approach applied in this analysis of the life of Hilario Ramírez Morales combines interpretation and understanding of texts and real contexts that, as Tatiana Fonseca (2008, p. 167) states, include intentionalities authors' narratives when writing the results of social research. Hence the importance of gradually approaching the object of hermeneutical study, defining the key terms as elements of the "first mental model" at the level of the daily reality studied and in its language (Tena and Rivas, 2007, p. 20). The perspective described places the invaluable possibility of deepening a study of greater dimension of the life and actions of the character Hilario Ramírez, and articulating, in addition, the historical-critical hermeneutics and the active ethnography of an anthropological order to make dense readings and in-depth experiences that recover the actors' own direct languages by the researchers.

Future Research Lines

The Mixtec area (na savi) described in this study contains a potentially suitable vein of research to deepen the sciences in general, and particularly in the social ones, with an emphasis on the cultural and anthropological part. In our opinion, it is feasible to develop research lines of interest to professionals and scholars, as well as thesis students in these areas, in order to increase the knowledge of the major problems that afflict the Mixtec people of the Municipality of Ayutla or other territories. nearby, whose living conditions are similar, even worse.

In the aforementioned sense, given our vocation for social anthropology and the commitment acquired in this area of inquiry, we consider that greater depth and complementary work is required, where the ethnic history of the "people of the rain" can be given an account of e na savi ("The people of the rain").

In a broader context such as the Mixteca of the Costa Chica de Guerrero Region, we propose to "complement" this work, with research topics such as:



1. Social and political significance of the Autonomous Municipal Government System in Ayutla de los Libres
2. Advances and setbacks in the exercise of the system of uses and customs in Mixtec communities of the Municipality of Ayutla de los Libres.
3. Organizational structure and operation of the community self-defense groups (Community Police) in the Mixtec area of Ayutla de los Libres, as well as their impact on the social, economic, political and cultural security of citizens against organized crime and other actors in the town.
4. Violence, racism and discrimination towards the indigenous and Afro-racial peoples of the Costa Chica of the state.
5. Memory and orality among the Afro-Colombian peoples of the Costa Chica de Guerrero.



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