Heroes, Myths, and Citizens in Mexico: The Case of Rubén Jaramillo

By

Gladys I. McCormick

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ii

Map of Mexico iv

Map of Morelos and Puebla v

PART I 1
Introduction

PART II 9
Setting the Stage

PART III 26
***La Semilla del Dolor:* A Search for the Meaning of Rubén Jaramillo**

Part III.A - The Story of Rubén Jaramillo..... 28
Part III.B - An Interpretation of Jaramillo 70

PART IV
***La Mancha Sangrienta*: The Making of a National Mythology**..... 106

PART V
Conclusion 138

Bibliography 146

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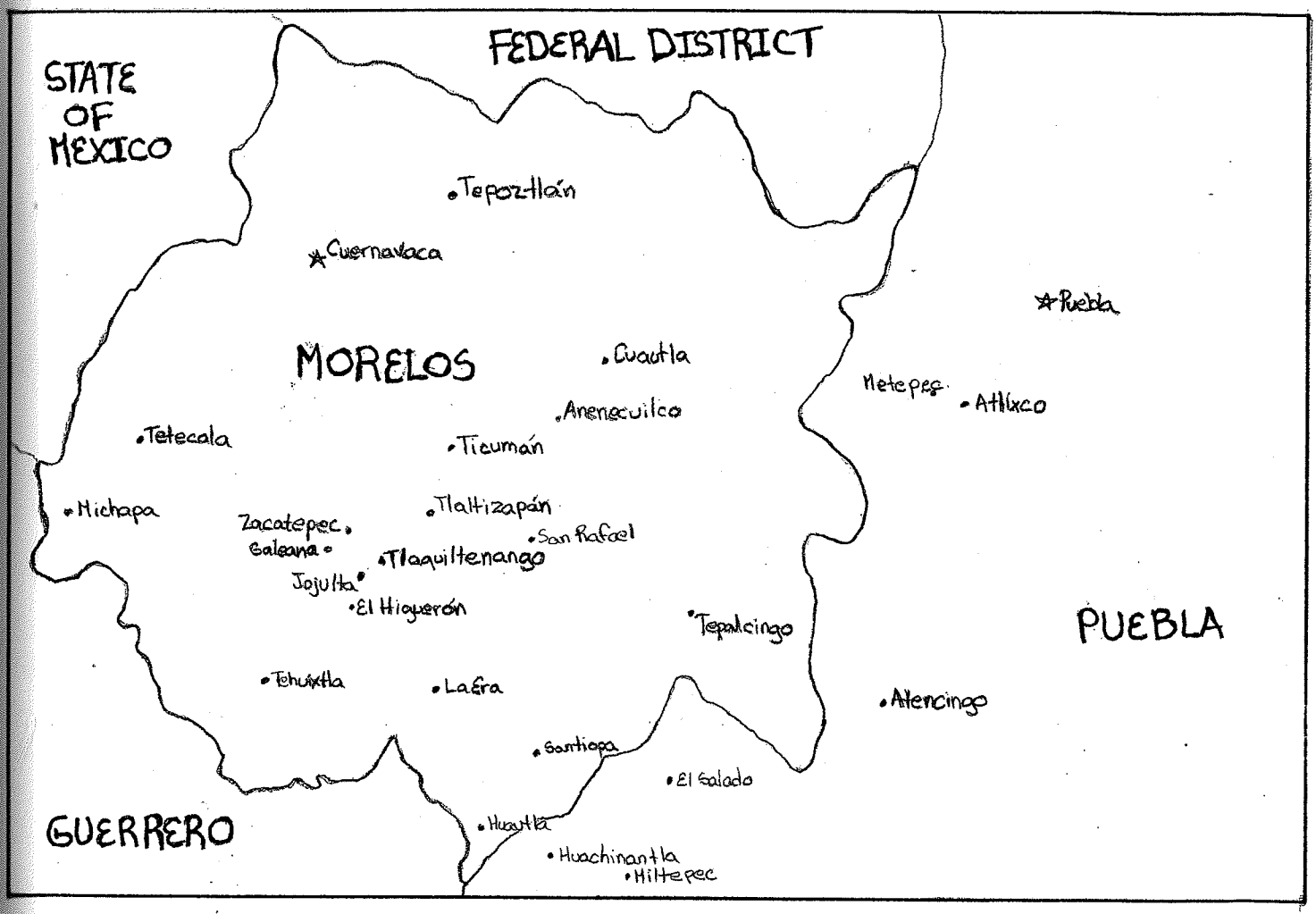
I have thought long and hard of how to express my gratitude to my husband, Peter, for the love, generosity, patience, and encouragement he has given me while I worked on this project.

I still have not found the words to tell him how thankful I am for his companionship and his willingness to discuss arguments and findings at all hours. His presence has truly been invaluable. I feel confident in stating that taking this project into its eventual incarnation as a doctoral dissertation is as much his doing as mine.

I dedicate this thesis project to my maternal grandmother, Irene Jirik, and the memory of my paternal grandfather, Harry McCormick. Growing up in Costa Rica, my grandfather taught me a great deal about independence, confidence, and the value of pursuing dreams far beyond what seemed my preordained place. I only wish he were alive to see what I have accomplished in this work. My grandmother has been and continues to be an example of courage and strength. In 1947, she traveled by car through Morelos, Mexico on her way to Costa Rica from the United States. She witnessed the measures taken against the spread of hoof and mouth disease, a highly controversial campaign that peasant leader Rubén Jaramillo fought against since the killing of animals by state officials left peasants financially destitute. Looking at the pictures my grandmother took from that trip, I scan them carefully for any clues they may hold into Jaramillo's Morelos. I have plied her for any details she may recall of that trip to little avail since it was one of many she took throughout Mexico and Central America at that time. Through the eyes of her memory, I find myself straining to follow Jaramillo into the mountains of Morelos and accompany him on his many confrontations with the state.

Map 1: Mexico and specific states of relevance to the project.



Map 2: Morelos and eastern Puebla.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

> Why did Zapata die? Only because he always wanted us the proletariat, the peasants of Morelos, to hold up our heads and not be in service of the rich. But when he died, all of this finished. Now, after Zapata's death, they say that all that Zapata ordered and demanded, that this is what they are doing. But this is a lie…If Zapata were to come back to life now, however many times he came back, they would kill him, because the regime of the PRI[1] is very different from Zapata's regime. It isn't just Zapata. There are other men who have stood up looking for a way to help peasants. But, as they have said, while there exists a government that isn't for the people, the men who rise in favor of peasants will always fail..and that is my heartache….because right now is the time of Judas.[2]
>
> *Anonymous peasant who fought alongside Rubén Jaramillo in the 1940s and 1950s*[3]

The sense of betrayal and anger expressed in this passage illustrates a powerful regional mythology present in the minds of many peasants living in Morelos, Emiliano Zapata's home state. People from communities in the south-central states of Morelos, Puebla, Michoacán, Oaxaca, and Guerrero believed in a regional mythology of popular justice, popular morality, and social equality that was founded on the region's struggles against outsiders who, since colonial times, have sought control over them.[4] These peasants saw that the Mexican state, guided by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, was forsaking the promises of Revolutionary heroes like Zapata and then lambasted the state for claiming to speak for them. As a "process through which people weave remembered events into a patterned story that makes both moral and historical sense," this regional mythology speaks of an ongoing struggle for inclusive citizenship waged by

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[1] The Partido Institucional Revolucionario (Institutional Revolutionary Party) was the ruling political party of Mexico from 1929 to 2001.

[2] Judas refers to the disciple of Jesus Christ who betrayed him to the Romans in the Christian *Bible's* New Testament.

[3] All unattributed translations are mine. Renato Ravelo Lecuona, *Los jaramillistas* (México, D.F.: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, S.A., 1978), 211-212.

[4] For more on the colonial roots of this mythology, see Jesús Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y razón de Zapata* (México, D.F.: Editorial CFE, 1943-1944).

many Mexicans – including Indians, peasants, and women – for centuries.[5] In the twentieth century alone, this struggle for inclusion spurred the 1910-1920 Mexican Revolution, the 1968 student movement in Mexico City, and the rise of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) in Chiapas in 1994. By negotiating either peacefully or violently with the state, these movements have laid claim to the Constitutional promises of legal equality and have demanded recognition as citizens by the nation-state that purports to represent them.[6]

Traditional regional mythologies fuel such movements and actively contest domination by articulating a desire for change within a specific area. As Bani Shortner describes, these "[m]ythologies [provide] a contour map of the 'inescape of the soul.' [They] show the crevasses and the passes,...the heights of inflation and the depths of despair, the summits and valleys, the sources of water for the traveler and the occasional settlement for rest..."[7] Mythologies explain the reasons for injustices and prescribe solutions; they provide a sense of place in the world – be it for peasants, Indians, and students, men or women – and connect one community's suffering to that of others across a region.[8] Popular heroes give voice to these mythologies and act as guides across the harrowing landscape described by Shortner. The image of Morelos's Emiliano Zapata calling for social justice in defense of "los del sur" or Chihuahua's Pancho Villa demanding political recognition for "el norte" in the Mexican Revolution are examples of popular heroes fueling these mythologies.[9] Within this regional identification, popular heroes act as symbolic

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[5] Florencia Mallon, "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies, and the Mexican State, 1850-1994: The Many Faces of Zapatismo," *Polygraph* 10 (1998) 40.

[6] I am referring to the 1917 Constitution adopted at Aguascalientes by the three leaders representing the different camps fighting in the Revolution at that time: Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, and Venustiano Carranza. This progressive constitution included provisions for greater political inclusion, presidential term limits, agrarian reform, and labor organization.

[7] Bani Shorter, "Memory in Service of Psyche." In *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989), edited by Thomas Butler, 68.

[8] I base my interpretation of "regional mythologies" on Florencia Mallon's concepts in "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies, and the Mexican State, 1850-1994: The Many Faces of Zapatismo." Herbert Hirsch also provides useful insights into a definition of myth in *Genocide and the Politics of Memory: Studying Death to Preserve Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

[9] For a more in-depth discussion of "los del sur," see Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). In particular, see Chapter

spokespersons and offer the explanations and connections that link individuals to their collective place in history. Heroes' narratives are passed down through generations and become part of communal historical memory.

Because mythologies born out of regional experiences are such a powerful vehicle for challenging domination, the postrevolutionary state incorporated them into official forms of history legitimating its vision of Mexico as a nation with an "institutionalized revolution" that ensures social order and control. To understand how this process functions, it is useful to look at how the postrevolutionary state reproduced its power at regional levels by negotiating definitions of citizen and state. According to Florencia Mallon, relations between citizen and state can be seen in struggles over regional mythologies. In her words,

> [T]he state interpellated the citizen – that is, constructed the category of citizen and defined who might or might not fit within it – through the selective consumption of regional mythologies, in which local intellectuals oversaw the articulation of regional histories into morality tales about heroes and heroic events. By selectively incorporating these regional stories and oral traditions, the emerging postrevolutionary state connected itself to locally legitimate notions of politics, justice and responsibility, thus ensuring for itself a certain hegemony and believability at the regional and local levels.[10]

The memory of Zapata, as the opening passage shows, has been partially coopted by the state to legitimize its authority. Images of Zapata and, for that matter, Pancho Villa are found on murals in government buildings, while educational textbooks cast the state as a benevolent and inclusive institution, guarding the legacies of these revolutionary heroes. Yet despite state attempts at cooptation, regional mythologies continue to exist beyond the state-sanctioned sphere and are re-articulated and interpreted by those who express dissatisfaction with the "institutionalized revolution" and the national mythology of inclusive citizenship.

Morelos's Rubén Jaramillo – local intellectual, leader of armed struggles, Methodist preacher, and peasant organizer – is another figure who embodies a mythology of a region that has long been home to struggles for inclusive citizenship. Unlike Emiliano Zapata, whose myth

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Five, "Contested Citizenship (2): Regional Political Culture, Peasant Visions of the Nation, and the Liberal Revolution in Morelos," 137-175.

[10] Mallon, "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies," 39.

exists both in official and oppositional arenas, Jaramillo has escaped cooptation by the state. Especially active from the 1940s to the early 1960s – supposedly tranquil decades of consolidated one-party rule and economic modernization – Jaramillo vociferously rejected the social order that subjected sugar-cane workers and peasants to injustices for the benefit of a tiny elite affiliated with the state. He openly challenged the state's notion of citizenship, calling it immoral and undemocratic because it did not speak for those exploited by state-affiliated elites. Using his interpretation of *zapatismo* and religious ideals, Jaramillo fostered a *Plan de Cerro Prieto* and headed a movement that aimed to realize a more egalitarian social order in Morelos. He led two uprisings against Morelos's state government to protest what he deemed illegitimate leadership, he met with presidents and state leaders, and he even ran for governor of Morelos. Jaramillo posed such a threat to the postrevolutionary state that government agents brutally assassinated him in 1962 along with most of his immediate family. Yet his legacy lives on in the memory of many Mexicans who felt excluded by the social order and proclaimed that they are all *jaramillistas,* continuing to call for a more inclusive citizenship.[11]

This thesis examines regional and local forms of citizenship and their tangible effects on the policies and constructions of the Mexican state. By mapping forms of regional and local political culture in Morelos, it will trace the broad contours for understanding the decentered processes of state formation in post-revolutionary Mexico through the experience of one region. By decentered, I mean "national politics understood as something partial and complex that coexists with regional and local politics."[12] The thesis will focus on strategies of political negotiation between peasants and the state as they played out in arenas charged with ethnic and social legacies informed by a nation-building project. Rubén Jaramillo serves as the figure for analyzing these strategies in the context of charged power relationships between the 1940s and

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[11] See Carlos Fuentes's interviews of peasants in Morelos soon after Jaramillo's assassination in *Tiempo Mexicano* (México, D.F.: Editorial Joaquín Mortiz, S.A., 1971).
[12] Jeffrey W. Rubin, *Decentering the Regime: Ethnicity, Radicalism and Democracy in Juchitán, Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 14.

the early 1960s. Within the case study, the project will delve into the construction and reproduction of a Jaramillista regional mythology. Jaramillo effectively used this mythology as a political strategy, articulating an alternative vision of citizenship which journalists and political actors seeking to re-capture the essence of a fallen postrevolutionary leader translated into national consciousness.[13] The vehicle of the case lays out the inherent complexity of an evolving political culture as it circulates from local to regional to national arenas and analyzes how actors at each level alter, contest, and negotiate that political culture.

The aim of the thesis is to acknowledge the larger historical and political significance of communities where peasants saw themselves as heirs to Jaramillo and negotiated their position in relation to more powerful actors at the regional and national levels. It will show the ineffectiveness of rigid and overarching conceptual models, such as traditional interpretations of corporatism, to explain historical developments in Mexico. In traditional interpretations of corporatism, power flows through the top-down, vertical structure organized with the state as its apex. Here, the postrevolutionary state centralized its constituencies via state-affiliated organizations that co-opted or repressed demands by popular sectors. Instead, this work proposes a reinterpretation of corporatism that will bring into consideration forms of political negotiation between the Mexican state and actors at the regional and local level. Within this vision of corporatism, I analyze the constructions and uses of regional mythologies by state and non-state actors as elements of national political culture in conjunction with the more material aspects of the state, such as its bureaucratic functions.[14]

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[13] For interviews with jaramillistas who verbally express these sentiments, see Raul Macín, *Rubén Jaramillo Profeta Olvidado* (México, D.F.: Editorial Diogenes S.A., 1984).

[14] For more on traditional interpretations of corporatism as well as its critiques, see Jeffrey Rubin's excellent discussion in Chapter One entitled "Theorizing Power and Regimes" in *Decentering the Regime: Ethnicity, Radicalism and Democracy in Juchitán, Mexico*. This notion of processes of state formation is derived in part from the concept of "everyday forms of state formation" in theoretical and empirical explorations carried out by the contributors in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds. *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

This thesis proposes to use and expand on the concepts of alternative citizenship and peasant nationalism. These alternative projects did not always pose a viable or more democratic solution to pre-existing forms of citizenship and nationalism. Instead, these counterhegemonic political projects may contain hegemonic elements of their own that undermine the hopes attached to them by their followers. Rubén Jaramillo presented a strong critique of the Mexican state and called on a regional legacy of struggle to bring about social justice. Though Jaramillo built his alternative vision of citizenship on a powerful pre-existing regional mythology, he also incorporated contradictory elements that undermined the strength and effectiveness of his project. He reinforced patriarchal relations with peasants and believed that only a select group of enlightened individuals could guide and speak for the uneducated peasantry. Jaramillo himself and individuals writing about him after his death sought to describe Jaramillo as heir to Zapata's legacy in Morelos. The fact that Jaramillo wrote up his own Plan de Cerro Prieto modeled after Zapata's Plan de Ayala is important, but a closer examination yields many differences between the two. His affiliation to Marxist and, at times, ultra-Communist ideals alienated his vision from regional perspectives and hindered his decision-making – especially considering the obvious tension between his political ideologies and his religious convictions. Moreover, the fact that Jaramillo chose to ally with government leaders at various points in his activism eroded the veracity of his counterhegemonic project and strengthened the power of corporatist tactics. These contradictions do not make Jaramillo less of a popular hero, but they do bring into focus his human qualities. In so doing, this work gives a nuanced analysis of the processes of state formation and of the relations between competing political actors at the local, regional, and national levels.

The Framework of the Project

Within the increasing complexity of Mexican postrevolutionary historiography, scholars have continued to overlook an era that merits further exploration. Recent analysts like Mary Kay

Vaughan and Nora Hamilton have largely skipped over the 1940s and the 1950s in favor of the more overtly eventful 1930s and the 1960s. Though some traditional scholars have looked at this era in the local and regional context, much remains to be studied. Writing over two decades ago, these traditional scholars approached their work from a perspective that feels dated today. That sense of "datedness" stems from the fact that they did not address recent conceptual concerns such as gender, culture, and the scholar's own subjectivity, allowing greater space for the voices of, among others, peasants. Some of these analysts privileged class, as David Rondfeldt did in his study of peasants' struggle against the state and elites in Puebla's Zacatepec Sugar Mill, or a perspective where the actors lacked agency or connection to the broader political landscape as in Oscar Lewis's work on the Tepoztlan peasants. We cannot assume that the consolidation of one-party rule and economic modernization, as hallmarks of state formation in the 1940s and 1950s, were so smooth and unfettered as to merit so little attention by current historiography.[15] What happened in those two decades between the invigoration of the revolutionary project by Cárdenas and the disillusionment with the project, epitomized by protest movements of the late 1960s?

Though focused primarily on urban sectors, recent studies show that much more was going on during the 1940s and 1950s and further historical exploration is merited. A small number of just-published studies on urban Mexico have started to complicate the longstanding conception of the 1940s and 1950s.[16] The collection of essays in *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*, published last year, is one example. Fifteen of the

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[15] Some examples of traditional historians and anthropologists who have looked at the decades of the 1940s and 1950s in the regional/local context are Oscar Lewis, *A Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970); Guillermo de la Peña, *A Legacy of Promises: Agriculture, Politics, and Ritual in Morelos highlands of Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981); and David Ronfeldt, *Atencingo: The Politics of Agrarian Struggle in a Mexican Ejido* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973).

[16] Some of the scholars advocating traditional and new historiographical trends studying this era are Barry Carr, *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth Century Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), Donald C. Hodges, *Mexican Anarchism After the Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), Stephen R. Niblo, *Mexico in the 1940s: Modernity, Politics, and Corruption* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1999), Jeffrey W. Rubin, *Decentering the Regime: Ethnicity, Radicalism, and Democracy in Juchitán, Mexico*, Diane E. Davis in *Urban Leviathan: Mexico City in the Twentieth Century*, and Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

1962 assassination and the ensuing attention by scholars and journalists to draw out the translation and extension of a regional mythology into the national arena – a translation that was to impact dissident memories in the tumultuous years to come. The project concludes by positing forms for re-interpreting the cultural history of state formation in the aftermath of the Revolution. In the conclusion, the thesis proposes a methodology for analyzing regional mythologies and alternative forms of citizenship that challenges contemporary scholars of modern Mexico to consider the implications of peasant struggles on regional and national historical memory.

PART II

SETTING THE STAGE

Postrevolutionary Historical Memory

> *The Revolution was a sudden immersion of Mexico in her own being, from which she brought back up, almost blindly, the essentials of a new kind of state. In addition, it was a return to the past, a reuniting of the ties broken by the Reform and the Diaz dictatorship, a search for our own selves, and a return to the maternal womb.*
>
> Octavio Paz, 1961[18]

The opening scene of Mexico's twentieth century, the Revolution of 1910-1920, marked the start of a nation-building project that radically altered the shape of political culture in Mexico and came to be known as the "perfect dictatorship."[19] In the course of this decade-long revolutionary upheaval, relations among the many actors inhabiting the Mexican landscape were transformed in relation to changing political, economic, and social life. Peasants across the country clamored for their rights, Porfirio Diaz's oligarchy was overthrown, and elites gained entry into the official spheres of politics from which they were previously excluded.[20] More specifically, these changes were characterized by tensions between urban middle class and elite sectors from the North, on the one hand, peasants and others in the popular armies of Emiliano

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[18] Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (New York: Grove Press, 1961), 148.

[19] Peruvian intellectual Mario Vargas Llosa first coined the term "the perfect dictatorship" when explaining his interpretation of the Mexican postrevolutionary state. At a forum of Latin American intellectuals convened by Octavio Paz in Mexico City in September, 1991, Vargas Llosa stated, "Octavio Paz has said the tradition of open society is not the case in Mexico. I don't want to be a 'bad guest,' but I would go further and say that the tradition of Latin American dictatorship applies to Mexico. I am the first to applaud Mexico's efforts regarding democratization, but within the tradition of the Latin American motif, Mexico exists as the perfect dictatorship." For a full transcript of the speech, see *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 8, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 23.

[20] For an overview of the Mexican Revolution, please refer to Héctor Aguilar Camín and Lorenzo Meyer (translated by Luis Alberto Fierro), *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution: Contemporary Mexican History, 1910-1989*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993); D.A. Brading, ed., *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Anita Brenner, *The Wind that Swept Mexico: The History of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1942*, new ed., (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971); in particular, the pictures assembled by George R. Leighton in the Brenner book are valuable at capturing the many faces of the Revolution and changes in relationships between different actors; and Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution,* 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Zapata and Pancho Villa, on the other. The popular armies, through effective political and military strategizing, successfully propelled the Revolution further than the urban middle class and elite sectors were willing to go. By the end of the Revolution, it was clear that greater inclusiveness to account for these differences was an essential component for building a nation and further inserting the country into a modern age. This inclusiveness was inscribed in the 1917 Constitution calling for, among other principles, agrarian reform to guarantee access to land for the many Mexicans who had none. Thus, a strong nation-state was created to encompass the interests of all Mexicans and prevent such an upheaval from ever taking place again.[21]

Though genuinely a monumental event, the Revolution did not succeed in erasing or obliterating regional and communal historical memories. Rather, these memories seeped into the very underpinnings of the postrevolutionary nation and were partially articulated by the state into its formulations of citizenship. The nation, in this sense, deliberately included local and regional memories to foster an inclusive national identity for all Mexicans. The memories of revolutionary heroes Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa, for instance, were selectively woven into the fabric of official history, defining what it meant to be a Mexican citizen. Left out of this official narrative were the contradictory or threatening elements of what Villa and Zapata had represented in their struggles for the rights of subalterns. Differences among these "citizens" were subsumed and ignored in the projection of an official history, though this did not stop alternative versions of historical memory from surviving in regional and local areas.

To build a national history, the state used concepts of the cosmic race and *mestizaje* to explain away ethno-racial differences and foster standard explanations for citizens' historical

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[21] Plutarco Elías Calles, one of the first presidents and important author of the postrevolutionary state, expressed this sentiment when he declared the end of the era of *caudillos* and the start of the era of institutions. Héctor Aguilar Camín and Lorenzo Meyer, *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution: Contemporary Mexican History, 1910-1989,* 74.

roots.[22] The cosmic race was to be a race of "the new American man who would resolve all racial conflicts and the great opposition between East and West."[23] This new race would extend beyond Mexico and include all of Spanish America in a search for a space where the secular, though not the religious, "spirit" of individuals would be allowed freedom of expression. In conjunction, the postrevolutionary state used official mestizaje as a tool for social control to assert policies of assimilation and ethnic exclusion. The official version of mestizaje fomented a myth of the Mexican citizen as a heroic mestizo with his own unique racial and national identity. This citizen in charge of his own destiny – the heroic mestizo – carried in his veins Indian and Spanish blood but was neither one nor the other. Even though he adopted Spanish customs and gave primacy to his Indian roots, he was in essence a Mexican living in a "man's country." In this country, women and peasants played a passive role and let the "hero" guide their destinies. Because the hero took the face of an authentic Mexican, he was said to look like Emiliano Zapata, Lázaro Cárdenas, Alvaro Obregón, and other strong men who were woven into a definition of citizenship by the emerging postrevolutionary state.[24] In its postrevolutionary form, the heroic mestizo thus became a crucial protagonist in the forging of a national identity for a modern Mexico.

Acting as the official interlocutor of the heroic *mestizo*, the new nation-state garnered legitimacy and authority in the social body because it controlled definitions of who qualified as a citizen and who did not. National identity - guided by the myth of the heroic mestizo - was essential as a political tool in the formation of a national project and in determining the character of nation-state relations in Mexico. This concept of heroic mestizo was articulated by the state

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[22] For a discussion on the origins of the "raza cósmica," refer to Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, and for a discussion on the origins of mestizaje, please refer to Guillermo Bonfil Batalla. Translated by Philip A. Dennis, *México Profundo: Reclaiming a Civilization* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

[23] Paz, 152-154.

[24] My definition of a heroic mestizo is inspired by Claudio Lomnitz-Adler's discussion of racial ideology in *Exits from the Labyrinth: Culture and Ideology in the Mexican National Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), and by Herbert Cerwin, *These are the Mexicans*, (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947). The quote of a "man's country" comes from Cerwin's discussion of Mexico's mestizos on pg. 28.

through the work of Mexican scholars like as Manuel Gamio and José Vasconcelos, who played an important intellectual role in facilitating the articulation of the heroic mestizo as a political tool for social control. These scholars gave voice to the hero. They scripted a language that Mexicans were supposed to interpret as guidelines for the appearance and values of a citizen. They also devised the mechanics for justifying exclusion from the nation or rehabilitation to conform to the official image of citizen. Some of these scholars even went so far as to play an active role in disseminating this vision across Mexico through leadership positions in government institutions. Gamio, for instance, sought to improve the conditions of Mexico's indigenous peoples as founder and director of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, while Vasconcelos worked to inculcate his racial philosophy in Mexico's youth as founder and head of the Secretaría de Educación Pública.[25]

Thus, the official history of postrevolutionary Mexico was founded on a myth that served to legitimize and justify the state as the protector of all Mexicans. This myth – as "a story about the past, which serves as a charter for the present" – consolidated a national identity that centralized power in the hands of what was to become an authoritarian state.[26] Hence, the postrevolutionary state, intimately linked to the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), took on the paternalistic role of overseer who promised to protect and build an inclusive country that would look out for the rights and interests of Mexican citizens.

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[25] For more on how nationalism and mestizaje were constructed by Manuel Gamio, see *Forjando Patria* (Mexico: Editorial Porrua S.A., 1960). For José Vasconcelos notion of a cosmic race, see Octavio Paz's commentary on him in *The Labyrinth of Solitude and Other Writings*, (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1985).

[26] Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) quoting Malinowski's interpretation of myth, 101.

The Revolutionary Family from the 1930s through the 1950s

Known as the Belle Époque of Mexico, the 1940s are traditionally interpreted as the decade of consolidated one-party rule and economic modernization.[27] To understand how this consolidation came about, it is necessary to consider the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940). In the ten years preceding his administration, the postrevolutionary Mexican state organized a central government and attempted to control the nation-building project. Yet, its attempts were only partially successful since the system remained unconsolidated at the local level. State governors, local officials, and *caciques* (local bosses) were able to implement their own policies with little interference from the federal government. The incomplete centralization of the postrevolutionary political system was to change dramatically with the Cárdenas Administration.

Lázaro Cárdenas, president from 1934-1940, reorganized the political structures and national consciousness of Mexico by connecting them directly to the state.[28] Previously independent local leaders and caciques now acted as intermediaries between the state and the communities they represented. The presence of the federal state was even more apparent at the local and regional level as a result of Cárdenas's personalistic style of politics – a style that favored direct contact with citizens.[29] Setting an example for state officials at all levels, Cárdenas traveled to remote regions of the country and listened to the needs and concerns of communities that were previously ignored by federal authorities. Wayne Cornelius has argued for the effectiveness of this approach to politics, stating: "Direct contact with specific problems and direct accessibility to the people obviously served as a check on bureaucratic performance; at the

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[27] Carlos Monsiváis, *de qué se ríe el licenciado (una crónica de los 40)* (Mexico D.F.: Delegación Venustiano Carranza, Subdelegación de Cultura, 1984), 21.
[28] For an excellent history with a traditional approach on Lázaro Cárdenas, see Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
[29] Marjorie Becker provides a valuable example of Cárdenas personalistic style of politics in the case of his home state of Michoacán in *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

same time it enhanced the role of the president and the legitimacy of the presidency in the eyes of the population."[30]

As part of a program seeking to centralize the nation-state, Cárdenas implemented the principles of the 1917 Constitution much further than any of his presidential predecessors. He organized society, particularly the popular sectors, into state-sponsored institutions like the Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos (CTM) for workers and the Confederación Nacional Campesina (CNC) for peasants. Individuals who formerly had little or no political voice could now make their desires known through institutional mediators. To exert any demand on the state, an individual or group had to belong to one of these state-affiliated institutions, which automatically diffused or mediated the political voice of its members. Though there were certainly exceptions, mobilized groups had little recourse to outright political action since they were forced to act within an institutional framework in order to be heard.[31] Like other state-sponsored programs, Cárdenas's education program also altered the nature of the political system. His government sent out thousands of schoolteachers into communities throughout Mexico to teach peasants literacy and offer a "socialist education" stressing points like the need to work collectively. As Mary Kay Vaughan has shown, this education project looked different at the local level and had uneven results in its application.[32] Education reforms still succeeded, however, in mobilizing community members behind Cardenista reforms and further inculcated their place as members of the nation-state. Through education, individuals learned for the first

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[30] Cited in Norah Hamilton *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), 134.

[31] Again, the case of peasants in Michoacán communicating directly with Lázaro Cárdenas, former governor of the state now president of the nation, such an example of an exception in which a mobilized group was successful through direct action. See Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution.*

[32] Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teacher, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997).

time about the values of the heroic mestizo and the qualities that made them Mexican citizens – they learned that they had a role in the nation's collective memory.[33]

Cárdenas also advocated state-led industrialization and gave the state direct control of natural resources by nationalizing industries like petroleum. But, more than any of his other policies, it is the implementation of widespread agrarian reform for which Cárdenas is most remembered. During the course of his presidency, Cárdenas distributed almost eighteen million hectares of land in the form of *ejidos*, or communally owned lands, more than twice as much land distributed under all the other presidents of Mexico combined, to 810,000 peasants.[34] These policies all gave the impression that the state was both deeply sympathetic to the social justice goals of revolutionary heroes like Emiliano Zapata and simultaneously determined to modernize the country.

The notion of the Revolutionary Family was foremost in explaining how the postrevolutionary nation-state would be organized. That family included all Mexicans, from the urban middle class to the poor rural peasants living in small communities hundreds of kilometers away from Mexico City. Consequently, the state created a myth that cast it as the protective father looking out for its many citizen offspring while it implemented market-driven reforms for capitalist economic development. As Carlos Monsiváis states, the Revolutionary Family became "la red protectora de un país que…se moderniza y algo les ofrece, como señas de identidad nacionales a sus comunidades agrarias, a los pequeños pueblos, a los campesinos que se instalan azarosamente en la periferia de las grandes ciudades."[35] Through this myth, the state became the official interlocutor for the interests of all Mexicans and anyone speaking out against it was labeled an outcast from the national family. The developing postrevolutionary myths also sought to legitimate a "modern" version of Mexico via political, economic, social, and cultural changes filtering from the national arena to the regional and local levels.

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[33] I explain this in greater depth in the following pages.
[34] Hamilton, 177.
[35] Monsiváis, *¿de que se ríe?* 6.

By the end of the 1930s, there were a series of state-fostered official myths that began to form a coherent set of ideas – a mythology – because they shared a common purpose of ensuring centralization and social order. The myths comprising this national mythology included the state as spokesperson and interlocutor for all Mexicans, the notion of the Revolutionary Family, and the adoption of revolutionary heroes like Emiliano Zapata as heroic mestizos. Such a national mythology – as it matured in postrevolutionary times – took a rightward shift in the 1940s with state policies seeking to institutionalize the revolution. The shift is exemplified in the third name change of the "official party" in 1946 from the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano to the Partido Revolucionario Institucional.[36] Again, to use Monsiváis,

> el Partido de la Revolución Mexicana pierde su nombre tan beligerante, al que suple un certificado de buena conducta o de amansamiento de las tempestades: Partido Revolucionario Institucional. La revolución es ya instituciones y efemérides,...se disipa entre presiones de toda índole el fervor de barricadas [y todos] se ven cercados por la burocratización.[37]

The name change reflected the shift of official party ideology in the political spectrum from the left-leaning Cárdenas to the center-right inclinations of the Manuel Avila Camacho (1940-1946) and Miguel Alemán (1946-1952) administrations. The shift from what Monsiváis calls "la épica revolucionaria" to "la épica capitalista" led to a retrenchment by the state of much of the progressive spirit of the Cárdenas policies.[38] Agrarian reform was reduced significantly, state institutions like the CTM and CNC were used to ensure social control, and market-oriented reforms were instituted with little regard to their social repercussions. These modernization projects had an especially powerful effect on the rural landscape and peasant life. Technological innovations, such as new methods to process agricultural goods, along with a belief in the merits of capitalist ideology altered the political pact between peasants and the state. Previously, this

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[36] Judith Adler Hellman in *Mexican Lives* (New York: The New Press, 1994) provides an excellent historical narrative in Chapter Two detailing the name changes the "official party" went through as the postrevolutionary state was established.
[37] Monsiváis, *¿de que se ríe?* 12.
[38] Monsiváis, *¿de que se ríe?* 7.

pact protected peasants from indiscriminate exploitation through ejidos and the CNC in exchange for their cooptation into the postrevolutionary family. Now peasants were vulnerable to abuse by economic elites who had established alliances with federal or state authorities. Since peasants had rescinded control to the state, there was little they could do to change the political pact that left them so exposed to capitalist forces. Thus, the national mythology that had justified the cooptation of peasants and others into the postrevolutionary state led the way for an authoritarian system, a system based on capitalism that betrayed the social justice legacy of revolutionary heroes like Emiliano Zapata.

In the political system organized by Cárdenas there were no checks and balances to stop abuses of power by corrupt officials since the system was predicated on a personalistic style and communication was mediated via state-sponsored institutions. In the face of a highly centralized system, corrupt officials or those interested more in their own benefit than that of their constituents were able to install an enduring system of domination. Thus, the postrevolutionary state became an authoritarian system characterized by its intricate networks of political advancement, constrictions on opposition calls for democratization, and ritualistic electoral practices.[39]

No massive protests movements rose up against these economic and political changes, and those suffering the brunt of the new "épica capitalista" let out few cries of protest. Instead, groups ranging from peasants in highland Chiapas to workers in Mexico City continued to comply with the nation-state. These groups would later protest but at the start of the 1940s, there were few Mexicans who opposed the state's policies. The reality of political and economic changes had yet to settle into the minds of those most vulnerable and there was also little recourse that they could use to counter these changes. But, authoritarianism did not go entirely uncontested and it is precisely these challenges that are the focus of this project. How these

[39] For more on political networks and other characteristics of political organization in postrevolutionary Mexico, see Peter H. Smith, *Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979).

changes worked themselves out in regional and local areas can be seen in relations between state actors and one of the most enigmatic figures of the era – Rubén Jaramillo. Jaramillo's history – like that of the movement he led from the state of Morelos – makes apparent the state's efforts at using the national mythology to incorporate regional mythologies.

Uncovering Postrevolutionary Historiography and Theorizing the State

With the historical framework in mind, I now want to turn to the more difficult tasks of understanding applicable historiography and theorizing state formation. Official state discourse resonated loudly not only among elite and popular actors within Mexico, but also among academics and intellectuals seeking to explain and understand the phenomenon of the postrevolutionary state. Traditional interpretations have relied on state-centered concepts, such as corporatism, to explain the formation of a centralized and enduring power structure.[40] As explained by Jeffrey Rubin, today's state-centered scholars:

> ...have assumed that the ongoing domination has resulted from centralized power that was transmitted outward through corporatist mechanisms, replicating hegemony through a combination of skillful management and efficient coercion...Such approaches, rooted in state theory and political economy, view stability (understood as regime endurance) as resulting from particular, routinized patterns of centralized control over discrete societal forces.[41]

State-centered interpretations carry a top-down vision of societal organization and understand historical developments as they pertain to the nation as a whole. The crux of these interpretations is that power was concentrated in the hands of the PRI's political regime. As Susan Kaufman Purcell put it, "power tends to flow from the top down rather than from the bottom up."[42] According to these analysts, the movement of power from the central state to the many sectors of

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[40] Traditional interpretations of postrevolutionary Mexico can be found in the works of such scholars as: Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy*, Peter H. Smith, *Labyrinths of Power: Political Recruitment in Twentieth-Century Mexico*, Diane E. Davis, *Urban Leviathan: Mexico in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), and, Enrique Krauze, *Mexico Biography of Power: A History of Modern Mexico, 1810-1996* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997).

[41] Rubin, *Decentering the Regime*, 11.

[42] Susan Kaufman Purcell, "Mexico." In *Latin America Politics and Development 3rd ed.* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1990), edited by Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline, 411.

Mexican society was not totalitarian in nature, for totalitarian suggests that only the interests of those in power are represented. Instead, paternalism, clientelism, and the myth born out of the 1910-1920 Revolution serve to explain nation-state formation. This powerful concept, fostered by the governing regime, envisions the PRI as the caretaker of the revolution's ideals: social justice and a strong sense of Mexico as a nation. The governing system was consequently organized around the precept of an institutionalized revolution that allowed power and control to be centralized in the hands of the regime. Within these formulations, the state is understood as a singular entity, controlled by "relatively objective demands expressed by individuals and groups experiencing socioeconomic change."[43]

In the last fifteen years, scholarship in both history and other academic fields has sought to debunk state-centered analyses of Mexico, casting these analyses as too narrow in their focus and in need of a more nuanced view of history from below. Grounded in cultural history, these new approaches instead argue for a decentered analysis of state formation and an incorporation of a regional and local focus.[44] They seek to move beyond officially sanctioned history, no longer making it the entry point into investigations of political culture and not dismissing as exceptional those regions that do not conform to corporatist models. These scholars thus argue for a more complicated exploration of Mexico's historical landscape that looks beyond the framework of domination and sees instead a constant process of negotiation and contestation among different actors. To further emphasize this point, I turn to Mary Kay Vaughan. As she describes,

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[43] Rubin, *Decentering the Regime*, 17.

[44] For further discussion on the debates over Mexico's new cultural history, refer to *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999). Examples of new approaches to history questioning state-centered analyses are as follows: Ana María Alonso, *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, eds., *Culture of Politics/Politics of Culture: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998); Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution*; Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*; Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and School in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); and, Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of Mexican Counterculture.*

> Despite their diversity of theoretical and empirical work informing their analysis, those practicing cultural history share certain things in common: 1) an emphasis on subjectivity, de-centering, and representation; 2) a sense that culture creates meaning, informs action, and is itself an object of struggle; 3) a belief in the dispersed and multiple nature of power and a keen awareness that power and culture are intrinsically related; and 4) a methodological emphasis on ethnography.[45]

By looking at local and regional arenas of postrevolutionary Mexico, this new scholarship is better able to hear the voices of peasants arguing for representation of their interests, indigenous peoples demanding greater autonomy, and militant teachers inculcating their own view of the Revolution. This scholarship has brought into focus the many different faces of a previously homogenous peasant crowd, each face having its own history to tell. These scholars demonstrate that by moving the spotlight away from the nation, analysts can observe historical actors on the ground and in everyday life. Mediators, intellectuals, women, and younger generations all find spaces of recognition as legitimate historical actors within this new scholarship.

The new analyses have referred to those individuals largely excluded from traditional interpretations of postrevolutionary history as "subalterns."[46] The subaltern category includes actors seeking to redefine the terms of their existence in the face of domination and the threat of violence. These peoples often form alliances and networks, and negotiate with more powerful actors directly, or with the help of mediators such as local intellectuals. They seek to further their aspirations for social mobility, openly contest, and deploy less visible modes of resistance against actions deemed unjust or threatening. Yet, subalterns are not always heroic in the face of adversity. They also betray one another and can be corrupted. They can become disillusioned and exhausted with an agonizing and never-ending struggle with seemingly unbeatable odds. Though the term subaltern has been criticized for its vagueness, its breadth and elasticity helps

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[45] Vaughan, 275.

[46] For more information on subaltern, please refer to Ranajit Guha, ed., *A Subaltern Studies Reader 1986-1995* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ed. *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1988). Florencia Mallon offers an excellent critique on how to apply this concept in her essay "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994), 1491-1515.

encompass multiple personal identities across a wide array of experiences. Peasants mobilizing across northern Mexico in search of land ownership, women in a community allying with conservative caciques, and sugar workers demanding better conditions through union activity can all be considered subaltern actors. A study that strives to uncover the agency of the downtrodden must reject binaries of good and bad, welcoming complications, messiness and, at times, confusion.

To explain processes of state formation in Mexico, it is necessary to understand the state founded after the Revolution as the dominant actor in a hegemonic process. Seeking to centralize power, the state functioned in an arena characterized by cooperation, cooptation, and repression of and between various groups.[47] Within the nation-building project, notions of citizen and state are negotiated depending on the aspirations of actors, political practices, and historical memories – such as regional mythologies – inhabiting the country. This analysis defines a hegemonic process, to borrow again from Florencia Mallon's definition, as a "set of nested, continuous processes through which power and meaning are contested, legitimated, and redefined at all levels of society."[48] The end-result of this process is the hegemonic outcome combining coercion and consent, whereby "leaders partially deliver on their promises and control the terms of

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[47] Instead of understanding power as something static, that can be held, grabbed, or relinquished, I look to Michel Foucault's theory of power to define it: "Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or a piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power." Michel Foucault as quoted in Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 266. See also Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality. Vol.I, An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books/ Random House, 1978), 92-96.

[48] Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, pg. 6. In addition to Mallon's work, my notion of hegemony is also influenced by Antonio Gramsci's theorizing of it in *An Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935*. Edited by David Forgacs (New York: Harper Collins, 1988). I highlight Mallon's interpretation because she projects hegemony into the context of Latin America and, specifically, Mexico in *Peasant and Nation*, whereas Gramsci contextualizes hegemony in the European scenario of Italy. Furthermore, Mallon applies hegemony to peasants, while Gramsci, though he does integrate peasants to a certain extent, focuses on urban intellectuals. I am also influenced by the use of hegemony in Ana María Alonso in *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); and Greg Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

political discourse through incorporation as well as repression."[49] This end-point can have a momentary and vulnerable nature and is subject to repeated challenges. Rather than being a separate process, hegemony co-exists and functions with domination, entailing the association of coercion and consent. In the Mexican case, the state subdues contestation via force and unleashes mechanisms such as social security programs and advertising campaigns to sustain legitimacy. The advantages of subscribing to a double-meaning of hegemony are that "[n]ot only can we analyze politics close up as an interaction between rulers and ruled, but we can also more easily discern divisions and interactions among factions of rulers and among factions of ruled, examining the internal power relations at the top and bottom, and even rethinking the interaction between dominant and subaltern as sometimes involving only a sector of each."[50] Thus, the hegemonic process and its temporal end-points enable the creation of a structure of domination that underpins the postrevolutionary state and its nation-building project.

With this understanding of hegemony in mind, the state can be located in a variety of sites in Mexico's economic, political, and social spheres, making up a form of social system. Ultimately, the state does have a material, concrete structure and presence in a series of places and institutions. But I argue that the structural presence of the state co-exists and, indeed, depends on the not-so structural state forms that seek to mediate power and knowledge. My conception of state here is influenced by Jeff Rubin who writes:

> [A] state may similarly be seen as a political form that consists of multiple and shifting constructions of meaning and experience and at the same time acts with apparent coherence in assembling and enforcing public policies. Indeed, contrary to the assumptions about power inherent in the corporatist state analysis of Mexico, incompleteness, instability, and domination are intimately connected.[51]

For most of the twentieth century, the Mexican state existed in the electoral arena as the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) – a political party wedded to the state apparatus.

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[49] Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, 7.
[50] Florencia E. Mallon, "Time on the Wheel: Cycles of Revisionism and the 'New Cultural History'," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999): 340.
[51] Jeffrey W. Rubin, "Theorizing Culture and Politics: Seven Approaches," talk presented at the XIX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C. (September 1995), 7.

Thus, the political form of the state aims to establish a body of power and knowledge to control meanings so as to ensure legitimacy in speaking for the nation. To do so gives the state control in defining who is a citizen and who belongs within its boundaries. In the words of Veronica Schild, "a state is not a monolith with intentions – such as, for example, to 'co-opt' -- but rather an abstraction that refers to ensembles of institutions and practices with powerful cultural consequences."[52] A state is not an "institution, as described by Frederick Engels, or a "human community," as put forth by Max Weber. Both of these notions, according to Gil Joseph and Daniel Nugent, conceive of the state as a material object that is studied and analyzed in solely structural terms and with an instrumentalist vision. Instead, they believe that to understand what is meant by the state it is necessary to "highlight the practical and processual dimension of 'its' dynamic evolution or formation."[53]

The state thus tries to establish a social order in light of ever changing political, social, and economic contexts. It does so by managing official historical memory through institutions and social practices geared at instilling a sense of national unity. As the state's project of social control stretches outwards from the centers of power, it uses regional and local leaders as well as state representatives, such as teachers and bureaucrats, to act for it. These individuals are key agents helping the state mediate knowledge and access to resources. However, they also account in large part for what Rubin refers to as the incompleteness and instability of the state's social order across the national landscape. Teachers adapt official curricula according to their beliefs, governors disobey orders from their political superiors, bureaucrats give preferential treatment to close allies, and local leaders interpret state directives to benefit themselves or the communities they represent. This sense of the hegemonic social order's potential incompleteness or instability leads to an analysis attributing greater agency to regional and local leaders. They can choose to

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[52] Veronica Schild, "New Subjects of Rights? Women's Movements and the Construction of Citizenship in the 'New Democracies.'" In *Culture of Politics/Politics of Culture: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998). Edited by Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, 97.

[53] Joseph and Nugent, pg. 19.

cooperate, ignore, or resist the state's influence, though at times the choice involves duress or force. The case of the Serrano peasants in Namiquipa, Chihuahua illustrates the relations between local leaders and the state. Here, a cacique – a local boss – exercises considerable political influence and acts as a mediator between the community he represents and regional and national interests. In their position, these caciques are arbiters of the community's identity; they command authority and, in some cases, make their own interests into the general interests of the community. Rather than acting solely as a vehicle for the dominant presence of the state at the local level, as state-centered analyses would have us believe, caciques vied with the state to further their own or the community's interests. They were also pressured by community members or even deposed when deemed irretrievably corrupt or inept by the community or the state.[54]

The view of the state's power as resting on its incompleteness, instability, and domination also highlights how regional and local historical memories compete with national narratives. Much like the rebellious peasants of Chihuahua who supported Pancho Villa during the Revolution in Namiquipa, the peasants of Morelos looked to their own collective historical memory of rebelliousness when supporting Emiliano Zapata and eventually Rubén Jaramillo. This collective memory patterned into a regional mythology of popular justice, popular morality, and social equality influenced the character of the hegemonic process in Morelos as well as Puebla between the 1940s and the 1960s. Using Jaramillo as the thread, this thesis explores the significance of regional mythology "on the ground."

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[54] Ana María Alonso in *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* and Jeffrey Rubin in *Decentering the Regime: Ethnicity, Radicalism and Democracy in Juchitán, Mexico* provide useful analyses of *caciquismo* in postrevolutionary Mexico.

PART III

LA SEMILLA DEL DOLOR: IN SEARCH OF THE MEANING OF RUBEN JARAMILLO

In this section I trace the experiences of Rubén Jaramillo as an activist in Morelos and Puebla during the first half of the twentieth century. I explore the evolution of Jaramillo's political identity and, more specifically, his own version of an alternative form of citizenship in the face of what he viewed as a corrupt and ineffectual nation-building project. Key to understanding Jaramillo's notion of alternative citizenship is Morelos's regional mythology of popular justice, popular morality, and social equality. This mythology had a long history – including usage by Emiliano Zapata in the 1910 Revolution – and it inevitably shaped Jaramillo's beliefs of morality, justice, and equality. It provided a frame of reference that gave meaning to his fight against what he saw as wrong, such as the oppression peasants had to endure at the hands of state-affiliated elites. Jaramillo also used the regional mythology to articulate his agenda for social change. Rather than simply perpetuating the version employed by Zapata, Jaramillo transformed this mythology through his vision of an alternative citizenship. It grew to encompass qualities unique to the *jaramillista* experience, such as his Protestant religious beliefs, his views on women, and his organizing strategies in negotiating with a state that had partially abandoned its progressive agenda to the development of capitalism.

I divide this section into two parts. The first part relies on my interpretation of Jaramillo's autobiographical voice – an interpretation that often uses his own words or describes events as he describes them in order to portray how he understood his own political identity.[55]

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[55] My decision to divide Part III into two sections is inspired by Daniel James in *Doña María's Story: Life History, Memory, and Political Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), where he dedicates a section to Doña María's Story and another section to his interpretative essays about how to understand her story. Unlike Daniel James who seeks to provide an abridged and edited transcript of Doña Maria's life story, I adopt a different style when describing Jaramillo's life. I describe the particularities of this style at the start of Part III.A.

The performative aspects of Jaramillo's voice – in narrating remembrances of his own history and justifying his actions – are useful for viewing the driving forces behind his political project. Here, Jaramillo explains his version of alternative citizenship through references to major events in his life, such as his experiences with the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill and the first armed uprising he led in 1943. His remembrances serve to narrate a history that is not only about him as a strong peasant leader but also reveals the idiosyncrasies, contradictions, and intellectual agency contained within his perspective. Were I to take a more active, critical role, such discrepancies would fall out of view. Because his autobiographic narrative ends with events in the early 1950s, I conclude this section with a brief explanation of what took place in the subsequent years preceding his death in 1962.

Though in the first part I provide some context from which to locate Jaramillo's words in relation to my broader argument, I use the second part to provide a more extensive interpretation of Jaramillo. Here, I look directly at the contradictions and ambiguities of his alternative version of citizenship as well as the stresses and silences in his autobiography. Doing so reveals a peasant leader with a complex political identity that reflected his lived experiences and the historical memories of his region of origin. In Jaramillo, religious and socialist ideals co-existed peaceably; his actions often differed from his political agenda inscribed in the *Plan de Cierro Prieto*; and, he actively took part in the state's corporatist project while at the same time critiquing it. Jaramillo's experiences ultimately demonstrate the evolution of a political culture across time and space. They also represent the human qualities that make Jaramillo a heroic figure – albeit an imperfect subaltern hero.

PART III.A

The Story of Rubén Jaramillo

Before his 1962 assassination, Jaramillo was in the process of writing an autobiography that detailed the story of his life and activism.[56] *The document itself is written in the third person, does not adhere to a strict chronology, and contains little personal information, essentially ignoring his marriages and his religious life. Instead, he spends considerable time on two events – his years at the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill and the 1943 armed uprising – that symbolized major cornerstones in the formation of his political identity. Throughout the text, Jaramillo models himself as a new revolutionary hero fighting for the rights of the pueblo; in other words, as an heir to Emiliano Zapata's legacy. Though it is not certain that he began writing after January 1959, Jaramillo may have been driven to write his memoirs by a fear that he would soon be assassinated, as threatened by state authorities concerned with his growing affiliation with Cuba in the context of the Cold War.*

In the following section, I provide a description of Jaramillo's life using his autobiography as the principal source of evidence. My aim is to make his story accessible given that the autobiography is rather difficult to follow and confusing at times. This section is partially a reconstruction of Jaramillo's autobiography and partially my own third person reading of his life, as he wanted it understood. Thus, the final product lies somewhere between my description and an edited version of Jaramillo's own narrative of his life. To achieve this hybrid description, I have broken up the text into separate sections that correspond with important moments in Jaramillo's life and establish a chronological sequence. At the start of each section, I include a title and brief commentaries – distinguished by italics – that act as signposts connecting the distinct sections and reminding the reader of pertinent information

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[56] Rubén Jaramillo, *La autobiografía de Rubén Jaramillo* (México, D.F.: Nuestro Tiempo, 1967).

influencing Jaramillo's life that he does not mention in his autobiography. Within the sections, I have interjected extensive quotes from Jaramillo's autobiography that best describe moments of his life, his words and thoughts. To avoid confusion while reading the quotations, the reader should remember that Jaramillo wrote in the third person.[57] *Because all the evidence comes from his autobiography, I have deliberately only footnoted the quotations.*

[57] See for example the quotation at the top of page 33. Jaramillo is not quoting someone else's impression of peasants's esteem for him, rather he is stating for himself that peasants held him in high regard.

The Birth of a Revolutionary Heir to Zapata

This section looks at Jaramillo's formative years as a popular peasant leader and the inception of his political movement. He emphasizes the lessons he learned as a member of Emiliano Zapata's army during the Revolution.

Rubén Jaramillo was born at the turn of the twentieth century in Tlaquiltenango, Morelos.[58] Because his father died soon after his 1900 birth, he and his four siblings were raised by their mother, Romana Ménez Nava de Jaramillo, in the difficult context of poverty common to many peasants in pre-revolutionary times. With the outbreak of the Revolution in 1910, the Jaramillo family moved to the mountains of Tlaquiltenango, where Romana Ménez cared not only for her own children but also the many revolutionary soldiers traveling in the area. In mid-1914, and in the throes of the Revolution, the children were left to fend for themselves when their mother died as a result of a scorpion's bite.

By 1915, close friends introduced the young Rubén to the revolutionary ideas of Ricardo Flores Magón's *Tierra y Libertad.* Magón's version of nationalist anarchism called for a society without hierarchies and access to land for all citizens and it resonated with Jaramillo's beliefs.[59] Influenced by a desire for social justice, Jaramillo decided to join the Zapatista army then fighting in Morelos and Puebla. He quickly rose through the ranks of the army and was named First Captain of the Cavalry at the young age of seventeen. In his role as a leader, Jaramillo treated

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[58] The location of Rubén Jaramillo's birthplace is uncertain. In his autobiography, he states that even though he was born in Tlaquiltenango, Morelos, his birth certificate was filed in Zacualpan, Estado de México. He proceeds to state that even the oldest citizens of Tlaquiltenango recognize that the Jaramillos belong more to Morelos than to the Estado de México. Though he never specifies a birth date or year, I conclude that he was born in 1900 after carefully studying and tracing his age at various events in his life as written in his autobiography. For example, he organized a credit society in Tlaquiltenango, Morelos in 1927 and mentions he was 27 years old (pg. 24-25). Donald Hodges also lists Jaramillo's year of birth in 1900 in *Mexican Anarchism After the Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995) pg. 39.

[59] For more on Ricardo Flores Magón, see the English version of *Land and Liberty: Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution.* Edited by David Poole (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1977). I recommend this book because of the additional chapters outlining other intellectual works by Ricardo Flores Magón as well as an account of his very interesting life, including some exceptional copies of letters and poems written by Magón before his death in 1922 at Leavenworth Penitentiary, Kansas.

people well and made sure that his troops were supplied with the necessary munitions. Such was the respect and esteem people from the *pueblo* had for him that they willingly provided food for his soldiers and constantly came to talk with him. They recognized in him his affable and sincere nature, so much so that in Jaramillo's words "hasta el día de hoy cuenta con ese popular aprecio y goza de muy buen testimonio..."[60] Jaramillo paints an image of his beginnings as an activist that casts him as similar to the very leader he was fighting for, Emiliano Zapata. He calls attention to the enduring affection and loyalty the people of the pueblo had for him and to his qualities as a good revolutionary: benevolence, strength of moral character, leadership abilities, and willingness to pay attention to all.

Fighting in Emiliano Zapata's army clearly had a profound impact on Rubén's political beliefs and leadership style. Rubén admired Zapata for his commitment to social justice and agrarian reform, and for the compassion he showed for peasants long trammeled by the more powerful. Rubén saw the loyalty many people within the movement and throughout the region had for Zapata as a man and as a leader. Jaramillo was so impressed by Zapata's *Plan de Ayala* that he later used it for inspiration when delineating his own movement's political agenda in the *Plan de Cerro Prieto*. Above all, Jaramillo respected Zapata's dedication to his values, a dedication that persisted even in the face of tremendous internal and external opposition from his enemies and corrupt Zapatista leaders in the latter years of the Revolution. Jaramillo thus saw Zapata as a model for his own activism and he cast himself as an heir to the revolutionary hero, calling on Morelos's legacy of rebellion as he developed his own political persona.

Though Jaramillo deeply respected Zapata, he was considerably more critical of the Zapatista army's leaders. He witnessed them deliberately compromise Zapata's vision in their search for personal gain when they forged alliances with enemy interests, pillaged towns, and engaged in other corrupt practices. He called these men "*los malos revolucionarios*" and partly

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[60] Jaramillo, 15.

blamed them for the success of Carranza's forces at the end of the Revolution.[61] Rubén also believed that there was little Zapata could do to combat such corruption within his own forces because he could not exercise control over a large volunteer army whose membership he could not determine. Consequently, Jaramillo believed a very different strategy of organization was required for a movement to successfully bring about political and social change. In visualizing a more effective political movement, he saw the need to ally with select men who were "good revolutionaries" committed to social justice and to bringing about change – men like Zapata himself. Jaramillo also grew to believe in a more decentralized form of organization than what he witnessed in the Zapatista forces. Instead of placing control in the hands of only a few leaders, leaving others only to follow, decisions would be reached by consensus of the committed individuals who made up the movement.

Like the figure of Zapata, the timing of his participation in the Revolution also influenced Jaramillo. He joined the struggle at a significant turning point: No longer were the forces of Zapata, Pancho Villa, and Venustiano Carranza fighting together against the counter-revolutionary government of Victoriano Huerta. Rather, the Revolution had unraveled into the fighting between the various camps, with the Zapatista and Villista forces on one side and the Carrancista forces on the other. Instead of leaving Jaramillo with a romantic feeling that the Zapatistas were bringing about effective social change for the benefit of the poor peasants, this more chaotic stage of the Revolution imbued Jaramillo with a critical vision of how not to carry out a revolutionary struggle.

By 1918, Jaramillo grew more disillusioned with the Revolutionary cause and he foresaw the defeat of Zapata's army. He witnessed rampant corruption among Zapatista army leaders, faulty military tactics and organization, and the absence of a leader to fill Zapata's role if anything were to happen to him. With these concerns in mind, Jaramillo decided to leave the army after Zapata's 1919 assassination so as to avoid what he called the "decadencia

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[61] For Jaramillo's detailed description of the practices of *los malos revolucionarios*, see pages 15-17.

revolucionaria."[62] Doing so, Jaramillo argued, would enable him, as well as those who chose to follow him, to form a movement that would look out for the interests of the pueblo and eventually bring about real social change. In the meantime, he urged his supporters – thirty-three men sharing in his beliefs – to lay low as the Revolution came to a close, biding their time and saving their lives until a more propitious moment when they could organize for real revolutionary change. In his words, "[e]l pueblo, y más las futuras generaciones, no permitirán vivir esclavas y será entonces cuando de nuevo cuenta nos pondremos en marcha, y aunque estemos lejos los unos de los otros no nos perderemos de vista y llegado el momento nos volveremos a reunir. Guarden sus fusiles cada cual donde lo pueda volver a tomar."[63] He further urged his followers to swear their loyalty to God, justice and the Republic of Mexico and safeguard what he considered the three virtues of a good revolutionary: faith, hope, and willpower.

Following the close of the Revolution, Jaramillo and his men took leave of each other and went their respective ways. Along with two of his supporters, Jaramillo went to work on an hacienda in Morelos, earning money and waiting. Soon after, individuals sympathetic to Carranza identified Jaramillo and his followers as Zapatista supporters and wrongfully accused them of stealing a bull. After the Carrancistas executed the two supporters, Jaramillo's sister bought his freedom at an exorbitant price. Following this, Jaramillo and his brothers moved around the area of Morelos and Puebla for several years in the 1920s. In addition to meeting and gaining the support of many people in peasant communities, the Jaramillo brothers worked on haciendas, in sugar refineries, and in petroleum refineries. Jaramillo speaks of his realization that so-called revolutionaries had allied with foreigners and taken over these industries, seeking wealth and sharing little regard for the pueblo.

During this decade, he also organized peasants to benefit from programs offered by the new postrevolutionary state, such as the initial land reform efforts of the 1920s. He considered

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[62] Jaramillo, 16.
[63] Jaramillo, 16.

the agrarian reform program largely ineffective as the state distributed only small amounts of land, most of which was not cultivable. For the peasants that did have *ejido* land, they had access to few, if any, resources to exploit it for their own benefit. In 1927, Jaramillo organized peasants into a *sociedad de crédito agrarista* in Tlaquiltenango, Morelos to obtain credit so that the ejido could cultivate rice. As he brought the peasants together into the newly founded sociedad, Jaramillo emphasized the need for credit and cooperation among members because "[e]s una verdadera lástima ver nuestros campos tan fértiles y sin rendir los frutos para sustentarnos a nosotros y a nuestras familias, y lo poco que rinden nos lo arrebatan, a precios irrisorios y de hambre, acaparadores criollos y extranjeros, con lo cual se enriquecen ellos y nos empobrecemos nosotros."[64] The sociedad, under the leadership of Rubén and his brothers, Porfirio and Reyes, organized to cultivate rice and melons on the ejido land. Nonetheless, the members of the sociedad were still swindled by several parties: the wholesale buyers of rice who shortchanged the buying price, the governor of Morelos who colluded with the buyers, the very bank making the loans to the sociedad who changed the terms of credit, and others seeking profits at the expense of poor peasants. Jaramillo and his brothers did their utmost to defend the interests of the peasants belonging to the sociedad, even resorting to an assassination attempt on the corrupt governor of Morelos. After much struggle, he was finally able to negotiate just terms of sale for the sociedad's rice in 1929 and he gained the trust of not only the sociedad's peasants in Tlaquiltenango but also peasants in the rest of the Jojutla district.

When Cárdenas established the Confederación Nacional Campesina (CNC) in 1938, Rubén was named to the state-sponsored institution as representative of the District of Jojutla. Through the CNC, he was able to secure benefits for the region's peasants and interceded on their behalf in a series of disputes. He succeeded in winning the removal of an employee of a large landowner and censuring a bank accused of cheating Zacatepec peasants. Thinking that he could win even greater bargaining power, Jaramillo joined the Masons' Logia Valle de México in 1931

[64] Jaramillo, 24.

to gain the support of the area's small business owners for the interests of peasants. Jaramillo states that joining the Masons established his position as a "defensor y padre de los pobres, por los que tiene un acendrado cariño y profundo respeto, dándoles el sitio que merecen, aunque muchos de esos pobres no lo entiendan."[65] This passage shows that for Jaramillo joining the Masons was a defining moment in his commitment and dedication to the pueblo. It further shows that he approached this mission with a paternalistic fervor since he saw the peasants as unable to defend themselves and, even, to fully understand why he defended them.

Overall, Jaramillo lamented the continuing misery peasants endured at the hands of corrupt officials and elites affiliated with the state. He was also concerned that the postrevolutionary Mexican state did not genuinely represent Zapata's ideals of social justice, even though it purported to do so in its nation-building efforts.

Jaramillo in the time of Lázaro Cárdenas

Jaramillo's relationship with Lázaro Cárdenas was characterized by direct contact between the peasant leader and the president of Mexico, bypassing bureaucratic actors that would have mediated their communication. At this point, Jaramillo shows faith in the nation-building project because of his faith in Cárdenas as a legitimate leader. He also continues to cement his agenda to represent and further the interests of the pueblo.

In 1932, general Lázaro Cárdenas began his campaign for the presidency of Mexico. Upon learning that Cárdenas was a fellow mason, Jaramillo gave the candidate his full support and actively organized for him in Jojutla district. While campaigning for Cárdenas, Jaramillo organized a petition to present to the candidate asking for the construction of a sugar mill in Zacatepec (located in the district of Jojutla) and the installation of basic public service infrastructure throughout the region. Soon after Cárdenas was elected and took office, he granted

[65] Jaramillo, 30.

the petition for a sugar mill and its construction soon began in Zacatepec. Though at first Morelos's peasants resisted growing sugar cane because of the bitter memories of colonial sugar production and consequent domination, Jaramillo convinced them to begin cultivating cane. He told them: "Si para los extranjeros el cultivo y la industria de la caña había sido negocio, ¿por qué para nosotros los campesinos no ha de ser?"[66] Construction of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill was completed in 1938 and Jaramillo, against the opposition of local politicians, was elected president of the mill's governing council in March of that year.

Because he knew relatively little about sugar cane and the first harvest was nearly ready for harvesting, Jaramillo quickly set out to learn how to manage a mill, learning basics like the cutting and transportation of cane. According to Jaramillo, he worked arduously to do this in the position because he felt considerable responsibility to the peasants who had elected him. Jaramillo quickly learned how to address problems that arose in the mill, such as personnel conflicts and equipment malfunctions. He worked closely with both mill workers and peasants growing the cane, though the latter were occasionally at odds with the mill's management over how production should be carried out. Jaramillo would speak to both the peasants and the workers, urging them to work together to overcome disagreements with the mill's management. On one occasion, the mill's workers were angered by a comment from a government-affiliated manager who suggested that fewer men could do the same amount of work. Though the workers were threatening to strike, Jaramillo brought them together with the peasants producing the cane and urged them to see that they had a considerable stake in continuing to work together: "[N]osotros los campesinos somos, como ustedes, trabajadores y tenemos las mismas necesidades; ustedes los obreros, no deben de tomar a pecho lo dicho por el gerente. Eso (decrease in size of workforce) nunca sería posible aceptarlo."[67] The mill's workers accepted Jaramillo's logic and returned to work, simply ignoring the manager's comments. The alliance

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[66] Jaramillo, 32.
[67] Jaramillo, 34.

between peasants and workers became an important touchstone throughout the coming decades of Jaramillo's activism. He believed these two groups needed to join forces against corrupt government leaders and those in control of the means of production who used peasants and workers to their advantage.

Throughout 1938, Jaramillo met directly with the president and his closest associates to discuss problems that arose in running the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill. Because the harvesting of sugar began so late that year, the mill was unable to process all of the cane and much was left standing in the fields. As he states, Jaramillo met with Cárdenas to ask the government to pay the peasants for the cane they had grown since it was not their fault that it was not harvested. Cárdenas agreed and the peasants of Zacatepec received payment from the government for their standing cane, even though other managers at the mill opposed it and tried to prevent it from happening. Jaramillo believed that dealing directly with the president was the most effective way to serve the interests of the peasants. The peasants, in turn, rewarded Jaramillo with their trust because they saw how effective he was in representing their interests. Jaramillo was aware that his actions angered his enemies, such as mill-managers Maqueo Castellanos and Enrique González Aparicio who wanted to quickly turn a profit at the expense of the peasants. These men, according to Jaramillo, sought to harass him and undermine his leadership with the help of unscrupulous peasants. However, he continued his work for peasants and paid no attention to these distractions.

Despite such opposition from within the mill, Jaramillo states that he continued to work to make the enterprise a success for its peasant and worker members. He turned to Cárdenas once again to fire Maqueo Castellanos when the manager's attacks began interfering with the mill's production. While running the mill, Jaramillo handled politically difficult situations and honed his negotiating skills, fighting for what he believed would best serve peasants and workers: effective political voice, economic independence, and control over the means of production. By

the second harvest, there were no problems with sugar processing and the peasants growing the cane were even able to even make a profit.

Even though Jaramillo had many victories while supervising the mill, he felt that his enemies were multiplying as he gained greater support from the Zacatepec peasants and workers. He began pushing for changes throughout the area to further benefit the communities. He worked with the CNC to drill more wells in fields needing irrigation, lobbied for federal aid to relocate poor peasants to fertile lands ready for cultivation, started a canning factory for liquid sugar, proposed a project for the construction of a new area hospital, and established a method for the fair sale of sugar in national and foreign markets. While Jaramillo was engrossed in all of these activities, President Cárdenas called him to a luncheon in nearby Tehuixhtla in December of 1938, just ten months after taking over the mill's administration. Here, Cárdenas explained to Jaramillo that General Manuel Avila Camacho was going to be the next president of Mexico and asked Jaramillo to support him. Concerned with the corrupt legacy of Maximino Avila Camacho as governor of the state of Puebla, Jaramillo asked Cárdenas if the coming president resembled his brother. Cárdenas stated that "Don Manuel es buen hombre, no todos los dedos de las manos son iguales. Yo quiero que todos los campesinos a través de usted ayuden al general Avila Camacho." Jaramillo expressed further reservations that the new president might not share in "nuestra ideología revolucionaria" and instead want to return to "tiempos pasados." Cárdenas responded to these concerns by stating that: "De la actitud del general Avila Camacho yo le respondo." Trusting Cárdenas, whom he had grown to respect and admire while working at the mill, Jaramillo agreed to support the new president. Nonetheless, he tempered his support by stating, "...la escuela que usted ha enseñado al pueblo nadie se la podrá quitar. Los obreros y los campesinos somos revolucionarios y si don Manuel se desvía por otros caminos no estaremos con

él."[68] As the coming years would show, Jaramillo's predictions about Avila Camacho proved true.

Recovering the Revolution: The 1940s and the Struggle Against the Golden Age

The 1940s marked a turning point for Jaramillo and his activism. With Cárdenas out of office and the rightward shift of the state to a more capitalist orientation, Jaramillo lost faith in the postrevolutionary nation-building project. He began to advocate other forms of negotiation with the state to defend the pueblo, including strikes.

In 1940, according to Jaramillo, individuals unaware of the difficulty in running such a large enterprise removed him from the leadership of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill. With the new leadership in place, a series of corrupt managers came to control the mill and showed little regard for either workers or peasants. These new managers brought in police and gunmen to quell dissent among the peasants and workers.

At the start of the Second World War, Jaramillo joined peasants' and workers' efforts to petition the state for guarantees of wage and price subsidies to offset the war's negative effects. This petition led to the creation of the *Unión de Productores de Caña de la República Mexicana*, of which Jaramillo was a founder and a member of its first National Committee. In this position, he fought for an increase in the price of sugar cane to help peasant growers. In October 1940, the new manager of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill, Severino Carrera Peña, went to visit Jaramillo at his *parcela* and tried to bribe him to stop his struggle. Jaramillo responded by saying,

> Yo soy un campesino y no me creo un desleal ni un ingrato y he procurado ser siempre firme, leal, sincero y cumplidor de mis deberes y compromisos. No sé qué es lo que usted y otros, que como usted piensan, se traen con los pobres campesinos acusándolos de tantas cosas. Si los campesinos son como usted dice, esa es culpa de ustedes mismos, porque se han echado la responsabilidad de educarlos pero, desgraciadamente, la educación que le han dado al pueblo campesino es falsa, es hipócrita, y carece de toda verdad y sinceridad. Por eso,

[68] Jaramillo, 39.

> los campesinos son así, pero llegará el momento en que esos campesinos, hoy tan vilipendiados por ustedes, sus explotadores, levanten su ánimo y honrada frente, y ya veremos cál será su futuro destino. Yo no puedo, a cambio de nada, traicionar a los hombres de mi clase, por lo cual y a pesar de su incompresión acerca de mí, estoy dispuesto a sacrificar cuanto esté de mi parte y aún mi propia vida para seguir sosteniendo esta lucha que los campesinos y obreros tendrán que hacer suya un día no lejano.... A los campesinos y obreros se les puede perdonar sus desvíos y desatinos porque viven en las tinieblas, pero a ustedes los astutos, maliciosos y canallas preparados, no se les pueden perdonar sus malos actos, porque no son ignorantes sino unos aprovechados de la ignorancia del pueblo trabajador."[69]

Though Severino Carrera Peña publicly told peasants that he was amenable to their demands for the increase, Jaramillo knew that Carrerra Peña opposed the increase. Rather than accuse the manager of outright deceit, Jaramillo gave an impassioned speech to the peasants stating once again what he saw as the purpose of the mill and their struggle. Jaramillo envisioned the mill as a prelude to the "felicidad económica de todos los trabajadores de esta magna obra de la Revolución."[70] Fighting for the promises of economic happiness embodied in the mill, he argued that:

> Si sabemos encauzarla (the mill) por los senderos de la más elemental justicia, seguramente que será base de verdadera felicidad y de progreso para una gran parte del Estado de Morelos, pero si por desgracia nos apartamos de nuestro verdadero sentido de responsabilidad de trabajadores, obreros y campesinos, intrigas, ambiciones de aspecto personal y de las divisiones, esta industria, este ingenio que hoy es orgullo de la Revolución, se tornará en centro de miserias, de vicios, de desavenencias, en manzana de grandes discordias, de criminalidad y de esclavitud, porque presiento que este ingenio va a ser semejante a caballo muerto donde los zopilotes quieren sacar su parte."[71]

He urged the peasants to join together because, "Unidos seremos fuertes y respetados; desunidos y desorganizados seremos fácilmente víctimas y derrotados."[72]

According to Jaramillo, Carrera Peña invited him afterwards to his residence in March 1942 to discuss the price increase. The manager, who said he spoke on behalf of the government, tried to convince Jaramillo to work with them in eliminating unrest among the mill's workers and

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[69] Jaramillo, 48-49.
[70] Jaramillo, 41.
[71] Jaramillo, 41.
[72] Jaramillo, 41.

peasants. He promised Jaramillo that the government would reward his cooperation and "serás elevado a la categoría de nosotros."[73] Jaramillo scoffed at the suggestion, stating that he would not betray his own class of people at any cost and that "el deseo que ustedes tienen de triunfar es el mismo que tenemos los campesinos y los obreros, los cuales somos mayor número que ustedes."[74] At this, the manager responded by saying that the peasants and workers would receive neither an increase in salary nor in the price of cane; they would have to wait until the following harvest before their petition would be contemplated. Dismayed by the news, Jaramillo chided Carrera Peña for not telling the peasants and workers sooner of the decision not to honor their petition.

Following the March 1942 encounter at the manager's house, Jaramillo convened a meeting with the peasants and workers to discuss what had transpired with Carrera Peña. Among his closest supporters, Jaramillo shared his doubts over what they would be able to achieve for the mill's peasants and workers considering the heavy resistance they were encountering from management. At the public meeting, Jaramillo told the peasants and workers how the manager went back on his word to honor their petition to increase their salaries and the price of cane. He also shared his doubts about the effectiveness of the current course of action and encouraged them to "unidos pensemos lo que debemos hacer para que se oigan nuestras peticiones."[75] According to Jaramillo, those in attendance proposed a work stoppage in the mill and the cane fields to pressure the manager to approve their petition. They formed a committee that subsequently approached the manager with demands to fulfill their petition or face a work stoppage. As he had with Jaramillo, Carrera Peña turned down the petition and the committee issued a call to the peasants and workers to strike.

Rather than negotiating with the peasants and workers, Jaramillo stated that Carrera Peña met with Morelos's Governor Perdomo. Here, the manager gave the governor fifty thousand

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[73] Jaramillo, 42.
[74] Jaramillo, 42.
[75] Jaramillo, 44.

pesos to assassinate Jaramillo. Seven days before the start of the strike, the governor accompanied a military general and two judicial police officers to detain Jaramillo in Zacatepec. As Jaramillo states, one of the governor's aides approached him and asked him to come to Carrera Peña's house to meet the governor and discuss a resolution to the strike. Once at the house, Governor Perdomo ordered Jaramillo into a car, where they made their way to the governor's house in Cuernavaca, the Palacio de Cortés. With armed guards at his side, the governor asked Jaramillo to sit down and he proceeded to tell Jaramillo that he had enough of him and to lambast him for his efforts on behalf of the peasants and workers. He threatened that if the strike went ahead and the petition were not withdrawn, he would order Jaramillo killed because "ayer era Cárdenas y ahora es Avila Camacho."[76] To this, Jaramillo angrily responded that he was following legal channels with the petition, an action which in no way threatened the authority of Morelos or federal authorities. Jaramillo dismissed the governor's assertion of a changed presidential atmosphere, stating "[y]o no estoy con los hombres. Yo estoy con las ideas justas y con el pueblo, y lo demás no me preocupa."[77] He went on to accuse the governor of being interested in power rather than the needs of peasants and workers. Enraged by Jaramillo's words, the governor began to physically and verbally attack him until, tired out, the governor sent him away, reminding him that he would be killed if the strike went ahead.

On April 9, 1942, the mill's whistle blew to signal all the workers to leave the mill and the peasants to cease cutting the sugar cane in their fields. Early in the afternoon, Carrera Peña entered the factory and found it running but empty of workers, except one mechanic. Syrup from the processed cane spilled all over the floor and chaos reigned. The manager looked to the mechanic and demanded that he call in the soldiers to return order to the mill. The mechanic responded by stating that the soldiers were useless since they knew nothing of how to work the specialized machinery. Carrera Peña, faced with the inevitable, ordered the mechanic to shut the

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[76] Jaramillo, 45.
[77] Jaramillo, 45.

factory down. According to Jaramillo, the manager and five soldiers then boarded a car and went to the fields, ordering the peasants to take the place of the workers at the mill. Late that night, peasants arrived by truck and with great difficulty, they were able to run the mill just enough to give the semblance of normalcy and convince the government that there was no work stoppage. The following day, Carrera Peña sent soldiers to coerce peasants to harvest the cane and chase down those peasants and workers responsible for the strike. As a result, three strikers were incarcerated in the Cuernavaca penitentiary and intimidated peasants agreed to return to work. The workers, in the meantime, stood fast in their commitment to strike and managed to hold out for a month and a half. Suffering from hunger, most gave into the manager's demands that they return to work. After two months, those peasants and workers who continued to strike were fired from the mill. Throughout this difficult time, Jaramillo did what he could to sustain the strike but, with its end, he was forced out of the cooperative by the mill's management.

The First Uprising of the Jaramillistas

In the face of such corruption and intimidation, Jaramillo felt that he had little recourse but to turn to an armed uprising to achieve social change for the pueblo – what he came to call a new revolution. He spends considerable time reconstructing this event in his autobiography, leaving the impression that it carried a great deal of weight in shaping his political identity as he remembered it years later. Such detailed focus on the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill in the previous section serves to legitimate Jaramillo's rationale for armed struggle.[78]

After the first attempt on his life, Jaramillo was wary of other possible assassination plots by agents of the mill's management, the government, or peasants who believed politicians' malicious words. In February 1943, judicial police officers attempted to capture and kill him

[78] Florencia Mallon offered this last insight in relation to the extensive attention Jaramillo pays to his experiences at the sugar mill immediately before outlining his first armed struggle.

three times but he managed to elude them because of warnings from fellow peasants. Because he believed that official government channels sided with his enemies, Jaramillo felt that no one in authority was willing to help the cause he struggled for or to stop these assassination attempts. He later told his wife, "Estoy convencido de que ante este gobierno hablar en favor de los campesinos como es digno, es un crimen, y yo creo que esto es lo que pasa conmigo. Dios sabe y es testigo de que yo no tengo otro crimen de que estas personas me puedan acusar."[79] As he states in his autobiography, Jaramillo believed that the authorities wanted him dead because he did not accept their bribes to betray his peasant followers and because he did not accept their belief that peasants were backward, ignorant, and disloyal people. Being a peasant himself, Jaramillo stated that he was especially dismayed that the authorities did not recognize him as such, largely because he did not neatly fit their stereotype. He vowed to his wife that he would never part from the peasants and would, instead, work "hasta donde Dios el creador me lo permita para que un día esos hombres escarnecidos y ultrajados puedan valer lo que es justo que valgan."[80] Jaramillo then added that peasants were who they were because of ignorance – an ignorance brought on by their subjugation by corrupt men who did not respect the values of the pueblo. He finished by warning his wife "que nos esperan días muy amargos, y esta poca felicidad que Dios nos ha dado se acabará, y pasaremos por las aguas de la amargura, por el fuego del dolor y por los campos de las inquietudes, pero al fin con el favor de Dios vendrá la calma."[81]

In view of the assassination attempts and a denunciation by his enemies in Morelos, on February 19 Jaramillo packed some of his belongings, bid goodbye to his wife, and rode on his horse to the mountains. He states that peasant supporters from nearby ranches joined Jaramillo as he rode. They came on horse and most carried weapons. In Las Bóvedas, Jaramillo and his men, who at this time numbered approximately twenty-five, came upon a group of hunters with rifles. After explaining the situation, Jaramillo asked the hunters if they would be willing to offer up

[79] Jaramillo, 51.
[80] Jaramillo, 51.
[81] Jaramillo, 52.

their weapons in exchange for a promissory note pledging to pay them at a future date. The hunters eagerly gave Jaramillo their weapons and offered him money, which he turned down. As they rode from town to town, Jaramillo and his men garnered more munitions and explained their cause to the various inquiring townspeople. On February 22, while camping near El Perillo, a messenger arrived to warn Jaramillo that a group of armed volunteers from Mexalapa and Chahuicingo, Guerrero were in pursuit of him and his men. Immediately, Jaramillo stationed his men to guard the area and prepare for battle. The following day, the messenger returned to warn the armed volunteers of the battle-readiness of Jaramillo's men who, at this time, numbered seventy-five. With this news, the volunteers made a quick retreat. The Jaramillistas set off again, journeying across the countryside towards Mineral de Huautla.

According to Jaramillo, the Jaramillistas next heard gunfire near Las Escobas and, upon arriving in Mineral de Huautla, were notified by the villagers that the shots had come from a group of anarcho-syndicalists battling soldiers sent by the governor of Morelos and the manager of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill. The anarcho-syndicalists killed three of the soldiers and injured more, with only one anarcho-syndicalist injured. Jaramillo was told that this group, led by Daniel Roldán, wanted to join forces with him and had set out for Cerro Prieto in search of the Jaramillistas. To avoid federal soldiers in the area, Jaramillo and his men set out for Santiopa, where they received word that Alejandro Rodríguez, a member of the anarcho-syndicalists, wanted to meet with them on the road. By this time, Jaramillo and his men stopped off at the *rancho* of El Salado, where he had stayed in 1915 while fighting in the Revolution and where he received a warm welcome by fellow Zapatistas. Jaramillo sent for Rodríguez, who soon arrived with an additional twenty-five men. Jaramillo welcomed the new men and ordered that they be fed and their horses taken to nearby pastures to rest. He also ordered all the men to cease consuming alcoholic beverages since he felt that it impaired their abilities to be good revolutionaries. After staying there on February 25 and 26, they set off for Huachinantla, Puebla where additional men who had fought with Jaramillo under Zapata joined them.

As they traveled through Puebla and Morelos, Jaramillo stated that he convened meetings to speak to villagers about what had happened to him and explain the Jaramillista movement's reason to take up arms. The villagers, in turn, sympathized with the Jaramillistas and willingly fed and clothed them. As the rebels traveled, their movement continued to grow, gaining in size as former Zapatistas and other supporters joined them. On March 9, after traveling for more than two weeks, they came to the community of San Rafael Zaragoza. Here, Jaramillo and his men met with still more supporters, including Daniel Roldán, who had recently suffered a defeat at Los Hornos. According to Jaramillo, Roldán became jealous and serious after he saw how well organized Jaramillo's men were. They all remained at this camp until March 12 when a group of anarcho-syndicalists arrived inviting Jaramillo to go to a ranch in Zacapoalco. Jaramillo and most of his men did not want to leave San Rafael because they felt that such a large contingent of men would draw the attention of the federal forces. Several of the anarcho-syndicalists threatened that if Jaramillo chose not to go they would break from the group. The anarcho-syndicalist*s* argued that "[s]i tenemos miedo, para qué salimos; si usted no pasa, nosotros sí pasamos."[82] Taunted by this accusation, Jaramillo's men urged him to change his mind and go to Zacapoalco. Following the desires of his men, Jaramillo agreed to go, but he warned that federal soldiers would find them within twenty-four hours.

They departed for Zacapoalco that same afternoon and, as Jaramillo predicted, the dust of the Jaramillistas's eighty galloping horses raised the alarm of a federal sentinel who then sent word for reinforcements. On arriving in Zacapoalco, Jaramillo received word that federal soldiers were preparing to meet them. As he states in his autobiography, Jaramillo immediately ordered his men to different stations in readiness for a possible battle. On his way to check on a lookout, Jaramillo came upon a group of federal soldiers who fired on him but missed their target. Jaramillo pulled out his gun, forcing the soldiers out of their hideout. There were only six federal soldiers and Jaramillo's men were quickly able to subdue them. They were surprised when other

[82] Jaramillo, 58.

federal soldiers arriving on the scene began shooting. The resulting gun battle left five federal soldiers dead and three of Jaramillo's men dead while the rest retreated back to their camp in Zacapoalco. In spite of the loss, the Jaramillistas did not feel defeated and, on the following day, set out for La Era. Jaramillo was met by a commission of peasants from Zacatepec, who came to show him their allegiance and their readiness to attack Jojutla, Tlaquiltenango, and Zacatepec upon his orders. Taking this news into consideration, Jaramillo decided to attack Tlaquiltenango with his men while other supporters would concentrate on seizing Jojutla and Zacatepec.

With the plan of attack prepared, and with the cooperation of peasant leaders in the surrounding communities, Jaramillo and 125 of his followers descended on the plaza at Tlaquiltenango at 6:30 pm on March 24. Facing little resistance, they quickly took control of the town and awaited word signaling that Zacatepec had also been taken over. According to Jaramillo, those who had exploited the peasants in Tlaquiltenango were fearful that Jaramillo's men would exact revenge on them. Yet, Jaramillo let them be because, as he states, he is not "vengativo ni aprovechado."[83] Colonel Juan Rojas, transit chief for Morelos, was captured and brought before Jaramillo. Jaramillo, scoffing at Rojas's efforts to bribe his men to intercede on his behalf, told him that,

> Lo que más nos urge es que te arrepientas de tus malos comportamientos y que vivas con tu pueblo, al cual ayer defendistes con las armas en tus manos y del cual ahora te has apartado por la corrupción del dinero que nuestros enemigos te han puesto en las manos para envilecerte contra nosotros, que somos tus hermanos y tu clase. Era, pues, necesario que, de acuerdo con los procedimientos del gobierno a quien tú sirves, te fusiláramos aquí...como es el sistema del gobierno al que estás vendido, pero no somos cobardes. Tú perteneces a una organización a la que yo pertenezco y te perdono tu vida a cambio de que me jures que te vas a desligar del gobierno y te vas a unir al sentir del pueblo.[84]

Rojas agreed and promised Jaramillo that he would be with the pueblo from then on. Jaramillo had him released and Rojas left unharmed for his home.

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[83] Jaramillo, 61.
[84] Jaramillo, 62.

By evening, Jaramillo still had no word from the peasants that they had successfully taken over Zacatepec. He and his men left Tlaquiltenango for the mill to see what had taken place and, during that space of time, federal troops entered Tlaquiltenango and established a military zone. The following day, Juan Rojas betrayed his promise to Jaramillo and published a seething account of him in a Cuernavaca newspaper, lying about his treatment by the Jaramillistas. In response, Jaramillo wrote Juan Rojas a letter notifying him that he had read the article and that he saw that Rojas has learned well from his master's school – in other words, from corrupt state elites – about "infidelidad, mentira y jactancia. Tú sabes en tu conciencia...que estás mintiendo, dicidiendo lo contrario a lo que es la realidad y tu conducta reprochable la tomo en cuenta."[85]

At the request of the mill's management at the end of March 1943, 250 federal soldiers led by General Isauro García Rubio descended on Zacatepec. According to Jaramillo, García Rubio gathered a group of peasants, among them Jaramillo's brother Porfirio, to inquire about Jaramillo and the reasons for the armed uprising. He told the peasants that he wanted to learn more about their cause to see if capturing Jaramillo was justified. When the peasants finished giving their account, the general stood and stated that he would return to Mexico City to tell his superiors what the peasants had told him. Upon hearing this news from his brother, Jaramillo decided to await the general's efforts and went to camp with his men at Mineral de Huautla. While there, he and his men continued to struggle, evading capture by the state authorities and taking prisoner the corrupt and abusive president of the Tlaquiltenango municipality.

In May 1943, Porfirio brought word to Jaramillo that Lázaro Cárdenas, now minister of National Defense, had sent him a letter. In his message, Cárdenas expressed a desire for peace in Morelos. He sent Jaramillo and his men permits for safe-passage, guaranteeing their freedom and the chance to resume a normal life if they laid down their arms. Though Jaramillo states that he appreciated Cárdenas's gesture, he did not believe that Morelos's authorities would respect

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[85] Jaramillo, 63.

Cárdenas's guarantees. But Jaramillo, nonetheless, agreed to disband his forces and send most of his men home. With only fifteen men remaining, Jaramillo left Tlaquiltenango for Huautla. He wanted to stay away from his village because "así desmostraré al gobierno federal quiénes son los que no quieren la paz sino la riña, provocada por miedo y ambiciones."[86]

While in Huautla, Jaramillo received word from sympathizers in Zacatepec that the mill's management had hired a young man to infiltrate his forces and assassinate him. Jaramillo and Candelaria, one of his female soldiers, kept watch over a new recruit named Fidel Castillo, a man they knew to be the infiltrator. After plying the suspected traitor with alcohol, Jaramillo states that Candelaria and another Jaramillista extracted a confession from him. When asked why he would want to kill Jaramillo, Castillo responded that he was offered a large sum of money for the assassination as Jaramillo was "un elemento enemigo del gobierno, que se ha hecho entender de los campesinos y éstos lo protegen, y para el gobierno es un peligro."[87] After hearing his would-be killer's motivation, Jaramillo expressed pity for Castillo and spared his life. Before releasing him, Jaramillo brought the would-be assassin before the townspeople and told them of his mission. Jaramillo asked the peasants what they thought he should do with the traitor and they replied that Jaramillo should punish him with death. In response, Jaramillo said,

> Esto es lo que yo debiera hacer, pero esa actitud me colocaría en el mismo papel de un criminal como los que contrataron a este joven que por no conocer los instintos de esas gentes se dejó sorprender por las ofertas que le hicieron...Pero en este caso yo no pienso dañar a quien mal pretendió hacerme, y quiero volver bien por mal a este muchacho, a quien considero menor culpable que a los que lo contrataron, a lo cuales un día no lejano, Dios los pondrá en nuestras manos y entonces ya responderán de todos sus malos actos de que se han valido para intimidar a los ciudadanos que hablamos en nombre de la justicia del pueblo y de la ley.[88]

After this explanation, the peasants understood Jaramillo's reasoning for not exacting revenge on the traitor. With much gratitude, Castillo sang a farewell song to Jaramillo, thanking him for sparing his life and departed.

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[86] Jaramillo, 69.
[87] Jaramillo, 71.
[88] Jaramillo, 74.

According to his autobiography, Jaramillo left Huautla for the town of San Nicolás Galeana in June 1943 to live with friends. Upon learning of Jaramillo's whereabouts, the governor of Morelos sent soldiers to assassinate him. A federal army officer who intercepted this message ordered the soldiers to desist from their mission because Jaramillo had been granted safe passage by the Ministry of National Defense. Upon hearing that his orders had not been followed, the governor of Morelos stated that, "En el Estado de Morelos no manda el general Cárdenas. En el Estado de Morelos mando yo. Soy el gobernador del Estado y nadie podrá estorbar que yo mate a Rubén Jaramillo."[89] He immediately told his soldiers to ignore the federal officer and resume their mission to kill Jaramillo. In anticipation of their attack, Jaramillo left Galeana and moved from town to town to avoid the soldiers intent on killing him. In each town, the soldiers interviewed the peasants, asking if they had seen the bandit Jaramillo. According to Jaramillo, the townspeople responded by saying that Jaramillo never betrayed anyone and that whatever he said was the truth. They added that "Hace como 4 meses pasó por este pueblo seguido por 80 hombres, y dejó unos documentos que se dicen 'Plan de Cerro Prieto,' y la mera verdad es que hemos visto que tiene razón, y el pueblo va entendiendo y es posible que sus ideas se generalicen en todo el país."[90] After reading over the Plan de Cerro Prieto, the soldiers agreed that their mission was next to impossible considering that even they were persuaded by Jaramillo's ideas.

During July and August 1943, Jaramillo and his troops traveled to various communities in Puebla and Morelos, including Los Hornos near Tlaquiltenango. At this point in his narrative, Jaramillo introduces us to Epifania García Zúñiga, one of his two wives and close confidante in his revolutionary affairs. In his words, Los Hornos was, "el lugar donde vivía una de sus mejores amigas y partidiarias, que desde un principio supo interpretar con justicia las ideas y los planes revolucionarios de Jaramillo, y le ayudaba como más le era posible, no escatimando ningún

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[89] Jaramillo, 76.
[90] Jaramillo, 77.

esfuerzo para servir a la causa del pueblo, difundida y sostenida por Rubén M. Jaramillo."[91] Resident of Los Hornos and coming from a humble but virtuous family, Epifania was married and the mother of four children, though recently separated from her husband. Jaramillo cherished Epifania because of her qualities as a "mujer esforzada y abnegada, cuyos actos de firmeza son conocidos por todos los principales partidarios de Jaramillo, cuyos méritos revolucionarios nadie se los podrá quitar."[92] To him, Epifania embodied the ideal female companion because she understood his revolutionary position, expressed sincere patriotism, and had a strong character. His faith in her was such that he entrusted her with a number of important documents.

As the Jaramillistas traveled in Morelos and Puebla throughout the rest of 1943, they were periodically ambushed by federal troops. In the ensuing battles, several Jaramillistas were killed or injured, but most managed to evade capture by federal soldiers. As they went from town to town, the Jaramillistas explained to the villagers why they were leading an uprising against the authorities. These conversations were not meant to incite the villagers into rebellion; rather, they were "sólo para que desoyera las órdenes del gobierno y, en caso de agresión, que los pueblos ejercieran unidos su legítima defensa."[93] Though some of the villagers responded with distrust, most agreed with the Jaramillistas and supported their cause. The villagers gave food and supplies to the rebels and they provided medical care for injured troops.

In their pursuit of Jaramillo, according to his autobiography, the governor's troops attacked one of his most important strategic strongholds on November 2, 1943 – the ranch of Los Hornos and Epifania's home. They entered her house and, with the collaboration of a former Jaramillista, found Jaramillo's documents where Epifania had buried them. The soldiers took Epifania prisoner but she managed to escape them, much to their dismay. With the soldiers intent on her capture, she decided to leave her relatives and her four children, and headed for the hills to

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[91] Jaramillo, 78. Note that he states that the important papers cared for by Epifania are called "una pequeña fracción del archivo de Jaramillo."
[92] Jaramillo, 78.
[93] Jaramillo, 81.

join Jaramillo and his troops. Three weeks later she met up with Jaramillo near Cerro Prieto and from that point forward was his inseparable companion and participated in all his revolutionary activities. Now joined by Epifania, Jaramillo and his troops set out to various communities in Puebla to organize peasants.

They arrived in Mitepec, Puebla in December and were greeted by villagers who told him of the many injustices they endured at the hands of the town's leaders, the Sorianos. Jaramillo responded, "Nunca he sido amigo de quienes abusan de nuestra debilidad y se enseñan contra nosotros, haciéndonos víctimas de su perversa manera de pensar, creyéndose ser los únicos con derecho a vivir con dignidad, a base de explotar a quienes no tenemos manera de poder defendernos...Yo sirvo al pueblo."[94] The following day the Sorianos themselves went to see Jaramillo to offer him food and liquor, hoping to dissuade him from inculcating his ideas among the villagers.[95] They told Jaramillo that the villagers would be of little value to him because they were so ignorant and poor that they would only give him a headache with their useless gossip. Outraged at what these men were telling him, Jaramillo states that he lashed out by saying that they could hardly consider themselves the fathers of the town, for what sort of fathers would treat their children the way they treated the townspeople? These were not fathers, but stepfathers. As Jaramillo told them, "por la forma como ustedes se expresan son padrastros del pueblo, y por lo mismo son indignos de querer ser mis amigos."[96] Jaramillo continued to explain to them why he fought for the pueblo and why the Sorianos, as the town leaders, should be fearful: "Nuestro México ya no debe ser un país de esclavos con antifaz de independencia y libertad, y engañado por gentes como ustedes. Pueden tener la seguridad plena de que hoy ha entrado la Revolución a este pueblo de Mitepec, el cual buscará formas, planes e ideas para romper el yugo y las cadenas con que ustedes, los principales, lo han atado."[97]

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[94] Jaramillo, 84.
[95] The Sorianos refer to themselves as "principales."
[96] Jaramillo, 85.
[97] Jaramillo, 85.

With Jaramillo's words still ringing, the Sorianos went to Puebla to denounce him and his troops before the authorities. Federal soldiers set out in pursuit of the Jaramillistas across the countryside and attacked them when they met in the hills near Mitepec, Puebla. After a bloody gun battle with the more numerous federal forces, Jaramillo and his men managed to get away unharmed, excepting for two injured men and two dead horses. The federal troops felt confident that they had mortally injured Jaramillo and returned to their headquarters in Atlixco, Puebla. After three days in hiding, Jaramillo and his supporters returned to Mitepec where they found out that Sorianos had gathered a group of thirteen men to execute the peasants who had denounced them before Jaramillo. The Jaramillistas quickly surrounded the Sorianos' house to defend the peasants in an armed battle. Because Tomás Soriano, the head of the family, was one of the resulting five dead men, his family members decided to release the captive peasants.

The State's Recognition of Jaramillo as a Voice to be Reckoned

Here, Jaramillo narrates how he once again attempted to negotiate directly with the president of Mexico; however, this time it was with Manuel Avila Camacho and not Lázaro Cárdenas.

In February 1944, the Jaramillistas left Mitepec for Santiopa, where Jaramillo and Epifania were bedridden with malaria. When the federal soldiers learned of Jaramillo's whereabouts, they set off to capture him. Warned of the soldiers's approach, and still suffering from high fevers, Jaramillo and Epifania escaped into nearby cornfields and managed to avoid capture. Now recovered from his illness, Jaramillo received notice at the end of March from two senators of Sinaloa that President Avila Camacho was willing to meet with him and discuss a peaceful resolution to Jaramillista demands. All Jaramillo had to do was name the date and time of his arrival and the president would meet with him at the National Palace. After discussing over

the proposition with his closest advisers, Jaramillo set out for Mexico City on March 25, where he stayed with family members living in the city.

During the next two months, Jaramillo prepared to meet with Avila Camacho. Even though Morelos's politicians spoke ill of him, Jaramillo believed that the president respected him, given the support he had offered during Avila Camacho's presidential campaign. In expectation of the June 13th meeting, Porfirio Jaramillo joined Rubén in Mexico City. On the day of the meeting, Jaramillo, his brother, Epifania and other close supporters went to the National Palace and were warmly greeted by Avila Camacho, who embraced Jaramillo. Avila Camacho told Jaramillo that he need not tell him about his ideas since he was already familiar with them "y sé que tienes razón, porque así piensan los revolucionarios. Yo tenía y tengo vivo interés en que tú no fracases y que te conserves bien, porque mucha falta le puedes hacer a la patria...Y si bien es cierto que tus ideas ahora no las entiende el pueblo, las entenderá después, cuando sea tiempo."[98] With that statement, Avila Camacho asked Jaramillo what he could do for him and for his cause.

Jaramillo saw Avila Camacho as a man of his word, upholding the principles of law and justice. But Jaramillo stressed that there were other politicians, such as the ones in Morelos, who did not respect such principles and who actively sought to undermine these principles for their personal profit. In response to Avila Camacho's question about his desires, Jaramillo said he wished that "usted imparta justicia plena al pueblo de mi Estado."[99] To achieve this, Jaramillo asked Avila Camacho to change the administrative structure of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill. Specifically, he asked that the mill be run as it was originally conceptualized: as a cooperative with worker and peasant beneficiaries, in charge of management, a democratically elected manager, and free from military interference. At this point in his narrative, Jaramillo asked the president to eliminate obligatory military service for the adult mill workers and cane-producing peasants. For those young men eligible for military service, Jaramillo asked that they serve in a

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[98] Jaramillo, 93.
[99] Jaramillo, 94.

way that would allow them to also support their families. Rather than serving for a month at a time in a distant locale, the president could let these young men do their training closer to their homes and for a shorter period, allowing them to return to their fields at the end of the day. Avila Camacho said he thought these were good ideas and would take them into consideration. In the meantime, the president offered Jaramillo and his supporters a large tract of land in the fertile and unpopulated valley of San Quintín, Baja California. Jaramillo thought this proposal had potential but told the president that before committing to it, he would have to send a commission of his people to inspect the land. Jaramillo asked that the government pay for the commission's expenses and requested Avila Camacho to provide a letter addressed to the governor of Baja California testifying to the legitimacy of the commission's mission. Avila Camacho agreed and, within days, Jaramillo sent the commission to inspect the lands.

Upon their return, the members of the commission reported that the lands were as the president had described. However, Jaramillo became convinced that the proposal to move to Baja California was "un destierro con garantías" and he rejected the government's offer.[100] Jaramillo explained to Avila Camacho that he feared that the land would be taken away and that he and his followers would be harmed once the president left office. Hearing Jaramillo's concerns, Avila Camacho offered Jaramillo employment with the Mexico City government. Jaramillo accepted the president's offer, though he stipulated that he would be returning to Morelos in a few months. With a letter from the president verifying that he be given a job, Jaramillo went to the chief of the Departamento Central to claim his post. The bureaucrats ignored the letter and told him to come the following day. After several days of this same reception, Jaramillo went to one of Avila Camacho's advisers. This adviser profusely apologized for the treatment, chastised the incompetent bureaucrats, and set out to find Jaramillo a job as administrator of a small market called *2 de abril*.

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[100] Jaramillo, 96.

Several months after beginning to work at the market in 1945, three of Jaramillo's supporters from the town of Mitepec came to see him to ask him for help in procuring ammunition and copies of the Plan de Cerro Prieto. They told Jaramillo that they needed to defend themselves against the abuses of the local police chief. After receiving bullets and pamphlets from Jaramillo, the trio returned to Mitepec in June 1945. While traveling through Cuautla, they were stopped by a gendarme who discovered the ammunition and copies of the Plan de Cerro Prieto. The gendarme then sent word to the governor of Morelos that the Jaramillista rebels were mobilizing. Morelos's authorities immediately denounced the Jaramillista mobilization to the *Procuraduría General de la República* and the Ministry of National Defense, who called Jaramillo to their offices. Adamantly denying the accusations, Jaramillo explained to the officials that Morelos's politicians were intent on continuing their fight against him by raising false alarms with the federal authorities.

Five days later, agents of the judicial police stormed into Jaramillo's office at the market and accused him of rebel activities. They took him to the same detention center from which Pancho Villa had escaped decades earlier. With the help of a fellow prisoner, Jaramillo was able to send notice to his family that the authorities had detained him. He was then taken to the jail at the Procuraduría General de la República, where his family lost track of him. With the help of a police officer, Jaramillo smuggled out word of the location of his incarceration. Soon thereafter, an uncle of Lázaro Cárdenas came to see him and facilitated visits from lawyers, his family, fellow workers and teachers. After seven days, Jaramillo was transferred to a penitentiary in Cuernavaca at the request of the governor of Morelos. Morelos's politicians did not bring any formal accusations against him or take him to trial; they just kept Jaramillo imprisoned at the penitentiary awaiting word from the governor. In July 1945 after Jaramillo had spent twenty days in Cuernavaca, Avila Camacho sent notice to the penitentiary to release Jaramillo. Jaramillo returned to Mexico City to continue working as manager of the market.

In the Realm of the Official: Jaramillo's Run for Governor

At this point in his narrative, Jaramillo and his supporters form a political party and enter the electoral arena to bring about change. As he labors to establish an alternative political option, Jaramillo articulates a strong belief in the anti-democratic tendencies of the postrevolutionary state. Note how much of the political agenda is laid out, not by Jaramillo himself as it has been in previous sections, but by his followers.

With the upcoming gubernatorial elections in Morelos set for 1946, some of Jaramillo's supporters began urging him to run for political office as a representative of the peasantry. Speaking at a meeting in September 1945, these supporters stressed that while they understood that the powerful and wealthy interests of Morelos would stand in the way of Jaramillo's victory, they thought it was important for him to run because "en el campo político nos abrimos paso para ganar cuando seà tiempo, y ya iremos orientando a nuestro pueblo en el sentido de que ya no siga creyéndose de esos señores que, cuando nos necesitan, nos buscan y cuando no, nos desprecian."[101] In order to make such a project come alive, Jaramillo and his supporters decided to form a political party by the name of the Partido Agrario-Obrero Morelense (PAOM). The Jaramillistas resolved to hold fast to a platform reflecting their beliefs and that many Morelenses would support. As one Jaramillista stated: "Nuestra política debe ser del pueblo y para el pueblo, en la cual no aceptaremos componendas ni transacciones con los políticos arribistas de grupos priviligiados que manejan una política dirigida de arriba hacia abajo, sin tomar en cuenta al pueblo el que, según su decir, para ellos nada vale."[102] Because the PAOM was a political party from and of the pueblo, its supporters countered what they saw as the predominant organization of traditional political parties, represented particularly by the PRI. Another supporter spoke up and added: "Ya es bueno que los campesinos y los obreros seamos responsables de nuestros

[101] Jaramillo, 101.
[102] Jaramillo, 102.

propios actos y cueste lo que cueste y venga lo que venga hoy debemos decidirnos a luchar en todos los órdenes, para llevar a nuestro pueblo al lugar de honor que le pertenece, hoy a Morelos y mañana en toda la República Mexicana, la cual ha peleado mucho y ha ganado poco."[103] Thus, the hope of its founders was to use electoral channels to spread the PAOM's message to other regions of Mexico so that other pueblos could speak out against their oppression and bring about social change.

Jaramillo continued to work as a manager at the market in Mexico City while the political party was being formed in October 1945. The chief of the Oficina de Mercados called him and the other market managers to a meeting where he announced that Manuel Avila Camacho had requested that Miguel Alemán Valdés, current Minister of Government, replace him as president of Mexico when he stepped down the following year. The chief ordered the managers to prepare to take their respective market vendors to the Teatro Arena de México in November where Alemán was going to launch his candidacy for president. He asked managers how many vendors they were planning to take and doled out money accordingly. Jaramillo was the only manager who refused to do as the chief ordered, vehemently protesting such undemocratic practices. He said that he would not hand his vendors over to anyone, stressing that they were free to choose whom they wished to vote for without his persuasion interfering. The chief stated that he would fire Jaramillo if he did not take the vendors to the rally. Jaramillo responded by saying that he would then leave his post since he was not going to compromise his convictions. The other managers tried to dissuade him but Jaramillo said to them,

> No quiero ser cómplice de ese ladrón de Miguel Alemán, a quien el señor Presidente ha resuelto entregarle el poder de la nación. Yo no simpatizo con esta forma de proceder. Soy hombre libre y revolucionario y no creo digno permitir esta clase de maniobras de tan grande bajeza política, con la cual corrompen al pueblo y lo desvían de sus derechos, tornándolo en pueblo servil y domesticado, e inconsciente en lo que hace a la legítima defensa de sus libertades, lo cual no es de ninguna manera razonable ni justo para los que pensamos con verdadero sentido de repsonsabilidad patriótica.[104]

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[103] Jaramillo, 102.
[104] Jaramillo, 105-106.

Seeing the corruption inherent in national politics, Jaramillo grew determined to try and bring about demands for a more democratic form of politics. He hoped he could realize this end through the PAOM.

After registering the PAOM through official channels, the jaramillistas convened a meeting on October 21, 1945 to announce the creation of a political party founded on social principles and local roots, and headed by Rubén Jaramillo. Jaramillo left Mexico City and returned to Tlaquiltenango to officiate the party's first meeting in the town's Zócalo. One of the local politicians and owner of the town's movie theatre, Juan Rojas, locked himself in the theatre and played loud music through outdoor speakers in an attempt to disrupt the meeting.[105] Even in the din, Jaramillo spoke loudly enough to be heard by all to mark the start of PAOM's existence. In the days following the ceremony, PAOM representatives set up an official party archive and traveled throughout Morelos establishing party committees. As head of the party, Jaramillo described himself as follows, "entró a la vida política revolucionaria al lado del pueblo, sin permitir arreglos privados con los políticos que sirven de rodillas a los potentados, que se han corrompido con las ínfulas del puesto y del dinero y se han apartado del pueblo."[106] Jaramillo was the PAOM candidate in the state gubernatorial elections of 1946. Though Jaramillo was more popular and had won more votes than any other candidate, it was the PRI candidate Ernesto Escobar Muñoz whom the state named governor.

Traditional politicians and business owners in Morelos planned ways to stem the popularity of the PAOM as a political alternative. These men also kept a close watch over Jaramillo as he traveled from town to town, setting up party satellites and encourage the growing popularity of the PAOM. At its height, the PAOM had over fifteen thousand members and established branches in Puebla, Guerrero, and Oaxaca. Before Jaramillo's death in 1962, the

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[105] Though sharing the same name, this Juan Rojas is not the same as the Juan Rojas, transit chief of Morelos, mentioned earlier.
[106] Jaramillo, 107.

various branches in the four states consolidated and formed the Partido Agrario-Obrero de México.[107] In August 1946, Jaramillo arrived in Panchimalco and convened a meeting in the town square to speak on behalf of the PAOM. In explaining the political underpinnings of the party, Jaramillo said:

> Es posible que muchos de nuestros compañeros vean mal esto de meternos en política, pero deben convencerse que es el camino que nos lleva a disputarles el poder público, o gobierno, a quienes lo han venido ocupando, los cuales no son campesinos ni obreros, sino elementos aprovechados que no tienen vida propia, que hoy están con el pueblo de Morelos y mañana no sabemos dónde están, porque como elementos transitorios hacen cuanto quieren en mal del pueblo y nunca sufren castigo. Por esta razón, creo que los campesinos y los obreros debemos enseñarnos para qué es la política y nuestra intervención en ella. Quiero que piensen que la política que practican los políticos del gobierno consiste en pago de dinero, bebidas embriagantes, tacos de barbacoa, viajes en camiones y cigarros, para que griten en favor del candidato que proporicona esas dádivas, las cuales al llegar ese candidato al poder cobra caro todo lo que dio y el pueblo no tiene más que soportar esa pesadilla.[108]

Jaramillo proceeded to outline the PAOM's new perspective of a more just forum of politics, rejecting the old corrupt politics that brought the subjugation of the pueblo. This new forum of politics would bring about social change and true democratic progress.

As the townspeople were yelling their support for Jaramillo at the end of his speech, officers from the federal rural defense guard stormed the plaza with the intent of killing Jaramillo. As the shootout ensued in the crowded plaza, two of the officers were killed by jaramillistas, including Epifania García Zuñiga. None of those attending were injured and the assassination attempt failed. Nonetheless, those who orchestrated the attempt – Morelos's business and political elite – sent word to the national newspapers in Mexico City falsely accusing the jaramillistas of leading an attack on a school assembly and claiming that the officers were killed while trying to defend the townspeople. The newspaper *La Prensa* picked up the story and further reported that a military general in Morelos ordered federal troops to capture and kill Jaramillo. Upon reading the story, Jaramillo drove to the offices of *La Prensa* in Mexico City

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[107] This information was provided as a footnote by the editors of Jaramillo's autobiography, Jaramillo, 107.
[108] Jaramillo, 109.

and told them the truth of what had taken place in Panchimalco. The paper published Jaramillo's picture along with a clarification belying the account of events by Morelos's elite. Though they continued political activities following this event, Jaramillo and his supporters closed down the PAOM's public offices in Morelos, and took to carrying arms in preparation of future assassination attempts.

Though he feared for his life, Jaramillo became actively involved in the debate over the hoof and mouth epidemic that broke out in Morelos in 1947. The state government led a campaign to kill all cattle in the state as a precautionary strategy to counteract the epidemic. Many peasants asked Jaramillo for help in defeating the campaign, for the killing of their cattle imposed a heavy economic burden that the state did nothing to relieve. As Jaramillo traveled through the state, he urged cattle owners to disregard the state's directive to kill their animals. He also sent a letter to the governor demanding a scientific cure for the epidemic and threatening an armed revolt if any cattle were killed. His visit to the nearby state of Michoacán strengthened his commitment against the cattle-killing campaign in Morelos, for he saw the abject conditions Michoacán's peasants endured after the state killed their cattle. Jaramillo's activism was so effective that a group of cattle ranchers, the state's governor, and a presidential representative met to discuss a solution to the epidemic. While this meeting was taking place, Jaramillo and sixty armed men awaited its outcome in the outskirts of Tlaquiltenango, prepared to stop any killing of cattle. The Jaramillistas did not have to take action because the ranchers and politicians agreed to inject the cattle rather than kill them. As this new policy was being implemented, peasants suffered widespread theft of their cattle. Jaramillo set out to investigate the matter and established groups to guard against theft. He discovered that the governor, other state authorities, and even veterinarians participated in the theft in retaliation for the cattle owners' opposition to animal killing.

La Semilla del Dolor

This is the last part of Jaramillo's autobiography. In it, we hear his reasons for fighting for peasants as well as his relationship with Epifania and the role of jaramillista women.

During this time, Jaramillo managed to evade other assassination attempts, including one by a close friend of Jaramillo bribed by the authorities. None of these attempts were successful and Jaramillo continued to travel and speak against the injustices perpetuated on peasants and workers by the more powerful elite. Epifania, who was working at a ranch in Los Hornos, managed to narrowly escape federal soldiers who came looking for her. Upon hearing the news of Epifania's plight, Jaramillo went to Los Hornos in search of her. After he found her hiding, they traveled to Mitepec, Puebla where they stayed for a few months before returning to Morelos. Now, as in years previous, Jaramillistas denounced Epifania to Jaramillo, saying that she was going to betray him and turn him into the authorities. But Jaramillo was not persuaded by their argument. To him, Epifania treated Jaramillo's supporters with sincerity and kindness and her spirits never flagged in the face of such lies. Jaramillo admired Epifania because of her admirable endurance in the face of adversity – where men would drop to the ground exhausted, she would not stop to rest and would proceed to prepare meals for Jaramillo and even for those who spoke ill of her. He vehemently defended her to her accusers "que como hombres no sabían estimar el valor de las mujeres que piensan revolucionariamente y que consagran sus vidas a estos principios, que son las base de la liberación de los pueblos oprimidos, esclavos y explotados."[109] So important was Epifania to Jaramillo that he considered dedicated revolutionary women like her, to be the very essence of the pueblo's freedom from oppression.

As he defined Epifania's role in the struggle for justice, Jaramillo delved into his own role as the movement's leader. According to him, he had "seguido firme, leal, sincero y decidido

[109] Jaramillo, 118.

amigo del pueblo trabajador, y en su largo camino de lucha tiene una magnífica escuela sobre la vida práctica; ha recogido la semilla del dolor continuada desesperación que ese sufrimiento, causado por la miseria, le provoca."[110] For Jaramillo, the pueblo let him understand the *semilla del dolor* – the injustices and exploitations it was forced to endure by elites. Jaramillo felt compelled to fight for its liberation from those who betrayed or sought wealth at the expense of the pueblo because it had honored him with this painful knowledge. Moreover, he had the moral qualities – loyalty, sincerity and firm convictions – to be the pueblo's dedicated and selfless leader. Given his moral mettle, Jaramillo recognized that not all his followers were capable of standing fast by their principles. He saw those who betrayed him by allying with his political enemies or spreading malicious rumors as weak, ignorant and selfish. Rather than punishing these traitors, Jaramillo separated them from the movement or they left without notice. He contrasted these individuals with followers who remained loyal to Jaramillo and the pueblo, even after being captured by government forces and subjected to abhorrent torture.

Reaching the start of the 1950s, the last passage of Jaramillo's autobiography finishes in mid sentence. He did not complete his analysis of his capabilities as a leader and his relationship with his followers because he was assassinated.

Jaramillo's Activism in the 1950s

During the 1950s, Jaramillo was as politically active as he had been in the previous decade. He led a second armed uprising against the state in 1953 and took part in organizing efforts to acquire land for peasants. At the time of his assassination in 1962, Jaramillo was still in the process of writing his autobiography and did not include these events. Nonetheless, using other primary and secondary documents, we can get a glimpse into his activism in this decade and complete the narrative Jaramillo left unfinished.

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[110] Jaramillo, 118.

Outraged once again by official corruption and feeling that he had exhausted peaceful options, Jaramillo decided to lead a second uprising in October 1953. As early as 1951, Jaramillo voiced vehement opposition to regional politicians in an interview for the newspaper *Atisbos*. According to Jaramillo, "En las ricas regiones en que Emiliano Zapata levantó en alto la bandera de *Tierra y Libertad*, hoy impera la escasez del maíz, la corrupción desenfrenada y la arbitrariedad policíaca."[111] To give credence to his accusations he cited two specific events. First, Morelos governor López de Nava imposed an unpopular road-paving tax on the state's population, financing a transportation network that primarily benefited large landowners. Second, business owners bribed the corrupt manager of the Zacatepec sugar mill to buy useless machinery for the mill, passing the costs of the loss to the peasants. As Jaramillo saw it: "Los obreros y campesinos de Zacatepec y todo el pueblo de Morelos, demandan constantemente del gobierno federal que los libre de esta doble calamidad que padecen, y para salvaguardar su propia vida han tenido que empuñar las armas muchos de ellos."[112] For Jaramillo, the corruption of these two events explained why people took up arms against an illegitimate state that did not represent its citizens's interests. Jaramillo was disillusioned with the electoral road's viability in bringing about social reforms.

Before entirely losing faith in the political system, as he did in 1953, Jaramillo and the PAOM joined with the Federación Nacional de Partidos del Pueblo (FNPP) in 1952– a coalition of popular opposition groups organized by General Miguel Henríquez Guzmán who ran unsuccessfully for president. Jaramillo campaigned again for governor of Morelos on this new ticket. Like the previous time, the official party's rampant fraud prevented the possible outcome placing Jaramillo as governor. As Hodges describes, "[p]oll watchers reported that soldiers

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[111] This excerpt from *Atisbos's* interview with Jaramillo is mentioned by Manjárrez in Jaramillo, 138. Manjarrez provides no formal citation for the news article other than the year of publication. I propose to research this periodical during extensive field research.

[112] *Atisbos* interview of Jaramillo, Manjárrez, 139.

carried off the ballot boxes at polling centers where Jaramillo was leading."[113] Following the election, the authorities openly persecuted FNPP supporters at national and regional levels. Political assassinations in Morelos, especially against PAOM members, increased significantly. An anonymous jaramillista described to Renato Ravelo the ensuing brutality, "[e]n Atlihuayan asesinaron al compañero Ortiz, lo secuestraron y desaparecieron. En México secuestraron a tres compañeros, a uno lo mataron y dos quedaron vivos. Mataron también al compañero Eleuterio Sánchez de una manera cruel. Un viejo coronel zapatista, Luis Olmedo fue asesinado también, lo dejaron tirado a un lado de Ozumba después que lo encerraron dos días en las mazamorras."[114] Jaramillo sought to stop the violence against his supporters but the authorities rejected his pleas. He and his supporters filed multiple petitions with the governor asking that the violence stop, but to no avail. The persistent corruption by officials, their indiscriminate use of violence in repressing any form of opposition, and the disappointment with legal and electoral channels fueled Jaramillo's resolve that an armed uprising was necessary to bring about social reforms.

Little information exists on Jaramillo's second uprising; however, Donald Hodges interviewed a number of individuals who either fought alongside Jaramillo or who witnessed the events, including Porfirio Jaramillo's widow Aurora Herrera. According to these oral testimonies, Jaramillo and his followers designated October 4, 1953 to start the uprising. They planned to take over different locations throughout Morelos, including Cuernavaca, with the help of FNPP members. The uprising did not go as planned, however, due to mishaps in communication and detection by authorities. Consequently, the jaramillistas went into hiding to evade capture. On March 7, 1954, Jaramillo and thirty of his supporters attacked the village of Ticumán. "After a quick trial in the central plaza they executed the town's mayor, the chief of

[113] Hodges, 59.
[114] Renato Ravelo, 188.

police, and two merchants accused of slicing off the soles of a peasant's feet and railroading him out of town."[115]

Jaramillo's ordering the execution of the four individuals is unlike the mercy and compassion he showed for his enemies during the first uprising. During this first revolt, Jaramillo only killed in open battles and not as an execution because he did not want to use the corrupt state's tactics. The fact that Jaramillo resorted to public executions in 1954 reveals a change of strategy and belief about how to bring about a new revolution. Jaramillo's growing frustration with the political system made him more inclined to turn again to the armed road. According to Hodges's informants, Jaramillo and his supporters left Ticumán and took to the hills near Tlaltizapán, Zapata's former headquarters. Soldiers sent by Morelos's governor ambushed the Jaramillistas near El Higuerón. In the ensuing battle, the Jaramillistas killed all the soldiers but one, their leader José Martínez. Jaramillo opted to spare his life, a decision he would regret in 1962 when Martínez led another group of soldiers in assassinating him and members of his family. Carlos Fuentes and Froylán Manjárrez projected into national consciousness the irony of Jaramillo's act of mercy – an act embodied the legacy of betrayal so central in the regional mythology.

Throughout the second uprising, approximately 15,000 PAOM supporters looked out for the jaramillistas as they traveled throughout Morelos.[116] They provided supplies and shelter where Jaramillo strategized his resistance against the government. Authorities at the federal and state level responded in force to the Jaramillista revolt by sending heavily armed military units. Nonetheless, Jaramillo evaded capture because his supporters gave him advanced warning of the troop movements. President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines (1952-1958) persisted; he sent even more heavily armed troops to the region, rather than negotiating an amnesty with the jaramillista rebel forces. Only when Adolfo Lopéz Mateos (1958-1964) intervened on their behalf near the end of

[115] Hodges, 61.
[116] Hodges, 61.

the Ruiz Cortines administration did the government extend an amnesty to the jaramillistas and address their demands to improve the situation for Morelos's cane growers. The government also tacitly agreed to an additional demand by Jaramillo: to approve the distribution of land in the plains of Michapa and El Guarín to impoverished peasants who had legal claim to the land but had been prevented by local cattle ranchers from taking possession of it.

In exchange for López Mateos's advocacy on behalf of his movement, Jaramillo agreed to support his candidacy for president in 1958. However, his support for the president-elect vanished within a matter of months. Before relations between the two soured, López Mateos appointed Jaramillo as a special delegate to the League of Agrarian Communities. In this capacity and as supervisor of elections for delegates of Morelos's ejidos, Jaramillo began to threaten the interests of regional elites, including the management of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill. He actively organized for an increase in the price of sugar cane and helped elect his supporters to the mill's administrative council. López Mateos asked Jaramillo to desist from his organizing activities and Morelos's governor offered him a large bribe if he agreed to do so. As he had done in the past, Jaramillo rejected both offers. The president responded by withdrawing his support of the peasant leader. Nonetheless, Jaramillo's organizing efforts succeeded in removing the mill's corrupt manager and replacing him with a manager more sympathetic to peasant cane growers.

As noted above, Jaramillo organized a settlement project for landless peasants in the plains of El Guarín and Michapa. Powerful elites, including former president Miguel Alemán, had long coveted this fertile land to develop it into private housing units at a significant profit. Cattle ranchers held title to some of the land under the agrarian reform law with the false claim that they constituted ejidos, while the rest of the land belonged to already established ejidos. These ranchers wanted to profit by giving the interested elites unfettered access to the land at the expense of the landless peasants who had legal claim to it. In 1959, as this battle over land grew, the ejido members requested Jaramillo's help to gain control over the land that rightfully

belonged to them. He agreed to support their project under the condition that, if successful, other landless peasants would receive access to the land as well. To move the project forward through the bureaucratic channels, Jaramillo established the Unified Peasants of Morelos (UPM) to organize a settlement of about six thousand peasant families in the plains.[117] In addition to outlining plans for parceling out the land, the UPM raised money to have the land surveyed and to pay off the bureaucrats' demand for a bribe at the Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization. By the end of 1959, the state legally confirmed the peasants right to occupy the land.

In February 1960, one thousand peasants led the first occupation of land but faced strong opposition from the resident ranchers. The authorities quickly intervened and asked Jaramillo for the withdrawal of the peasants until the completion of the settlement's legalization. At his request, the majority of the peasants complied and left the land. However, the Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization overturned its false promise of legalization and withdrew its support of the peasant settlement. They chose instead to side with the ranchers, granting them legal access to the land. After appealing unsuccessfully to Lopéz Mateos, Jaramillo and about 600 of the original three thousand peasants affiliated with the project led a second land invasion of El Guarín and Michapa.[118] Federal military forces turned them back. Rather than setting the project aside, Jaramillo continued to fight for the peasants' right to the land through official and un-official channels. His persistence at denouncing the hypocrisy of the government by denying the peasants their Constitutional rights in an open and legally sanctioned forum proved threatening to the powerful elite interests and the state.

By the first two years of the 1960s, his association with Cuba and Fidel Castro compounded the threat Jaramillo posed to the postrevolutionary state. According to Hodges, Jaramillo increasingly and openly expressed his support for the Cuban Revolution in public

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[117] Hodges, 62.
[118] Hodges, 64.

forums. He and fellow Jaramillista, Mónico Rodríguez, set up meetings to show solidarity for Cuba during the Bay of Pigs incident. There were rumors that Jaramillo planned a trip to Cuba at the invitation of Fidel Castro and, in April 1962, just a month before his assassination, Jaramillo gave a speech supporting Castro in the *zócalo* of Cuernavaca. Considering Jaramillo's charismatic leadership, knowledge of guerrilla style-warfare and support by peasants, he potentially posed a real threat to the state if he received resources from Cuba. As Hodges correctly concludes, "the official party considered Jaramillo to be a far more dangerous man in 1962 than it had in 1943 and again in 1953, when he actually led movements of armed resistance."[119] Interestingly, Jaramillo was asked in the 1961 *La Política* interview about attempts on his life. He responded by stating that he had heard that the recently promoted Captain José Martínez was looking for another promotion. Jaramillo in effect prophesized the future. Martínez helped orchestrate Jaramillo's death the following year.

[119] Hodges, 66.

PART III.B

An Interpretation of Rubén Jaramillo

A number of Latin American historians have analyzed the processes by which social actors at local and regional levels produce and interpret citizenship in distinct ways from national elites. Among these scholars, Greg Grandin researched K'iche nationalism in the highlands of Guatemala, Jeffrey Gould studied peasants' creative interpretations of nationalism in Nicaragua, Mark Thurner explored republicanism among peasants in Huaylas-Ancash in Peru, Peter Guardino traced the evolving notions of peasant nationalism in Mexico, and Florencia Mallon uncovered alternative national projects in Mexico and Peru.[120] Overall, this recent approach actively incorporates the voices and experiences of popular actors often neglected in historiography. As Grandin states in his introduction, "[t]he importance of this approach is that it not only makes room for the histories of popular actors, but it also depends on them for an integral analysis of how power functions and change occurs."[121] As an example of one of these popular actors, Rubén Jaramillo led a political movement that revealed how the postrevolutionary Mexican state functioned.

This section seeks to uncover Jaramillo's alternative vision of citizenship and his use of a powerful regional mythology in a prolonged counter-hegemonic struggle against the postrevolutionary state. Jaramillo's political identity is shown through a nuanced analysis of his

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[120] Jeffrey L. Gould, *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protests and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912-1979* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1990); Greg Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation in Guatemala* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Peter Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*; and, Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997). As an especially strong source of inspiration for my own development of Jaramillo's vision of alternative citizenship, I must credit Florencia Mallon's article titled "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies, and the Mexican State, 1850-1994: The Many Faces of Zapatismo" where she applies this concept to Emiliano Zapata and Rubén Jaramillo.

[121] Grandin, 14.

thoughts and actions in his testimony and his political manifesto, *Plan de Cerro Prieto.* Jaramillo's vision of alternative citizenship is further uncovered through a comparison with Emiliano Zapata as well as through a consideration of the contradictions and ambiguities in his political identity. While displaying the human qualities and imperfections of a peasant leader, such an analysis strives for a vision of Jaramillo as a subaltern popular hero founded on more than myths. This section aims to reinforce an analytical approach that includes subaltern perspectives on Mexico's state formation, complicating earlier understandings of the 1940s and 1950s post-revolutionary nation-state as an authoritarian political system where hegemony went uncontested.

Jaramillo's Vision of an Alternative Citizenship

Throughout Mexican history, dynamic leaders like Emiliano Zapata and Rubén Jaramillo have helped Morelos's peasantry express its interests in counter-hegemonic struggles. These political actors articulated their visions and experiences not just through their leadership, but also through regional mythologies that continued after their deaths. Each political leader left his imprint on the shape of the regional mythology, thus changing it according to his own interpretation and application. Their experiences helped tie peasants "to a cause, to articulate them to a future goal that, while not erasing the death, dislocation, pain and fear, at least connected the suffering to a productive purpose."[122] Consequently, direct contact with and stories about these leaders connected peasants to projects seeking social change, such as pressuring for recognition of the principle of rights for all.

Like the heroic *mestizo* in official historical narratives, central characters in regional mythologies reflected truth and reason. As Florencia Mallon has shown, the regional mythology of Zapata gave meaning to peasants' suffering and visions for a more just society that respected

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[122] Mallon, "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies," 46.

their values and rights.[123] Zapata's Plan de Ayala – which called for, among other things, agrarian reform – was tangible proof that such a society could exist. Central to this vision of a Zapatista regional mythology were the three discursive strands of Zapatismo's regional mythology: the naturalization of Zapatismo as undeniably speaking for all; the higher moral character of Zapata and his troops; and, Zapata's development of an alternative vision of citizenship and society.[124] The postrevolutionary state easily adapted the first two strands of zapatismo's regional mythology into its own version of historical memory. Zapata's subaltern masculinity underpinned the third strand: a strong, virile and incorruptible patriarch whom men should emulate and whom women should respect. This regional mythology enabled peasants in Morelos, Puebla, and surrounding states to reflect on their own subjectivities. The state was not able to easily fold the third strand into national consciousness because of its tenets of political engagement and accountability in the interests of the pueblo. The state also had greater difficulty co-opting this strand because of its regional character and its connection to the community members' own memories of Zapata himself, without the mediation of the state.

As a local intellectual generating knowledge for the region's communities, Jaramillo adapted the regional mythology used by Zapata in his campaign for a new revolution. The mythology provided a common language that Jaramillo used to communicate with the peasants. Specifically, he tapped into the last strand of Zapatismo, which called for an alternative vision of citizenship. Jaramillo tailored this vision of citizenship to account for the postrevolutionary state's capitalist and conservative orientation that resisted labor rights and agrarian land reform. He inserted into this vision his own socialist and anarchist political agenda that, unlike Zapata, joined peasants and workers together in their struggle against domination. Consequently, Jaramillo's regional mythology was very much his own and a product of his time, even though it had its roots in Zapatismo. Jaramillo himself reinforced his simultaneous connection to and

[123] Mallon "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies," 48.
[124] Florencia Mallon's provides an in-depth discussion of these three strands in "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies,"50-54.

separation from Zapata at various moments in his testimony. Though he admired Zapata, Jaramillo acknowledged faults in Zapata's leadership decisions during the Revolution. He disagreed with Zapata's willingness to accept everyone into his forces, regardless of ability or level of commitment. He was also dismayed at the corruption of some Zapatista leaders who openly colluded with Carranza supporters. Jaramillo tells of revolutionaries who had fought with him under Zapata and who joined the Jaramillista forces in their struggle against oppression during his first armed uprising in 1943. This transformation of Zapatistas into Jaramillistas positions Jaramillo as a revolutionary leader on a par with Zapata.

Beyond being protagonists in social movements, Rubén Jaramillo and Emiliano Zapata were also creators of regional mythologies. While living, these men spearheaded movements that articulated a desire for a more inclusive society. In constructing and spreading their message, and in gaining followers, these men took on the role of local intellectuals. As scholars have argued, local intellectuals are mediators and brokers of information between the community that they represent and regional and national forces.[125] These local intellectuals use knowledge in their search to maintain, reproduce, or contest a given social order.[126] Besides leaders like Zapata and Jaramillo, local intellectuals also include *caciques*, religious leaders, schoolteachers, and community elders. More often than not, they interpret and articulate information to and from the community, and oversee how the community understands itself and its role in historical processes. They not only keep a community's historical memory alive, they also generate new memories by forwarding their own interpretations of historical memory.

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[125] I am referring to the interpretation of local intellectuals elaborated by Florencia E. Mallon in her various works, such as "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies, and the Mexican State, 1850-1994: The Many Faces of Zapatismo," and in *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Post-Colonial Mexico and Peru*. Other scholars also use the concept in their works, such as Steven Feierman's use of "peasant intellectuals" in *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990) and Marisol de la Cadena's use of "grassroots intellectuals" in *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

[126] For more on the political practices of local intellectuals, see Mallon, de la Cadena, Grandin, Feierman, Lancaster, and Gramsci.

To better understand, it is necessary to further clarify the definition of local intellectuals and their role in hegemonic processes. Though Marisol de la Cadena calls them grassroots intellectuals and Antonio Gramsci refers to them as organic intellectuals, I will follow Florencia Mallon and call these individuals local intellectuals.[127] My reason for doing so is because they are confined to the local sphere both in geographical and socio-cultural terms. In other words, their power generally does not extend beyond the borders of their community. Like most scholars employing hegemony as a conceptual tool, de la Cadena refers to Gramsci when conceiving grassroots intellectuals. She defines them as "those intellectuals who function directly or indirectly on behalf of a dominant social group to organize coercion and consent."[128] Gramsci envisions organic intellectuals as either workers or peasants, but his analysis privileges workers, for Gramsci saw them as having the greatest potential to challenge the social order. De la Cadena responds to Gramsci by adding greater importance to the role of the non-worker local intellectual in a hegemonic process. As she states, local intellectuals are "nonacademic thinkers who, by organizing and engaging in persuasive activities, contribute to bringing into being new modes of thought shaped after their own line of moral conduct."[129] These intellectuals seek to define their community's identity in relation to national perceptions of race, class and culture.

Though they obviously wield considerable power at the local level, local intellectuals' influence on changing the actual social order is rather limited. They often help to propagate their own domination by subscribing to and reinforcing hegemonic beliefs. Zapata and Jaramillo did

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[127] She referred to them as such in *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Post-Colonial Mexico and Peru*, especially in Chapter 9 "Whose Bones are they Anyway and Who Gets to Decide? Local Intellectuals, Hegemony, and Counter-hegemony in National Politics."

[128] David Forgacs introduction to Gramsci's chapter on intellectuals in Antonio Gramsci, *Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*. Edited by David Forgacs (New York, 1988).

[129] De la Cadena, 7. I do want to point out that local intellectuals in Cuzco are an example of a group that serve, in part, to reinforce their domination. As de la Cadena shows, local intellectuals do not overtly contest dominant views of race and culture in Cuzco. In other words, they subscribe to the general consensus enabling hegemony via the significance attributed to education and of "Indians" being inferior. Consequently, these intellectuals redefine "education" and "Indian" to see their peers as indigenous *mestizos*, contradicting the established norm, which sees them as un-educated Indians. The "Indians," according to them, are the newcomers to Cuzco and those who do yet have the needed social capital to fit into the community. Thus, the self-named indigenous *mestizos* create their own social hierarchy that fits within the broader national social hierarchy.

not follow this path; they took their struggle beyond their community's borders, contesting domination in regional and national arenas. They used the power of the regional mythology to form coalitions and enter into debates with national and local figures. Zapata allied with Pancho Villa's northern forces during the Revolution, while Jaramillo established alliances between sugar cane farmers and mill workers in the 1940s. Jaramillo and Zapata were so successful in their role as local intellectuals that, after their deaths, others continued to keep their mythologies alive. These were not only local intellectuals, but also national and international intellectuals like renowned writers and cultural critics Carlos Fuentes and Elena Poniatowska, and even the EZLN's *Subcomandante* Marcos. While Part IV focuses on the translation of these mythologies onto the national stage, this section concentrates on Jaramillo's generation of knowledge and his interpretation of his notion for an alternative citizenship.

To make his vision of an alternative citizenship a reality, Jaramillo called for a new revolution to spread throughout Mexico. This new revolution would eliminate the corruption perpetuated by the "bad" revolutionaries and lay the foundations for a new citizenship as well as a true democracy that respected the rights of all. Jaramillo sought to realize this new revolution through a variety of methods, such as direct negotiation with presidents, armed uprisings, joining the Masons, and establishing a political party. His notion of what the new democracy of Mexico would look like is evident in a speech he presented on the establishment of the Partido Agrario-Obrero Morelesense (PAOM) in Morelos in 1945.

> Nuestra política es diferente. En ella es el pueblo el que debe determinar quién es el ciudadano que debe regir sus destinos y administrar sus intereses...La política del gobierno y de su partido comienza de arriba hacia abajo y es un solo hombre el que nombra a los gobernantes desde la ciudad de México, y el pueblo nada más aprueba y sostiene. A estos procedimientos se les llama democracia dirigida y, según el decir de los políticos vividores del gobierno, lo hacen así porque el pueblo está incapacitado para elegir y se puede equivocar eligiendo a sus propios enemigos...Esta vieja política la tenemos que liquidar a base de nuestra organización y orientación que venimos dando al pueblo y especialmente a los campesinos y obreros de nuestro Estado. Como es natural, esto no le tiene que gustar a los políticos que engañan al pueblo y tendrán que echársenos

> encima, pero sabremos resistirlos, pensando que los beneficios que el pueblo ha venido recibiendo no se los han regalado, han costado sangre y vidas.[130]

Jaramillo spoke against a top-down hierarchy of politics and directed democracy of the postrevolutionary state. He called for the removal of this old style of politics and its replacement with a new political system embodied in his vision of an alternative citizenship.

The Plan de Cerro Prieto and the Plan de Ayala

Jaramillo's vision of alternative citizenship had at its core the welfare of the pueblo, although questions of how to achieve this welfare and precisely what it entailed were ambiguous and, at times, contradictory. To get at the deep meanings of Jaramillo's alternative citizenship, it is necessary to consider these ambiguities and contradictions as they played out in his words and actions. Drawing on the region's historical memory, Morelos's peasants recognized Jaramillo as the heir to Zapata because he applied similar strategies to communicate with them. Like Zapata, Jaramillo gave them a tangible document that explained his commitment to them. As a peasant stated when questioned by soldiers about the Plan de Cerro Prieto, "Jaramillo no engaña a nadie. El lo que dice por palabra y por escrito siempre es la verdad. Hace como 4 meses pasó por este pueblo seguido por 80 hombres, y dejó unos documentos que se dicen 'Plan de Cerro Prieto,' y la mera verdad es que hemos visto que tiene razón, y el pueblo va entendiendo y es posible que sus ideas se generalicen en todo el país."[131] Since Jaramillo builds on the same pre-existing regional mythology employed by Zapata, a useful starting point is a textual comparison of Jaramillo's Plan de Cerro Prieto with Zapata's Plan de Ayala. A comparison of the two shows that their political visions were actually very different, even though oppositional literature of the 1960s joins Zapata and Jaramillo in the popular regional mythology.[132] Jaramillo employs various strategies Zapata used in developing his Plan de Cerro Prieto, such as using nationalist language and dating the

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[130] Jaramillo, 110.
[131] Jaramillo, 77.
[132] Part IV provides traces the Jaramillo's place in the 1960s oppositional literature, such as works by Carlos Fuentes and Froylán Manjárrez.

Plan de Cerro Prieto the same as the Plan de Ayala, April 11. Nonetheless, the contents of Jaramillo's Plan is significantly different from Zapata's: the Plan de Cierro Prieto is much more radical and revolutionary in its political propositions than the Plan de Ayala. The differences between the plans again reflect Jaramillo's connection to and separation from Zapata. The interplay between the similarities and differences of their political ideologies reinforces the fact that Jaramillo developed and maintained his own political persona, distinct from Zapata and Zapatismo.

Like the PAOM's party platform, Jaramillo's Plan de Cerro Prieto presented his political agenda for change and an alternative citizenship.[133] They both spoke in a socialist and nationalist language calling for the institution of a transparent democracy and greater equality among social classes. Unlike the PAOM's party platform, however, the Plan de Cerro Prieto stressed as one of its major tenets the need for a radicalized agrarian reform program. In this sense, Jaramillo's own plan of action was similar to Zapata's Plan de Ayala because it called on the longstanding regional mythology of popular justice, popular morality, and social equality. Both Plans touched on the need for an agrarian struggle to recover land that was stolen from the region's peasantry, touching on all three principles of the regional mythology. In highlighting the need for agrarian reform, Jaramillo strategically used Zapata's regional mythology to give greater credence to his own political agenda. Jaramillo's Plan even went as far as to state as one of its tenets, "makes the Plan de Ayala its own plan with the additions mentioned."[134] These additions, which are teased out below, are precisely the key elements of the Plan de Cerro Prieto – not only do they highlight Jaramillo's political agenda but also his ideological underpinnings.

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[133] Donald Hodges give a useful political analysis of Jaramillo's *Plan de Cerro Prieto* in *Mexican Anarchism After the Revolution.* Specifically, Hodges shows the influence of Ricardo Flores Magón's version of anarchism on the plan. According to Hodges's evidence, Jaramillo drew up two versions of the Plan, one in 1943 and another in 1952. Hodges includes the 1952 version of the Plan de Cerro Prieto in his book on pages 68-72. He states that there is no known remaining copy of the 1943 Plan, though he states that research shows that it was not substantially different from the 1952 version.

[134] Plan de Cerro Prieto, in Hodges, 71.

A comparison of the two Plans shows substantial differences between Jaramillo and Zapata's visions of a new society and the paths to achieve them. While the Plan de Ayala stressed the role of peasants and agrarian issues, the Plan de Cerro Prieto placed peasants and workers, the agrarian and industrial sectors, on a par with each other. As Jaramillo's Plan stated, "the Mexican Revolution was exclusively an agrarian one...this new revolution should extend its scope of action so that, just as the landed estates were turned over to the peasants, the factories shall be turned over to the workers – no matter what."[135] While Plans called for the abolition of monopolies and the nationalization of industries, the Plan de Cerro Prieto placed more stress on an economic agenda and put a more radical stamp on it. It called for the collectivization of agriculture, the abolishment of monopolies, for nationalized and worker-controlled industries, and for the elimination of foreign investment. Though both Plans called for the distribution of land, the Plan de Cerro Prieto stipulated that land must be collectively owned while the Plan de Ayala made no provisions for how land would be distributed. In the Plan de Ayala, the expropriation of land would be limited only to those considered enemies of the revolutionary movement and former owners would receive indemnization from the state. The Plan de Cerro Prieto went further by calling for a wider expropriation of land and denying any form of indemnization, exception, or special treatment to the previous owners.

Other significant differences concern who would govern a new postrevolutionary society and what policies the new government would follow. According to the Plan de Cerro Prieto, a Revolutionary National Junta made up of committed individuals would act as the voice of the Revolution. While the Plan de Cerro Prieto made no direct mention of Jaramillo and purported to speak in a collective voice, the Plan de Ayala designated Zapata as the leader and spokesperson of the revolutionary movement.[136] In the Plan de Cerro Prieto, a "government of genuine workers on the land and in the factories" would replace the Revolutionary National Junta after a victorious

[135] Plan de Cerro Prieto, in Hodges, 71.
[136] Even though the Plan de Cerro Prieto makes no direct mention of Jaramillo, the document bears his signature at the end.

revolution.[137] This collective governing body made up of workers and peasants would oversee the creation of a new society, where it would administer public resources in the name of all Mexicans. Though the Plan stipulates that this governing body would "periodically renew itself," it provided no specific steps as to whether or not this renewal would be through electoral channels.[138] The Plan de Ayala had stipulated that a Revolutionary Junta would designate a president who would then call for elections. It had also decreed that other posts previously filled with political appointees should be put subject to voting to guarantee democratic freedoms.

The Plan de Cerro Prieto confirmed Jaramillo's vision of an alternative citizenship: it wholeheartedly disavowed the current political system as corrupt and immoral, and presented a series of radical steps for the implementation of his beliefs. Among these steps, the Plan included a call for a new revolution through the forcible seizure of power. Above all, the Plan de Cerro Prieto proclaimed the need for a new revolution since the previous one had fallen into the hands of corrupt leaders. It called for the pueblo to once again rise up against an illegitimate state to bring about effective social change. If implemented, the Plan would presumably create a benevolent society led by peasants and workers, in which all contributed collectively for the greater good. The vision of alternative citizenship embodied in the Plan de Cerro Prieto thus was far more radical than that of the Plan de Ayala. The revolutionary change envisioned in the Plan de Cerro Prieto was willing to overturn social structures in ways not contemplated in the Plan de Ayala.

Unlike Zapata's Plan de Ayala, Jaramillo's Plan was formulated after the large-scale leftist political paradigms for action and thought entered fully onto the world stage. Flores Magón's anarchist ideas, though vital in articulating the Zapatista agenda for change during the Mexican Revolution, became even more important with the organization of anarchist movements throughout Latin America in the first half of the twentieth century. Likewise, socialism and

[137] Plan de Cerro Prieto, in Hodges, 70.
[138] Plan de Cerro Prieto, in Hodges, 70.

communism became even more salient in Latin American political debates after the successful 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the Comintern's growing interest in the region.[139] These ideological transformations resonated in the Plan de Cerro Prieto – in its emphasis on collective action and ownership, economic policies, and the central role of workers and peasants in the new society. Jaramillo appeared to have articulated a vision founded on a Communist-like belief that a socialist state would eventually wither away when the society was stable. At its core, Jaramillo's Plan de Cerro Prieto was a powerful political tool that posed a serious threat to the institutionalized postrevolutionary state. Its radicalized agenda acted as a forum to coalesce opposition to the state's position of power. It provided an alternative that resonated among those people who bore the heaviest burden of modernization and for whom the promises of the Revolution had not come to pass.

The translation of Jaramillo's political ideology in the Plan de Cerro Prieto into actions, as outlined in his testimony and by others after his death, shows some of the ambiguities and contradictions that characterized his vision of alternative citizenship. In Jaramillo's autobiography, he silenced his socialism in his account of thoughts and actions. Jaramillo crafted a narrative that allied him to the regional mythology that gave meaning to an agrarian struggle, the same struggle that Zapata had fought. His vision moved away from the radical leftist inclinations of the Plan de Cerro Prieto. Instead, Jaramillo took on a more Mexican and nationalist tone inspired by the pueblo and the need to find a path to realize the unfulfilled dreams of Zapata's revolution. Jaramillo's belief in the need to forge an alliance between peasants and workers to create a new political party, the PAOM, is an example in his autobiography of an instance where he remained faithful to the Plan's principles. This united voice of the oppressed

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[139] For more on the rise of leftist politics in the first part of the twentieth century in Latin America, see Alan Angell, "The Left in Latin America Since 1920." In *Latin American Politics and Society Since 1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), edited by Leslie Bethell, 75-144; Barry Carr, *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth-Century Mexico*; Erik Ching, "In Search of the Party: The Community Party, the Comintern, and the Peasant Rebellion of 1932 in El Salvador," *The Americas* 55, no. 2 (October 1998), 204-239; Donald C. Hodges, *Mexican Anarchism After the Revolution*; and, Peter Winn, *Weavers of the Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

against those who controlled the means of production exemplifies socialist ideals following an effective path for change. As he argued for this alliance, Jaramillo also supervised the day-to-day workings of the mill on behalf of the cooperative. He stated that he fought for what he believed would best serve the peasants and workers, including economic independence, effective political voice, and control over the means of production. He went on at length about his activities on behalf of peasants and workers, such as his work with the CNC to drill irrigation wells, start a canning factory, propose a new hospital, and establish an equitable method for the sale of sugar. Where were the other activists helping him organize these changes? Was Jaramillo's political ideology democratic in practice? Instead of a collaborative effort with peasants and other activists, Jaramillo gave the impression that he was alone in determining what was best for peasants and workers at the sugar mill and in the surrounding communities.

Another source of ambiguity in Jaramillo's testimony is his relations with the anarcho-syndicalists who joined him in the first armed uprising in 1943. Though fighting together against the corrupt state forces, he placed distance between the anarcho-syndicalists and his movement. He positioned himself in a leadership role where this group came to ask for permission to join the Jaramillistas. He openly expressed contempt for these individuals, and even went as far as believing that their leader, Daniel Roldán, was jealous of his abilities to command such respect from his followers. Jaramillo criticized the anarcho-syndicalist strategies and listed off the casualties this group suffered as a result of fighting strategies that he opposed. His disdain for the anarcho-syndicalist is confusing because he provided no reasoning for his disapproval on ideological grounds, especially considering that Jaramillo mentioned Flores Magón, the father of Mexican anarchism, as a source of political inspiration and that the Plan de Cerro Prieto is rife with anarchist sentiments. Instead of disagreeing with the anarcho-syndicalists on ideological grounds, Jaramillo gave a passing reference on what he considered their immoral behavior: he ordered them to stop consuming alcoholic beverages because it was wrong. In his testimony, the anarcho-syndicalists were one of the only opposition groups that like the Jaramillistas also

struggle against the state. In terms of organizing a coordinated counter-hegemonic effort against the state, it would seem politically astute to foster a working alliance with other opposition groups. Jaramillo's treatment of this group is thus baffling and begs the question of why. Was it just personal dislike of Daniel Roldán or a desire to ideologically separate himself in his autobiography from a politically contentious movement?

The Role of Methodism in Jaramillo's Socialist Project

The connections between Jaramillo's socialism and his religious affinity provides yet another source of ambiguity; it is particularly visible in the translation into action of his ideological position in the Plan de Cerro Prieto. Jaramillo's affiliation with the Methodist church – he was a preacher and led a congregation in Tlaquiltenango – brings into stark relief another quality that differentiated him from Zapata: he connected socialism with Methodism. In Renato Ravelo's collection of short and anonymous interviews with jaramillistas, Jaramillo's supporters reinforced their leader's socialist inclinations. As one supporter stated, Jaramillo "traía bajo el sobaco los libros aquellos de Flores Magón, *Semilla Libertaria* y algunos de esos libritos incendiarios que él los estaba aprendiendo...El era religioso y todavía oficiaba, pero al mismo tiempo ejercía esa defensa como influencia de religión, pero leía a Flores Magón y nosotros ya le comenzamos a pasar libros marxistas."[140] The coexistence of a political agenda driven by socialist ideals along with a strong foundation in religious beliefs provides further insight into the meanings and contradictions inherent in Jaramillo's vision of an alternative citizenship. On the one hand, Jaramillo spoke of the need to forgive enemies who perpetuated abuse on innocent peasants because God will punish them. On the other hand, in the Plan de Cerro Prieto Jaramillo espoused a socialist rationale calling for a revolution of peasants and workers against dominant forces, followed by the establishment of a commune-like social order. What are the elements –

[140] Ravelo Lecuona, 39.

the political linkages – that united Jaramillo's socialism and Methodism? How does such a blatant contradiction exist in his vision of alternative citizenship?

Scholars operating from Marxist paradigms have tended to see religion as contradictory, irrational, and backward looking. They assume that religion and politics are mutually exclusive. This view continues to have such currency among scholars that it prevents them from seeing alternate meanings of religious practices. They do not see how social movements might express their political vision through religion or understand the forward-looking potential of religion. Most of the political studies that do integrate religious analysis do so from the perspective of Catholicism, specifically in the form of liberation theology.[141] The case of Rubén Jaramillo provides rich ground from which to view peasants as active political agents with strong religious beliefs that directly informed their progressive political struggles. As part of the first wave of Protestantism sweeping Latin America during the first half of the twentieth century, the Methodist Church provided a Christian ideology guided by the figure of Jesus Christ and the need to follow his example while he was on earth.[142] For Jaramillo, Christ had fought against a corrupt world ridden with sin and had even given up his life for the salvation of all humanity. Following Christ's example implied using Methodism as a revolutionary force against a society very much like the one Christ condemned. For Jaramillo, Christ's example thus entailed a strong

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[141] A good example of a scholar who does recognize the religious in peasants' political activity as forward-looking is Jenny Purnell in *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999). She traces the connection between religion, specifically Catholicism, and politics during the Cristero Rebellion of the 1920s. Penny Lernoux provides one of the seminal studies of liberation theology in *Cry of the People: The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America – The Catholic Church in Conflict with U.S. Policy* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980). Another example of a forward-looking vision of the role of religion in political action is the case of indigenous leader Quintín Lame in Colombia. See Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*, 2nd ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), especially Chapter 5 "From Sharecropper to *Caudillo*: Manuel Quintín Lame," 117-138; and, Gonzalo Castillo-Cárdenas, *Liberation Theology from Below: The Life and Thought of Manuel Quintín Lame* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1987). Manuel Quintín Lame's own writings are also useful in understanding his religious views: see *en defensa de mi raza* (Bogota: Editorial Editextos, 1971).

[142] For an overview of the origins of Protestantism, including Methodism, in Mexico in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Deborah J. Baldwin, *Protestants and the Mexican Revolution: Missionaries, Ministers, and Social Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

commitment to popular justice, popular morality, and social equality, which resonated with the regional mythology so important for Morelos's peasantry.

Jaramillo's vision of an alternative citizenship was made up of moral, legal and gendered issues, with the concept of the pueblo as its crux. Jaramillo defined his political identity as founded on his defense of the pueblo, which was made up of peasants, workers, and other marginalized peoples. He envisioned the people of the pueblo as belonging to a large family in which he was the patriarch who oversaw its well-being and acted as its voice. The pueblo had suffered for centuries at the hands of greedy and unscrupulous leaders who sought to benefit only themselves. As its leader, Jaramillo had "seguido firme, leal, sincero y decidido amigo del pueblo trabajador, y en su largo camino de lucha tiene una magnífica escuela sobre la vida práctica; ha recogido la semilla del dolor continuada desesperación que ese sufrimiento, causado por la miseria, le provoca."[143] In carrying the burden of the *semilla del dolor*, Jaramillo dramatized his affection for the pueblo and his desire to rescue it from exploitation. He bore the weight of this pain because he himself was a peasant who had proven his loyalty and dedication to the pueblo through his long struggle in its defense.

This image of Jaramillo carrying the weight of the semilla del dolor brings to mind the notion of a martyr and a Christ-like figure sacrificing himself to cleanse humanity of its sins. Following in the steps of Christ, Jaramillo saw himself as giving up his life for the sake of the pueblo –his sacrifice would liberate the pueblo from the shackles of oppression and the semilla del dolor will cease to exist. As he states, "Yo no estoy con los hombres. Yo estoy con las ideas justas y con el pueblo."[144] Corruption and injustices reigned in a world dominated by individuals: Jaramillo's martyrdom was necessary to create a world guided by the pueblo's just principles. He reinforced his identity as a type of martyr-savior by stating that God was witness that he is

[143] Jaramillo, 118.
[144] Jaramillo, 45.

innocent and his enemies cannot accuse him of any crime.[145] Even though Jaramillo foresaw a long and arduous struggle against the forces of evil, God would reward his dedication to the pueblo in Heaven. As he bade farewell to his wife before escaping to the hills to prepare for his first armed uprising in 1943, he stated "nos esperan días muy amargos, y esta poca felicidad que Dios nos ha dado se acabará, y pasaremos por las aguas de la amargura, por el fuego del dolor y por los campos de las inquietudes, pero al fin con el favor de Dios vendrá la calma."[146] Like the story of Job in the Old Testament, Jaramillo prepared himself and his family for the trials and tribulations in the years to come as he embarked on his mission to spearhead a new revolution.

Jaramillo employed the rhetoric of betrayal – the act of Judas denouncing the presence of Jesus to the Romans for thirty pieces of silver – throughout much of his autobiography to give meaning to his struggle. After all, the nation-state evolved out of a violent revolutionary upheaval and the Constitution mandated it to defend the rights and welfare of all Mexicans. The fact that the state allied itself with interests antagonistic to the pueblo, such as foreign investors and wealthy landowners, proved its duplicitous intentions. As he put it, "Estoy convencido de que ante este gobierno hablar en favor de los campesinos como es digno, es un crimen."[147] Jaramillo believed that the postrevolutionary nation-state did not represent the pueblo but rather resorted to treachery and lies to suppress any opposition.

Along with betrayal, Jaramillo also used the rhetoric of mercy and forgiveness, a quality very much associated with Christ. This notion of forgiveness comes to mind, for example, when Jesus Christ forgave the Apostle Peter after he denied knowing him three times on the evening before his crucifixion. The principle of forgiveness came up at several points in Jaramillo's testimony and spoke to his belief in the need to emulate the acts of Jesus Christ. After taking over Tlaquiltenango in the first armed uprising, supporters brought the corrupt transit chief of Morelos, Colonel Juan Rojas, before Jaramillo who, rather than punishing him, urged him to

[145] Jaramillo, 51.
[146] Jaramillo, 52.
[147] Jaramillo, 51.

repent and join the side of the pueblo. As Jaramillo stated, "te perdono tu vida a cambio de que me jures que te vas a desligar del gobierno y te vas a unir al sentir del pueblo."[148] Though Rojas tearfully repented, he ultimately betrayed Jaramillo by lying to the newspaper in Cuernavaca about the Jaramillistas. Rather than seeking revenge, Jaramillo sent Rojas a letter expressing disappointment in his betrayal.

This forgiveness came up again with the capture of an infiltrator who had been paid to assassinate him. Instead of following the wishes of the Jaramillista camp peasants to kill the traitor, Jaramillo spared the young man's life in an act of mercy and stated that killing the traitor would reduce him to the level of his enemies. According to Jaramillo, God would one day place the real enemies in the hands of the pueblo, where they would account for all their evil acts.[149] The fact that he forgave the infiltrator in the face of the peasants' calls for revenge speaks to Jaramillo's idea of educating peasants by setting an example, much like he himself sought to emulate Jesus Christ's example. Knowing when to forgive his enemies was tied strongly to Jaramillo's religious and political identity. This awareness, however, did not appear in the Plan de Cerro Prieto or his socialist political agenda. The Plan made no mention of forgiving the corrupt leaders and capitalist exploiters; rather it had a tone that these men should be punished for their unpatriotic and unconstitutional acts.

To understand Jaramillo's alternative vision of citizenship, it is necessary to reconcile the contradictions and ambiguities inherent in his words and actions. An understanding of the co-existence of these contradictions and ambiguities sheds light on a unique ideology that reflects the ideas and lived experiences of a peasant leader living in a region with a long historical memory of struggle. This ideology defies a simplistic labeling of anarchist, socialist, or Methodist and instead stimulates a discernment of Jaramillo as a complex and imperfect, yet heroic figure. To add yet another layer to the image of Jaramillo beyond that uncovered in his Plan de Cerro Prieto

[148] Jaramillo, 62.
[149] Jaramillo, 74.

and his testimony, the following sections explore his position in relation to the corporatist project so prevalent in postrevolutionary Mexico.

Rethinking Corporatism

In traditional interpretations of corporatism, power flows from the state, down a vertically structured social system.[150] These interpretations hold that the 1930s through the 1960s in Mexico was a period of relative stability and success for the institutionalized state. During these three decades of effective control, the postrevolutionary state centralized its constituencies via state-sponsored organizations that co-opted or repressed popular demands like the CTM and the CNC. Popular sectors became centralized constituencies with the collaboration of a network of powerholders such as state bureaucrats and caciques. *Caciquismo,* for instance, provided a personal style of local bosses engaging constituencies at the local level and connecting them directly to the state apparatus. These caciques in turn received privileged access to resources or the opportunity to advance within the network of powerholders. State-sponsored institutions and state collaborators thus mediated the dialogue between the state and society, which could be of a repressive or cooptive nature. Corporatist scholars refer to this dialogue as the "centrality of bargaining and exchange to the process of domination."[151] This dialogue implied, for example, peasant leaders like Jaramillo going through an application process for access to land or credit. Peasants physically entered these bureaucratic spaces and abided by the established rules and procedures to petition their needs. Such was the power wielded by state-sponsored institutions that Jaramillo joined the CNC and other organizations in an attempt to gain a better bargaining

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[150] My interpretation of corporatism draws from a variety of sources in both history and political science. In addition to extensive conversations with Prof. Florencia Mallon, I must credit Jeffrey W. Rubin's *Decentering the Regime* and Nora Hamilton's *The Limits of Autonomy* are sources of inspiration in re-thinking the usefulness of corporatism. Specifically, Hamilton provides her own theoretical interpretations of corporatism using a Marxist critique in the first chapter of her book, titled "State Autonomy and Peripheral Capitalism in Mexico," especially in her discussion of corporatism in her footnotes on pages 36-37. Rubin's Chapter One, titled "Theorizing Power and Regimes," was also key to my reinterpretation of corporatism.

[151] Rubin, *Decentering the Regime*, 16.

position. In other words, the dialogue between state and citizens takes place in institutions and involves tangible forms, such the distribution of goods and services.

But what about dialogue between the state and citizens that does not involve tangible goods or structural terms? What about dialogue that deals with learning what makes an individual a citizen or the state a legitimate entity whose laws are to be obeyed? A solely structural view of corporatism does not address such questions and, in fact, circumscribes the possibilities of analyzing the relationship between power and culture in politics. However, rather than dismiss corporatism as a useless conceptual approach to understanding postrevolutionary state formation, I argue for its reinterpretation. This reinterpretation allows for the study of structural and non-structural elements of political culture, opening up an arena for a more nuanced view of state formation that includes subaltern actors at regional and local levels. This reinterpretation also recognizes the existence of multiple and competing mythologies that seek to explain historical memory and define citizenship. Overall, a more inclusive notion of corporatism reveals both the tangible and intangible shapes of domination and resistance in Mexico.

A reinterpretation of corporatism demands recognition of the postrevolutionary state as the official interlocutor of the nation, overseeing an official mythology that explained the place of its citizens within the nation. The state did not act solely through official institutions or representatives; it also entered the lives of citizens in a multitude of other, less structural ways. It identified the attributes that overcame regional and local differences, making a person a national citizen – a Mexican. These attributes ranged from symbolic markers like the flag, the national anthem, and festive independence holidays, to trips to the voting booth or a government office, to democratically elected representatives. The simple act of entering official spaces, such as to apply for a parcel of ejido land, was not simply to file a petition in a state office but also to reify the state's role as speaker for the Revolution. National folklore served a similar purpose, whether passed down by family members or taught by schoolteachers faithful to official textbooks that

espoused the truth of the official historical record. The postrevolutionary Mexican state thus preached a nationalist mythology founded on the Revolution to bolster its legitimacy. This nationalist mythology adopted Revolutionary heroes like Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa to prove the state's ability to speak a popular language, common to all Mexicans.

A traditional analysis privileging the structural facets of Mexican corporatism leaves little room for a full understanding of the ramifications of resistance to state domination. A complete account via a reconceptualized corporatism of such opposition in its structural and non-structural forms belies the totalizing influence of the PRI. Instead, it shows the unevenness of the state-institutionalization project, especially at the local and regional levels. In other words, a reinterpretation of corporatism opens up the possibilities for a less vertical perspective of power relations and includes a more complex view of the dominator-dominated duality. For instance, when Morelos's governor ordered his soldiers to disobey federal orders guaranteeing Jaramillo's life, his outright insubordination stands as evidence of internal forms of opposition to the state. The state apparatus was clearly not as internally organized or monolithic as it appeared to be in executing its control. An example of an external form of non-structural opposition to the state is the success of Jaramillo's regional mythology in generating support for his cause during his two armed uprisings and in the electoral arena throughout the PAOM. Both of these examples demonstrate the unevenness of the state's control and, to an extent, illustrate the flexibility of the political system at the regional and local levels.

Expanding the analytical horizon of corporatism to encompass non-structural forms helps us think about its effectiveness as a political project. As a starting point, it is necessary to shift the analytical gaze away from the national to local and regional arenas. Rather than understanding corporatism's effectiveness as founded on a system where control emanates from the center to the periphery, a local and regional view reveals significant details of the project's actual implementation. Corporatism did not only function because of the indomitable presence of state agencies like the CNC, which moderated and controlled access to resources. Corporatism

worked because local leaders and intellectuals cooperated with it. In a practical sense, local leaders saw that, by cooperating with corporatism, they could garner goods and services for themselves or the communities they represented. They saw where the power lay and strategized how to take advantage of it. Jaramillo, for example, was a CNC community representative and met with a series of presidents seeking to move forward his fight for social justice. Thus, the willingness of local leaders to take part in the corporatist project and attempt to make it work for their own ends muddies a view that control emanates from the center.

In an idealistic sense, local leaders and intellectuals also bought into corporatism because they wanted to believe in the potential of the state to generate social welfare – after all, the Constitution mandated the postrevolutionary state to look out for the interests of all Mexicans. Before the widespread political disillusionment of the 1960s, there was still opportunity for citizens to believe that the state was their custodian. Jaramillo's high esteem for Manuel Avila Camacho evinces his faith in the presidency. Even after his first armed uprising and after eluding various assassination attempts, Jaramillo still expressed a great deal of respect for President Avila Camacho when he met with him in June 1944. According to Jaramillo, Avila Camacho was a man of his word who upheld the principles of law and justice. He saw other politicians, such as those in Morelos, as corrupt and wished that Avila Camacho would bring them to justice. He did not question Avila Camacho's role in fostering corruption or perpetuating the domination of peasants. He did not express any skepticism for why Avila Camacho asked him to a meeting and willingly accepted his offer of employment as manager of a market in Mexico City. Rather, Jaramillo considered his own importance as a political figure that powerful national leaders respected, so much so that the president greeted him with a warm embrace. Even the fact that Jaramillo established his own political party speaks to his desire to work with the system that purported to be democratic. Though highly critical of the corruption endemic in the electoral arena, the PAOM reflects a belief that there was an avenue within it – perhaps unpaved – to give voice to disenfranchised peasants.

Another element to consider when expanding the view of corporatism is its heterogeneous nature with each new presidential administration. A president's leadership style was as much a factor in corporatism's effectiveness at the local and regional levels as the presence of state-affiliated institutions and local leaders' abilities to negotiate access to state controlled resources. Each new presidential administration thus brought its own vision of how corporatism should work. What was it about the corporatism used by Cárdenas, Avila Camacho, and Lopéz Mateos that allowed Jaramillo to believe in its "goodness"? Cárdenas, for example, relied on his political magnetism and his willingness to meet with community leaders to bolster the legitimacy of the state-led project. Jaramillo's faith in Cárdenas was such that he even went so far as to campaign for Cárdenas's presidential bid; he became a mason thinking that it would improve his negotiation status with the new president. At Cárdenas's urging, Jaramillo agreed to disband his forces in 1943, bringing an end to the Jaramillistas' first armed uprising. Jaramillo's attitude toward the presidency of Miguel Alemán Valdés provides a very different example. Unlike his predecessors, Cárdenas and Avila Camacho, Alemán did not underscore populist politics. Rather, he stressed export-oriented economic development and claimed that the Revolution had been institutionalized, downplaying the state's role in ensuring social welfare. Corporatism under Alemán became a project openly geared at fostering social control and an environment propitious to capitalist economic growth. Realizing Alemán's disregard of social welfare, Jaramillo criticized Alemán and the presidency in ways he had not done with the previous two administrations. During Alemán's presidential campaign in October 1945, Jaramillo lambasted him as a thief and denounced the presidential selection process as unpatriotic, undemocratic, and ridden with corruption. Jaramillo's disgust with the political practices he considered as undermining the pueblo's voice provided further incentive at the time to fight for more a democratic system through the PAOM. Jaramillo was not alone in his revulsion – opposition to the PRI-controlled nation-state increased as peasants and workers rallied

behind the PAOM. Alemán's political agenda thus reflected a moment when the corporatist project was less effective in local and regional arenas.

The fact that Jaramillo bought into corporatism at several points in his activism proves the project's effectiveness. Jaramillo never questioned the contradictions inherent in partaking of corporatism while at the same time fighting against it. Meeting with the various presidents also speaks to Jaramillo's unquestioning belief that if he sidestepped the intermittent layers of bureaucrats and went directly to the main figurehead, his demands would be answered. After all, this strategy of speaking directly to presidents had produced successful results with Cárdenas's approving construction of the sugar mill in 1938 and subsequent curbing of the abuses of corrupt sugar mill managers. Jaramillo's ability to command meetings with presidential leaders legitimated him as spokesperson for peasant interests. In other words, the fact that he gained access to these leaders gave him political currency in his eyes and in those of peasants in Morelos and Puebla. Beside the condemnation of Miguel Alemán, Jaramillo rarely levied criticism against the office of the presidency. Jaramillo's trust in the power and authority of the presidency continued to the day of his death in May 1962 – Jaramillo believed in the promise of safe passage extended to him by president Ruíz Cortines, even when the soldiers came to take him and his family away.

Another contradiction that stands out in Jaramillo's relation with the corporatist project is his acceptance of Avila Camacho's offer to be manager of a market in Mexico City. It is puzzling that he chose to live in Mexico City, away from the peasants and the region he so strongly affiliated. Becoming market manager implied he became part of the system he fought against – that the state successfully coopted him into the corporatist project. In his autobiography, he gave no reasoning and showed no apprehension at becoming a market manager and leaving the counterhegemonic political movement he spearheaded in Morelos and Puebla. To think of corporatism in structural and non-structural terms thus opens up the field of inquiry.

Here, we see how subaltern leaders oppose corporatism as a hegemonic project but also buy into it at times when they see it benefiting them.

The Hegemonic and Counter-Hegemonic Pathways of Jaramillo's Alternative Citizenship

Up to this point, Jaramillo's vision of alternative citizenship has included elements that at times seem contradictory and ambiguous. After all, he managed to reconcile a socialist-driven political agenda with his religious beliefs, and without apparent questions entered and exited the corporatist project that he struggled against. Nonetheless, his vision was a coherent proposition if viewed as a moral and political framework guided by the principle of the pueblo. Though very much a reflection of Jaramillo, his vision had even greater currency because it followed a long-standing regional mythology employed by other revolutionary heroes. Inevitably, however, Jaramillo's vision of alternative citizenship had to resolve some of these contradictions. To do so, Jaramillo developed a counter-hegemonic political project grounded on religious and cultural practices that legitimated his vision in the eyes of the pueblo. Like Zapata, he organized his alternative citizenship by gender. Jaramillo determined the qualities that made up good and bad revolutionary men, while he relegated women to the position of supporters with no independent voice or action. He believed in the need to educate the peasants because they were oftentimes too ignorant to understand what was best for them. He firmly recognized that a few select men, instead of a mass movement, would most effectively lead a movement for social change. Ultimately, Jaramillo exhibited hegemonic tendencies of his own as he formulated a coherent vision of an alternative citizenship.

Extending the analysis of Jaramillo's vision presented thus far, this section delves further into questions of Jaramillo's own hegemonic tendencies even as he led a counter-hegemonic movement against the postrevolutionary state. What does this tell us about the nature of alternative citizenship in bringing about a truly democratic project? Was Jaramillo's vision really a more representative alternative citizenship? Drawing out these contradictions and ambiguities

offers further insight into not only Jaramillo's complex political persona, but also the counter-hegemonic and hegemonic characteristics of popular leaders struggling for alternative citizenship.

To enter into a discussion of hegemony and counter-hegemony, it is useful to retrace some of the principles behind the concepts outlined in Part II. Hegemony is a common framework for understanding an individual's place in an economic, political, and social order characterized by a project of elite rule. This common framework establishes an official vision of citizenship that gives meaning to a nation-building project and defines the traits of a proper citizen. In the case of Mexico, elites allied with the postrevolutionary state gained access to political and economic resources, while the state excluded or coopted other groups. Such a position of power for certain elites made a vision of citizenship favorable to the dominant social order. Working with this official vision of citizenship, hegemony created a "common social and moral project that includes popular as well as elite notions of political culture," so that those in control of the social order were "able to rule through a combination of coercion and consent."[152]

It is important to highlight that groups resistant to or excluded from the dominant social order also accessed the language and principles legitimating that same social order. They used these principles and language to increase their own limited power and make demands of the hegemonic state. Counter-hegemony occurs when the resistant group is able to articulate an alternative common framework that could potentially replace the existing hegemonic one. Beyond simply resisting, these groups project their vision into local, regional, and national spaces and, thus, threaten the existence of the dominant vision.

Without a doubt, the Jaramillista movement presented a viable and powerful alternative common framework to that of the postrevolutionary state. Jaramillo himself came from the region from which the postrevolutionary state said it evolved: the countryside. Jaramillo used the longstanding regional mythology employed by Emiliano Zapata, a revolutionary hero appropriated into official narratives, to give meaning to his vision for change. He claimed to

[152] Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, 6.

defend the rights and welfare of the pueblo, an entity that the state had purportedly guaranteed to protect, but which he believed had been betrayed by the state in its corruption and avarice. In addition to armed uprisings, Jaramillo used legal channels to contest the hegemonic project and propel his vision onto the national stage; he met with presidents, established a political party, and ran for governor. His use of legal channels also showed the extent of official corruption. For example, even though Jaramillo had more votes, the state rigged the gubernatorial elections in favor of the PRI candidate. He filed petitions in state institutions on behalf of peasants' rights to access land that belonged to them, only to have the petitions rejected in favor of wealthy landowners. Ultimately, Jaramillo called for a new revolution to bring about social justice that the original revolution had not been able to achieve – a claim that flew in the face of the state's own claim that it had institutionalized the revolution. Jaramillo's counter-hegemonic project was so viable and powerful that the state chose to silence his opposition by assassinating him.

Jaramillo asserted his position as leader and spokesman of his counter-hegemonic movement because, as he understood it, the pueblo could not articulate its own demands. The pueblo's exploiters were responsible for its inability to resist them since they had inculcated in it a mentality of docility and subservience. As a local intellectual, Jaramillo believed that his mission was to educate the pueblo to defend itself from the abuses of corrupt leaders – that enlightened members of the pueblo, such as himself, would see through the façade of sincerity that corrupt leaders used to entice it into submission. As a patriarch, Jaramillo referred to the pueblo's members as his children who needed guidance to mature into independent political beings. As Jaramillo said in his narrative, "yo soy defensor y padre de los pobres, por los que tiene un acendrado cariño y profundo respeto, dándoles el sitio que merecen, aunque muchos de esos pobres no lo entiendan."[153] Even if the pueblo's members did not understand that it was for their own good, Jaramillo would continue his mission because he was its defender and father. As he states, "a los campesinos y obreros se les puede perdonar sus desvíos y desatinos porque viven

[153] Jaramillo, 30.

en las tinieblas."[154] Thus, Jaramillo saw himself as a teacher, spokesman, protector, and patriarch of the pueblo. By reinforcing a male-dominated social order, this perspective carried with it an undemocratic and elitist message. Jaramillo assumed his superiority over those he defended, both on intellectual and moral grounds. His belief implied that he would carry out his mission as he saw fit, even if peasants opposed him, because he was more capable of determining what was right and wrong.

In addition to his sentiment of moral and intellectual superiority over the pueblo, Jaramillo also notes his superiority over his enemies in selecting strategies that he believed would bring his vision to fruition. He advocated what can only be called an early form of *foquismo* – a guerrilla warfare technique elaborated by Ernesto Ché Guevara and Regis Debray in 1965 to spread Marxism-Leninism across Latin America. According to *foco* theory, a small group of individuals versed in political and military tactics can foment revolutionary change even if the whole society is not ready for revolution. There was no need "for extensive political preparation of the populace in the area in which the revolutionary war was to be launched."[155] According to his testimony, Jaramillo advocated a similar tactic as he left Zapata's forces in 1919 because he believed that the Zapatista army's inclusiveness made it ineffectual and subject to corruption by its leaders. Instead of a large army led by a few men, Jaramillo believed in a decentralized form of organization and that a select group of committed individuals could reach decisions through consensus. Such an exclusive but decentralized form of political organization brings into question the democratic potential of Jaramillo's vision: if Jaramillo had succeeded in gaining control of, for example, the state of Morelos in either of his two armed uprisings, how long and through what paths would he have instituted a more democratic form of government?

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[154] Jaramillo, 49.

[155] Robert J. Alexander, *Trotskyism in Latin America* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973), 21. For additional information into the role of *foco* theory in guerrilla movements, see Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

A potential answer to this question can be culled from two moments of Jaramillo's life: his role as manager of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill and the organization of the PAOM as an alternative political party. As manager of the sugar mill, Jaramillo rarely relinquished control over important management decisions, and instead emphasized all that he was able to accomplish for the mill's workers and peasants. He expressed surprise when the mill's cooperative asked him to leave his post as manager in 1940, believing that they were not aware of the difficulty of managing the mill. The PAOM's existence provides a different example of Jaramillo's leadership. After he helped found it in 1945, the party gained ground not only in Morelos and Puebla but also in nearby states, giving it a definite regional character. As a political party founded in the name of the pueblo, the PAOM countered "una política dirigida de arriba hacia abajo."[156] Though the party was originally in the control of a few of Jaramillo's supporters who believed in the need to educate "el pueblo en el sentido de que ya no siga creyéndose de esos señores," it grew to include supporters who had had little contact with Jaramillo.[157] As manager of the sugar mill, Jaramillo allowed little space for democratic initiatives and instead believed that he alone was capable of deciding what were the pueblo's interests. The PAOM went beyond Jaramillo's control to include a multitude of other voices, making it an example of a more democratic forum. Placing these two examples together reveals that Jaramillo's political agenda had undemocratic elements but could potentially be more inclusive and democratic when his agenda went beyond his reach.

In defining himself as the patriarch of the new revolutionary family, Jaramillo brought to his vision of an alternative citizenship a highly gendered language that strictly defined the proper roles of men and women. He constructed the good revolutionary in his image: a man with a strong sense of morality and justice, with firm convictions, who did not succumb to earthly temptations; a man who was also kind, humble, charismatic, who connected with the pueblo and,

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[156] Jaramillo, 102.
[157] Jaramillo, 101.

thus deserved its loyalty. A good revolutionary also knew his history, his sense of place, and from where he came. Above all, a good revolutionary possessed a strong moral character. Jaramillo identified his own morality as coming from his faith in God and his dedication to fight against the pueblo's enemies. Thus, the good revolutionary was a heroic male characterized by honor, integrity, respect for his origins and history, and who fought for what he knew was right. In the case of Jaramillo, his Methodist religious convictions influenced his notion of a good revolutionary. He believed that good revolutionaries should emulate Jesus Christ and practice forgiveness, among other qualities.

In contrast to the "good" revolutionary, the "bad" revolutionaries affiliated with the corrupt networks of power and sought to exploit the pueblo. These men had vowed to protect and represent the pueblo in the aftermath of the Revolution; however, because they sought money and power, they ultimately established a corrupt political system, a sham democracy. Bad revolutionaries resorted to a variety of coercive and cooptive strategies to suppress the pueblo's voice, such as through the manipulation of trade unions and elections. According to Jaramillo, these strategies were "maniobras de tan grande bajeza política, con la cual corrompen al pueblo y lo desvían de sus derechos, tornándolo en pueblo servil y domesticado, e inconsciente en lo que hace a la legítima defensa de sus libertades, lo cual no es de ninguna manera razonable ni justo para los que pensamos con verdadero sentido de responsabilidad patriótica."[158] Bad revolutionaries were national figures like presidents Miguel Alemán, as well as local and regional politicians like the governor of Morelos and the Soriano men from Mitepec who claimed to be the town's fathers. They were also business owners or union organizers affiliated with the state, such as the administrators of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill. These men from the local, regional, and national arenas betrayed the values of the Revolution and, for Jaramillo, epitomized the loss of the revolutionary dream. According to Jaramillo, "Nunca he sido amigo de quienes abusan de nuestra debilidad y se ensañan contra nosotros, haciéndonos víctimas de su perversa manera de

[158] Jaramillo, 105-106.

pensar, creyéndose ser los únicos con derecho a vivir con dignidad, a base de explotar a quienes no tenemos manera de poder defendernos...Yo sirvo al pueblo."[159] Though these bad revolutionaries purported to speak of an official and universal citizenship, they failed to represent the citizens, justifying a call for an alternative citizenship.

To understand the role of women in Jaramillo's vision of an alternative citizenship, it is necessary to uncover his deliberate silences. Besides a brief mention of his mother and a female Jaramillista called Candelaria, his two wives are the only females mentioned in his narrative. Jaramillo's relationship with his two wives thus gives the greatest insight into his view of women. Jaramillo was married simultaneously to two women who, coincidentally, shared the same first name, Epifania. The first of the two wives was a committed member of the Methodist church and taught Jaramillo how to read and write. The second wife took up arms with him and fought valiantly by his side in battles against his enemies. Rather than distinguishing between his two wives, he saw them as one; he openly referred to them as the same person in his everyday life because they complemented the two parts of his identity so well. Jaramillo's view thus silenced their individuality and stymied their agency. His contention that his two wives were one was so strong that even writers like Raúl Macín, Carlos Fuentes, and Froylán Manjárrez abided by it. For example, Macín warns the reader that in his biography of Jaramillo he does not differentiate one wife from the other "porque para él se trataba de una sola, y creo que tenía razón."[160]

There are no representations of bad female revolutionaries in Jaramillo's narrative. He depicted the only women in his testimony – his mother, his two wives, and Candelaria – as good revolutionaries. Because Jaramillo spent considerable time in his narrative detailing his revolutionary feats, he dedicated more time to the armed Epifania than to the other two women. Though Jaramillo admired this Epifania's fighting prowess, he did not allow her to join the ranks of male revolutionary leaders like him. Rather he preferred that she continue her traditional

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[159] Jaramillo, 84.
[160] Macín, 7.

female role, cooking and taking care of him while they traveled in the countryside; indeed, this behavior was part of what made her a good revolutionary woman. Her qualities were such that Jaramillo saw the armed Epifania as a mother to the pueblo and to the Jaramillistas; he went so far as to project himself onto her – to posses her completely – as evidenced in the last pages of his autobiography. Even though she embodies the good revolutionary woman, Jaramillo's representation of her remained neutral. Despite the fact that she was one of the few women in the Jaramillista camp as they traveled the countryside, his testimony expressed no jealousy that other men competed for her attention. Nor did he feel the need to defend her honor when fellow Jaramillistas spoke ill of her; rather, he ignored their words. He gives us no direct idea what Epifania thought or felt in this situation.

When Jaramillo wrote in his autobiography of the pueblo's wishes and outlined his principles, he did not delineate an active role for women in his vision of a new postrevolutionary society. His testimony leaves the impression that women were outside his vision of an alternative citizenship since they essentially had no voice. The fact that Jaramillo excluded the issue of women's suffrage altogether from his political platform and his testimony reinforces the notion that women were not be active political beings in his vision of a true democratic society. Mexican women received the right to vote in 1952, with no help from the Jaramillistas.

The Stresses and Silences of Jaramillo's Voice

To shed further light on the contradictions and ambiguities in Jaramillo's alternative vision of citizenship, this section thus revisits some of the stresses and silences in his testimony. At the time he wrote his autobiography, Jaramillo knew he was a target for assassination. After all, immediately before his death in 1962, he was still active in peasant struggles, he communicated with Cuba at a moment of great intensity in the Cold War, and resistance movements grew in momentum throughout Mexico. If indeed he was aware of an assassination

plot against him, Jaramillo most likely felt even more pressed to leave a testimony that would allow him to live beyond his death and to continue inspiring other activists who chose to fight for the rights of the pueblo. Given such intentions, Jaramillo deliberately chose to include and exclude, accentuate and play down different aspects of his life in his narrative. Reading his narrative in this light reveals how he wanted future generations to remember his vision of alternative citizenship and the role he himself played in crafting his own Jaramillista mythology.

Such a reading also finds that Jaramillo wanted to be remembered as a hero of the pueblo and testified to his legitimate place in the pantheon of revolutionary heroes. He provided ample evidence attesting to his deserving of this hero status on his own merit – not simply as heir to Zapata but as a peasant leader fully committed to a struggle on behalf of the pueblo. He stressed his connection to peasants and spoke of himself as a man of the pueblo, willing to defend it against those corrupt, insidious individuals who abused it. He presented his activism and sacrifices for the pueblo in a wide variety of forms and arenas – everything from negotiating directly with presidents to leading armed struggles and establishing a political party. He hoped that his long record would present him as a man who led a new revolution in the name of the pueblo against the corrupt state and, as such was a man worthy of hero status on par with Zapata and Villa.

A striking silence in Jaramillo's narrative is the scant mention of his brother, Porfirio, and the role he played in spreading the alternative vision of citizenship through his own activism. Like Rubén, Porfirio Jaramillo was an important peasant leader in Morelos and Puebla. In addition to his leadership in agrarian struggles, he helped Rubén organize his two armed uprisings and was a key leader in the Atencingo Sugar Mill complex in Puebla.[161] Porfirio's activism was so effective that military forces assassinated him in 1955. Rubén briefly mentioned Porfirio at three points in his autobiography: when he and his brothers organized a *sociedad de crédito*

[161] For more on Porfirio Jaramillo's role in the Atencingo sugar mill, see David Ronfeldt, *Atencingo: The Politics of Agrarian Struggle in a Mexican Ejido* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973).

agrarista in 1927 to cultivate rice, as Rubén's representative in meetings with General García Rubio during the first armed uprising in 1943, and as part of Rubén's entourage when he went to meet with President Avila Camacho in 1944. In this image, Porfirio took a secondary role to his brother, especially during the years of most political activity. Instead of an activist himself, Porfirio was Rubén's companion and messenger. Why did Jaramillo feel the need to silence Porfirio's active role? Is his grief over his brother's murder so painful that he chose to silence him as a way to protect himself? Did he deliberately silence Porfirio's activism to not detract from his own activism? Did he want to be the only popular hero conjured up by the name Jaramillo?

In addition to Porfirio, another dramatic silence in Jaramillo's testimony is his dismissal of his first wife. As mentioned earlier, he pays considerably more attention to his second wife, as she is active in his struggle during the years he emphasizes the most. Despite the fact that Jaramillo was a Methodist preacher, he showed no compunction about committing polygamy by having two wives. He also exhibited no concern about his apparent abandonment of his first wife. He does not mention in his testimony that his first wife taught him how to read – she gave him the gift of education.[162] Considering the high value that he places on his educated status, why does Jaramillo not acknowledge the importance of this first Epifania to his political identity in his autobiography?

As mentioned earlier, Jaramillo provides a very simplistic view of his political roots and primarily traces his political evolution through his experiences as a man of the pueblo. Aside from a brief mention of Flores Magón and Zapata, he does not admit to an affiliation with any political ideology or movement. This is far from the truth: Donald Hodges has shown that Jaramillo was a card-carrying member of Mexico's Communist Party at two points in his life and that Flores Magón's anarchist tendencies heavily influenced his writing of the Plan de Cerro

[162] Jaramillo's biographer, Raúl Macín states that Jaramillo's wife, Epifania, taught him how to read and write. However, Macín does not specify if it was the first or second Epifania. *Rubén Jaramillo: Un profeta olvidado*, (México, D.F.: Editorial Diogenes, S.A., 1984), 10-11.

Prieto. Nonetheless, Jaramillo does not mention these influences or attribute his political identity to any leftist inclination other than a firm defense of the pueblo's social welfare. In his testimony, Jaramillo mentioned in passing the Plan de Cerro Prieto and its effective persuasiveness. He does not explain the Plan's specific agenda or how peasants debated its content. Another example in his testimony is the separation and disdain Jaramillo shows towards the anarcho-syndicalists during his first uprising in 1943. This separation from outright leftist groups, especially an extreme leftist organization, seems deliberate, considering the volatile political environment of the early years of the Cold War in which he wrote his autobiography. Jaramillo's decision to silence his political affiliations leaves the impression that he tried to associate his legacy more with the pueblo and less so with the ideologically contentious political debates of the time. Doing so would allow his legacy greater currency with individuals who might not side with the politics of the extreme left and who would dismiss his beliefs as un-Mexican if activists associated with foreign-based ideas like socialism and anarchism. It would also ensure that his message would speak to mainstream resistance movements not affiliated with leftist politics. Reinforcing Jaramillo's distancing was the fact that other revolutionary heroes, such as Emiliano Zapata, did not affiliate with a political ideology of foreign origin, rather they spoke a very indigenous language: the discourse of the pueblo.

The fact that Jaramillo chose to stress certain moments of his life over others begs another question: Why does he spend so much of his testimony accounting for events that transpired between 1938 and 1947? Why does he pay so little attention to other times, especially late 1920s and most of the 1930s? Here again Jaramillo seems to want to draw the historical gaze to the events he personally considered the most emblematic of his political identity and the reason why he should be considered a revolutionary hero. These nine years stress major events in Jaramillo's life that helped project his activism onto the regional and national stages. He met with two presidents, he led his most successful armed uprising, he formed a political party, and he ran for governor. Stressing these years of regional and national activism makes a powerful case

for why Jaramillo should enter the pantheon of revolutionary heroes. Jaramillo leaves silent the years before because they would imply stressing aspects of his life that he would prefer to silence. Including an in-depth account of his relationship with his first wife would take away from the predominance of the second Epifania as well as raise questions about polygamy and the role of women who were not active revolutionaries. Mentioning his Methodist congregation in Tlaquiltenango would entail paying too much to an overtly religious identity that could detract from his political identity, especially by individuals adherent to secularism or opposed to Protestant churches. Leaving the pre-1938 time of his life ambiguous, he prevented too many questions about his origins and thereby facilitated their mythological construction.

Jaramillo as a Regional Subaltern Popular Hero

Understanding the contradictions and ambiguities of Jaramillo's political identity does not detract from his status as a legitimate popular hero. Instead, it reveals a hero with human qualities - one who has imperfections, who is tempted by worldly desires, and buys into the hegemonic project that he fights against. Ultimately, this more real and deep understanding of subaltern popular heroes reflects the need to broaden the analytical and emotional arena to see them as leaders with real life qualities. Otherwise, they remain merely myths in historical memory, subject to manipulation and fiction. As the next chapter shows, Jaramillo's status as a popular hero calling for a new revolution took on mythical proportions in the 1960s. Through his testimony and other documents like the Plan de Cerro Prieto, Jaramillo project a desired image of his struggle and his vision of alternative citizenship. Carlos Fuentes and Froylán Manjárrez, among others, worked to project Jaramillo into national consciousness. The conflation of these two projections produced a myth of Jaramillo that promoted him as the heir to Zapata, a man of the pueblo, a revolutionary hero that had not been coopted by the nation-state into its official historical record.

"Nuestro México ya no debe ser un país de esclavos con antifaz de independencia y libertad, y engañado por gentes como ustedes. Puede tener la seguridad plena de que hoy ha entrada la Revolución a este pueblo de Mitepec, el cual buscará formas, planes e ideas para romper el yugo y las cadenas con que ustedes, los principales, lo han atado."[163]

[163] Jaramillo, 85.

PART IV:

LA MANCHA SANGRIENTA: RUBÉN JARAMILLO AND THE MAKING OF A NATIONAL MYTHOLOGY

A la memoria de Emiliano Zapata y de Rubén Jaramillo; al ejemplo de sus vidas y el recuerdo de sus muertes.

Froylán Manjárrez's book dedication in Matanza en Xochicalco, 1967.[164]

In one of the last pages of his seminal book on Emiliano Zapata, historian John Womack provides a valuable insight into the translation of Jaramillo's death onto the national stage. As he sees it, "the ensuing scandal seemed more significant than the murder [of Jaramillo and his family], as evidence that even those urbanites who had frowned on Jaramillo believed that such brutality belonged to the past and now expected more subtlety from their rulers. At his inauguration in 1964 Morelos's new governor sharply condemned his predecessor's ways and promised 'a new stage in the institutional life of the state'."[165] To understand the governor's comment, one must consider the historical context of the previous two decades and posit it in relation to the politically tumultuous decade of the 1960s.

This section traces the translation of the *jaramillista* mythology from the local and regional levels to the national arena. Doing this shows the power subaltern mythologies wielded in questioning domination. These mythologies provide a vehicle through which citizens expressed disappointment with the state and joined together to denounce its illegitimacy. Hence, the Jaramillista myth gained currency on the national stage with the passing of years and the growing discontent with the postrevolutionary state. As a result, Jaramillo came to embody a *mancha sangrienta* – a bloody stain, a larger than life and incorruptible popular hero for national consciousness that served as a vehicle to understand and give voice to popular disillusionment

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[164] Froylán C. Manjárrez, *La matanza en Xochicalco* (Mexico, D.F.: Nuestro Tiempo, 1967; in the same book with Jaramillo's autobiography), 125.
[165] John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1967), 385.

with the state. To achieve this analysis of the translation, the following questions are asked: Why and how are some individuals turned into mancha sangrienta type of popular heroes? Who constructs them and to what use are they put? Why did Carlos Fuentes and others at the national level harness the myth of Rubén Jaramillo to give voice to a counter-hegemonic project? Lastly, what are the stresses and silences – what is said and what is left out – of the jaramillista myth at the national level?

In the 1940s and 1950s, the Mexican state turned to industry and capitalism to modernize the country while simultaneously preserving the myth that it sprung forth from the Revolution to guard the welfare of all its citizens. According to this image of a modern Mexico, an enlightened state guided the country as it evolved into a civilized nation. Violence, let alone violence perpetuated by the state, sullied this myth of modernity. Jaramillo's death in 1962 exposed the brutality of a state practicing carnage instead of representing modernity. Jaramillo's myth gained currency at the national level not because of what it revealed about him as a peasant leader, but because of what it revealed about the state. To those urbanites of Mexico City who subscribed to the belief that they had shed their barbaric past and now lived in an age of modernity, the gruesome murder revealed truths about their state that contradicted such beliefs. This questioning of state-truths gained momentum in the coming years, culminating in outright opposition such as the 1968 student movement. More succinctly, the expression of Jaramillo as a mancha sangrienta spoke to the frustration of many with the Mexican state's ability to reach into its historical grab bag to make a Mexican hero – such as Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa – justify its perverted existence. In addition to providing some comfort from disillusion to intellectuals like Carlos Fuentes, Jaramillo as a mancha sangrienta on the state helped mobilize opposition against the state.

To follow the translation of the jaramillista myth onto the national stage, this section looks at the work of a number of journalists and scholars.[166] Carlos Fuentes and Froylán Manjárrez wrote about Jaramillo in the 1960s, at a moment when revolutionary aspirations swept the world stage. They both connected Jaramillo to Zapata and revindicated the struggle for popular justice, popular morality, and social equality that had underpinned the Revolution. Elena Poniatowska and Paco Ignacio Taibo place Jaramillo as a popular hero in the context of the 1968 student movement and articulate the mancha sangrienta's power at mobilizing opposition. Poniatowska furthermore shows how this myth carried over into the popular struggles of the 1970s. Raúl Macín tied the Jaramillista myth to religion in 1984 as citizens once again questioned the postrevolutionary state. This questioning culminated with the inadequate response of the state to the 1985 earthquake: an episode which some scholars have termed the ultimate death of the Revolution. [167]

To understand the translation of Jaramillo onto the national stage, it is useful to revisit how the postrevolutionary state created the pantheon of revolutionary heroes. This process of creation highlights the methods by which Jaramillo came to represent a counter-hegemonic revolutionary hero. Part II provided a discussion on the creation of the revolutionary family and the heroic mestizo, as embodiments of a Mexican national identity guided by the nation-state.

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[166] In addition to the scholars mentioned in this section, Armando Bartra and Arturo Warman have written about postrevolutionary peasant movements and their living conditions in Mexico. For example, Warman wrote ...*Y venimos a contradecir: Los campesinos de Morelos y el estado nacional* (México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones Superiores del INAH, Ediciones de la Casa Chata, 1976) and *Los campesinos: Hijos predilictos del régimen* (México, D.F.: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1972). In both works, Warman deals extensively with the case of Morelos but makes no more than a passing mention of Jaramillo in the 1972 book (pg. 115). Instead of referring to individual peasant leaders by name, he primarily addresses them as a group. In *Herederos de Zapata: Movimientos campesinos posrevolucionarios en México* (México, D.F.: Ediciones Era, 1985), Armando Bartra deals more extensively with Jaramillo and contextualizes his uprisings in light of other peasant movements in the region throughout the twentieth-century. A partial explanation for the differences in Warman and Bartra's works lays in the dates of publication: Bartra could more easily integrate a counter-hegemonic figure like Jaramillo into his analysis in 1985 than Warman could writing in the first half of the 1970s because of the state's censorship policies. Another explanation may also lay in the nation-state's ability to coopt national intellectuals into abiding with a vision of the dominant social order.

[167] Carlos Monsiváis mentions the 1985 earthquake as the Revolution's death in *Entrada libre: Crónicas de la sociedad que se organiza* (México, D.F.: Biblioteca Era, 1987) in Chapter Two: "Los días del terremonto," 17-122.

The work of Ilene O'Malley on hero cults in the role of the "institutionalization" of the Mexican state is helpful in further analyzing the role of revolutionary heroes in the context of an official national identity. The nation-state used the revolution and its accompanying heroes to foster a sense of unity and national identity in a country with vast regional, class, ethnic, and historical differences. According to O'Malley, the characteristics of the revolutionary heroes the state used to reinforce its domination informed the official myth of the Mexican Revolution. These heroes shared traits that shifted back and forth to compensate for their inherent contradictions apparent upon closer inspection. Among the traits are those that speak of the government as revolutionary, suppress political discussion, promote Catholic values and imagery, and stress the importance of patriarchy to preserve social order.[168] In this context, the postrevolutionary state adopted a revolutionary and socialist rhetoric, such as the use of "proletariat" and "imperialist exploitation," into its official language to defuse critiques of its conservatism and authoritarianism.[169] It hailed the revolution as breaking free from the shackles of colonialism, glorifying *lo mexicano* in art, education, and other cultural forms. Among these forms, the figure of Emiliano Zapata epitomized the pride of a mestizo nation and its idealized citizen.

These traits homogenized revolutionary leaders and depoliticized the driving forces of the revolution, such as class conflict and political representation. The nation-state placed Carranza and Zapata, for instance, side by side in the official pantheon, silencing the fact that they were enemies during the revolution and that Carranza orchestrated Zapata's assassination in 1919. Instead, Carranza, Zapata and other revolutionary leaders were depicted with the heroic qualities of "courage, strength, integrity, perseverance, manliness," and a "dedication to the Mexican people."[170] The nation-state created "the impression that the revolution had been a unified rising-up of a people whose common Mexicanness was their most salient and determinant

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[168] Ilene V. O'Malley, *The Myth of the Revolution: Hero Cults and the Institutionalization of the Mexican State, 1920-1940* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 113-114.
[169] O'Malley, 117.
[170] O'Malley, 127.

characteristic."[171] The nation-state founded this Mexicanness on the image of the strong male figure that further instilled patriarchal forms of social organization. In this image, the masculine revolutionary leaders fought and protected their dependents, who reciprocated with their respect and subordination. This hyper-male heroic figure became the idealized father looking out for the interests of the weak. As O'Malley argues, "this masculinization of heroes of the regime encouraged a transference of the feelings inspired to the government itself, which thereby symbolically claimed the role of the supreme patriarch."[172]

Though O'Malley traces the evolution of four revolutionary heroes, including Francisco Madero, Venustiano Carranza, Francisco Villa, and Emiliano Zapata, her analysis of Zapata most closely parallels the case of Rubén Jaramillo. Specifically, O'Malley explores how the public image of Zapata changed in the aftermath of the revolution. With the consolidation of the postrevolutionary state in the 1930s, Zapata's image went from threatening the state to being harmonious with it. Individuals entrenched in cultural production and the monitoring of social dialogue, whom O'Malley calls propagandists, were central in the transformation of Zapata's public persona after his death. Journalists, filmmakers, writers, and others helped craft a more "likable" image of the revolutionary leader. During the 1920s, this image celebrated "his supposedly enigmatic personality, his humble ways, his Catholic and patriotic virtues."[173] The nation-state thus used Zapata to further a nationalist vision founded on Christian values and patriarchy. In 1923, a speech commemorating the anniversary of Zapata's death proclaimed him as "simple and coarse, like a campesino; penetrating and divining, as a wise man; he has the indomitable fury of a warrior and the loving...holy flame of the worldly saint, with appetites and yet nobly disinterested."[174] In 1924, presidential candidate Plutarco Elías Calles went so far as to proclaim in a campaign speech that "the revolutionary program of Zapata, that agrarian program

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[171] O'Malley, 127-128.
[172] O'Malley, 139-140.
[173] O'Malley, 50.
[174] Quote from a speech given by Crísofero Ibañez at the ceremony in Cuautla, Morelos on April 10, 1923. O'Malley, 50.

is mine."[175] In the debate that ensued over Calles's remarks, the newspaper editorial board of *El Universal* stated that the candidate's proposed program only really coincided with Zapata's on one issue that all could agree upon, "sympathy for the poor."[176] *El Universal's* reading of Calles's remarks reveals an important characteristic of the postrevolutionary state: the distance between the political reality and rhetorical usage of revolutionary heroes like Zapata, which ultimately diffused the symbolic political power of the latter revolutionary leaders. This reading also shows the close relationship between state and non-state actors – such as media – that served to reinforce dominant vision of social order.

During the latter part of the decade and the 1930s, Zapata's masculinity and mestizo qualities, not just his revolutionary identity, were at the center of his public image. Along with his image as a patriarchal and benevolent leader, Zapata became a protagonist in depictions of the "Latin lover" – a virile and macho man – in popular culture. Singers composed ballads and stories circulated depicting Zapata's striking looks, his appeal to women, and popular adoration for him. Zapata's image was so effective in illuminating lo mexicano that official and popular mediums used it widely. On August 25, 1931, the Mexican Congress approved the petition to simultaneously declare Carranza and Zapata national heroes, forever inscribing the peasant leader into the "hagiography of the Revolution."[177] Connecting Carranza to Zapata legitimated Carranza as a revolutionary hero and silenced the fact that he had ordered Zapata's assassination, a potential liability in Carranza's hero status. This institutionalization of Zapata thus made official the nation-state's role as the revolution's interlocutor; a role achieved with the collaboration of, among others, journalists, singers, and popular writers.

Though the nation-state's myth of the revolution was highly productive in perpetuating social control and hegemony, it also proved to be counterproductive. The inability of the nation-state to live up to the promises heralded in the myth produced spaces for potential opposition.

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[175] O'Malley, 51.
[176] O'Malley, 51.
[177] O'Malley, 60.

The nation-state did not make headway against continuing class inequalities, rampant poverty, ethno-racial discrimination, and the lack of political voice for many Mexicans. As O'Malley argues, the rhetoric of the revolution "could also make the disparity between appearances and policies loom larger in the public eye, and threaten to make the government a victim of its own revolutionary myth."[178] She proceeds to show that the cases of Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata were the most propitious at giving rise to opposition, especially if activists rescued the truth of their lives from myths. Both Villa and Zapata "were basically class heroes who represented still unresolved grievances against the propertied classes, their images carry within history lessons that belie the myth of the Revolution. The incorporation of Villa and Zapata has at its core a contradiction: it keeps alive the threat it is supposed to subvert."[179] If the contradictions revealed the nation-state as blatantly fraudulent in a national forum, then Villa and Zapata's struggles could potentially surface to threaten the status quo as they once had in the revolution.

To rescue the truth of Zapata or Villa's lives from the myths, other revolutionary heroes would have to step forward and speak in their names. Hence, the opening of oppositional spaces fostered the rise of alternative revolutionary heroes such as Rubén Jaramillo, allowing the possibilities of such heroes to challenge official heroes. To be effective in challenging official heroes in the national arena, alternative heroes needed to use similar techniques as those employed by the state in institutionalizing leaders like Zapata. In other words, propagandists, such as journalists, had to pick up and articulate the cause of counter-hegemonic heroes to the wider national audience. These propagandists, however, needed to do so without the mediation of the state and its potential to coopt revolutionary heroes. They needed to create and foster a language that explained counter-hegemonic heroes in terms contrary to those dictated by the nation-state's official historical narrative. In the case of Rubén Jaramillo, the inherent contradictions in the public image of Zapata provided a useful model on which to build Jaramillo

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[178] O'Malley, 117.
[179] O'Malley, 144.

as a counter-hegemonic national hero, especially considering the parallels in the lives of the two men. They were both peasant leaders from Morelos, both led armed movements in the defense of the pueblo, both were brutally assassinated in acts of betrayal, and both had considerable appeal as oppositional figures. Thus, Jaramillo appeared as a true and legitimate heir to Zapata.

The growing political disaffection of the 1960s provided ample ground in which to cull such oppositional language and give rise to an alternative revolutionary hero. The following pages illustrate specifically how certain journalists and writers began translating from the regional to the national arena the myth of Jaramillo as a counter-hegemonic revolutionary hero. Such translation reveals how these individuals used similar tactics and rhetoric as the nation-state to show their growing disillusionment with the political system. The creation of this counter-hegemonic hero read in conjunction with Part III.B of this thesis also highlights how elements of the truth of Jaramillo's own life were subsumed or constructed to fit the myth of an alternative revolutionary hero.

Froylán Manjárrez

On May 23, 1962, soldiers gunned down Rubén Jaramillo, with his pregnant wife and most of his immediate family, near the town of Xochicalco, Morelos. In 1966 on the fourth anniversary of the assassinations, according journalist Froylán Manjárrez in his brief biography of Jaramillo, Lázaro Cárdenas visited Jaramillo's mother-in-law in Morelos. Cárdenas said to her that their killings were a "mancha sangrienta que empaña la obra del presidente López Mateos y no podrá ser limpiada hasta que haga justicia y se castigue ejemplarmente a los autores del incalificable crimen que ha conmovido al país."[180] He promised her that those responsible for the assassinations would one day be brought to justice. The bloody stain of Jaramillo's gruesome death marked more than López Mateos's presidency. It left an indelible stain on the institutionalized revolution and became a symbol for opposition against the state in the coming

[180] Manjárrez, 123-124.

decade. Jaramillo's name came to be associated with the state's betrayal of the pueblo and its inability to speak for the interests of its citizens. Moreover, Jaramillo's death was followed by the deaths of many peasants, workers, students, and others who voiced opposition against the state's legitimacy.

Manjárrez's words had a long history, for he was a part of the group of journalists who set out to Morelos to investigate Jaramillo's death almost immediately after it took place. After an investigation, a group of Mexico City journalists visiting Morelos determined that the perpetrators of the murder were members of the armed forces and that the state authorities gave the order for the assassination. Upon reaching Xochicalco, they found that most of the peasants were too afraid to speak of the recent killings; the journalists were nonetheless able to locate the site of the killings in the town's outskirts. Here, they found traces of blood on the rocks and undergrowth marking the path of the soldiers dragging the bloody bodies of Jaramillo, Epifania Garcia Zuñiga, and her three sons. Kept at the hospital morgue in nearby Tetecala, the three bodies showed the brutality of their killings. Jaramillo's face had been severely disfigured by bullets and the soldiers had stabbed Epifania's pregnant stomach to assure the death of Jaramillo's unborn child. At the site of the murders, the journalists also found bullets and bullet casings manufactured at the National Munitions Plant for the sole use of the military – further proof that the assassins were affiliated with the state. Upon returning to Mexico City, the journalists offered this evidence to the authorities, but those authorities expressed no interest in their findings.

Writing in 1967, Manjárrez despaired that Cárdenas's promise had not been realized as Jaramillo's killers had yet to be brought to justice. Instead, the state had escalated its repressive apparatus against peasant mobilizations for land, killing other peasant activists in both Michoacán and Puebla. For example, Manjárrez mentions the killings of Antonio Silva in Chilchota, Michoacán, Antonio Herrera in Acatlán, Puebla, and several jaramillistas in Morelos scarcely a

month after the assassination of the Jaramillo family. [181] Months after his visit to Morelos in 1966, Cárdenas toured the state of Chihuahua in the aftermath of an unsuccessful peasant uprising against local landowners. Lamenting the brutal killing of numerous peasants, Cárdenas stated, "La tolerancia, inclusive la de los campesinos, no es inagotable, aunque a veces se crea lo contrario."[182] Manjárrez suggested that social justice might only come to Mexico if peasants grew exhausted with their oppression and chose to follow Jaramillo's path. Soon after writing these words in 1967, the journalist died unexpectedly.[183] Though he did not live to see it, students and other activists repeated Manjárrez's words when mobilizing around Jaramillo's name to vindicate their fight against the state in 1968.

Manjárrez outlined the contradictory media coverage in the aftermath of Jaramillo's killing. According to the journalist, the magazine *Política* provided an accurate rendition of the facts that clearly signaled the government's culpability. The newspapers *Excelsior* and *Ovaciones*, however, denied the facts and lambasted Jaramillo. On May 25, 1962, the day after the killings, *Excelsior* reported that "en el lugar donde fueron descubiertos los cinco cadáveres no se encontraron rastros de lucha ni casquillos ni impactos de proyectiles."[184] The evidence that Manjárrez and the other investigative journalists located clearly contradicted this report. Of all the media coverage, Manjárrez cited the newspaper *La Prensa* as providing the most objective coverage of the events. According to this paper, "el explosivo asunto causó un súbito ataque de amnesia y afasia – pérdida de la palabra – en todos y cada uno de los funcionarios que podían arrojar luz sobre el caso."[185] The paper's findings confirmed what Manjárrez saw as both the official unwillingness to pursue an investigation and the outright denial of involvement, such as the Ministry of Defense's claim that no member of the military participated in the killings.

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[181] Manjárrez, 162.
[182] Manjárrez, 123.
[183] At the start of Manjárrez's work, the editors include a note stating that he died unexpectedly but do not clarify under what conditions.
[184] Manjárrez, 128.
[185] Manjárrez, 143.

Though much of the mainstream press abided by the government's silence and denial, the building of lies – as Manjárrez called it – began to crumble as more and more people spoke out about what they witnessed in Morelos. The police commander of Tlaquiltenango, Miguel Hilario Díaz, for example, stated that "muchos civiles y militares fueron los autores de la muerte de los Jaramillo."[186] The commander had been planning a visit to the Jaramillo's house on the fateful day, but turned back since the soldiers told him they were obeying official orders.

With the increasing number of testimonies and the growing realization of the official version's fallaciousness, some members of the mainstream press began to change their coverage of the event. *Ovaciones*, for instance, acknowledged that "alguien, en círculos policíacos, trata de embrollar el horrible asesinato para que todo quede en un clásico carpetazo: hay soprendente hermetismo de parte de las autoridades."[187] Even *Excelsior* began to speak out against the murders in its editorial pages, calling the murders of the Jaramillos "un crimen torpe y estúpido, que ha hecho sentir a la opinión pública que nuestro país ha retrocedido varias décadas."[188] Lastly, the journalist Hector Anaya from the magazine *Impacto* reflected the increasingly popular sentiment of injustice surrounding the killings. He stated,

> Contra todos los líderes honestos se levantan murallas de calumnias para que el pueblo les niegue su apoyo. Calumnias e insultos a granel fueron lanzados contra Rubén Jaramillo. Pero Jaramillo no fue un demagogo, sino un auténtico revolucionario. No medró con el esfuerzo ajeno, ni se enriqueció con el trabajo de sus compañeros, prometiéndoles lo que no podría cumplirles. Lo que Jaramillo les ofrecía habría estado al alcance de sus manos, de no haberle mediado caciques, caciquillos y cacicotes.[189]

These examples all show that even mainstream media expressed a degree of revulsion with the state. Though it did not call for the overthrow of the state, the media's revulsion tentatively questioned the authenticity of the revolutionary nation-building project.

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[186] Manjárrez, 144.
[187] Manjárrez, 143.
[188] Manjárrez, 156. Unlike most of his other quotations from media sources, Manjárrez provides further information on this citation: *Excelsior*, editorial, June 4, 1962.
[189] Manjárrez, 158, quoting Hector Anaya, *Impacto*, June 6, 1962.

While investigating in Tlaquiltenango, Manjárrez spoke with Jaramillo's mother-in-law, Rosa García, and his adopted daughter, Raquel. Both women had witnessed the kidnapping of Jaramillo, Epifania, and her three children from their house on Mina Street. The house itself was humble, with just a few pieces of rustic furniture and pictures of Jaramillo standing next to Lázaro Cárdenas or embracing Alfredo López Mateos. Doña Rosa spoke of how the men broke the windows of the house and took Jaramillo and the others by force, simultaneously stealing important documents. Like the jaramillista whose quote opened the introductory section of this thesis, Doña Rosa referred to López Mateos as Judas because he had promised a trusting Jaramillo that he would not be harmed.

Manjárrez's conversation with Raquel took place in a moving vehicle, as she feared for her life and was hiding from state authorities. Raquel forcefully asserted that Captain José Martínez and Heriberto Espinosa, known enemies of Jaramillo and close allies of the governor of Morelos, oversaw the killings. According to Raquel, two armed vehicles, several military jeeps, and a black car driven by military personnel surrounded Jaramillo's house on Mina Street at 2 p.m. on May 23, 1962. The family had just finished eating lunch and Jaramillo was sawing a piece of wood in the yard. A soldier approached Jaramillo and held a weapon to him. Raquel ran to embrace her father and shield him with her body. Though neighbors gathered outside and protested what they were witnessing, soldiers entered Jaramillo's house and pointed weapons at its inhabitants. One of Epifania's sons showed Captain Martínez the certified copy of the president's *amparo* – a document ordering that Jaramillo and his family were not to be harmed by any authority. The Captain took the document and put it in his pocket, saying that he and his soldiers were just taking Jaramillo to Cuernavaca to speak with a general. The soldiers then dragged Jaramillo out of the house and toward one of the vehicles. Raquel ran out of the house in search for help from the town's municipal authorities, but the municipal president assured her that everything was in order and that the soldiers were just taking Jaramillo to Cuernavaca on official business. When she returned to the house, the soldiers had already taken Jaramillo and the family

away. The following day, Raquel learned of the assassination of her family and went to Tetecala to retrieve the five bodies for burial. On June 11, she placed a formal complaint with the state authorities about the murders. In the complaint, Raquel testified as follows:

> El hecho de que hasta ahora, no obstante el tiempo transcurrido desde el brutal asesinato de mis familiares y las exigencias de justicia por las que clama la opinión pública, el silencio más completo y la total inactividad rodea la actitud de las autoridades gubernamentales, establece un elemento corroboratorio del señalamiento que hace la opinión pública respecto a la culpabilidad que ante este monstruoso crimen recae sobre el actual gobierno federal.[190]

Though this was a formal complaint calling for an official investigation into the matter, the authorities simply ignored the killings.

Responding to pressure from the media, the authorities eventually carried out a cursory investigation into the killings. But that investigation offered no answers as to the identity of the Jaramillo's killers. Captain Martínez went to Mexico City for questioning as part of this investigation but he received no censure for his role in the murders. Instead, the captain received a promotion. But Captain Martínez did not go unpunished: several months later, Jaramillo's supporters avenged the assassinations, leaving the mutilated bodies of Captain Martínez and another accomplice near Teloloapan, Guerrero. According to Manjárrez, rumor held that, before they were killed by Jaramillo's avengers, the captain and his accomplice divulged the names of the intellectual authors of Jaramillo's assassination: all were close supporters of López Mateos and Miguel Alemán. The captain's death, like that of his accomplice, was foreshadowed at the Jaramillos's wake, when a woman from a Mexico state agrarian organization said, "no hay que derramar lágrimas ante las tumbas de Jaramillo, hay que luchar contra los traidores a la revolución agraria."[191] For Jaramillistas, the counter-assassinations were evidence that Jaramillo did not die in vain: peasants had taken direct action against their oppressors. The periodical *La Voz de México* summed up this sentiment by stating that the deaths of Martínez and his

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[190] Manjárrez, 131.
[191] Manjárrez,145 and 157, quoting Celia Torres Chavarría from the Vieja Guardia Agrarista of the state of Mexico.

accomplice "son parte y reflejo de esa fuerza arrolladora e incontenible que palpita en las masas campesinas de México que luchan incansablemente por la reivindicación de sus derechos atropellados."[192]

Manjárrez concluded his exploration of Jaramillo's assassination and the ensuing state brutality against activist peasants by referring back to Zapata. In his words, "Estos crímenes se cometen mientras los gobernantes, del más pequeño al mayor, se llenan la boca con palabras de elogio a Zapata y promesas de reformas agrarias ideales, aunque lo único que los campesinos reciben a cambio de tan demagógicas palabras, es plomo y hambre."[193] The journalist's words were infused with disappointment and cynicism at the empty promises and calculated lauding of Zapata. For him, the very state that purported to have institutionalized the revolution had appropriated and corrupted the Revolution's promises, leaving those for whom Zapata fought to suffer misery and injustice. Connecting Jaramillo to Zapata, Manjárrez wrote that, "No es casualidad que un líder de la talla de Jaramillo siguiera desde joven las huellas de Emiliano Zapata...pues ambos fueron hombres de campo, identificados con los problemas campesinos, concretamente con los del campesino de la zona de Morelos y parte de Puebla donde se localiza el corazón de la lucha zapatista y donde se desarrolla siempre la actividad revolucionaria de Rubén Jaramillo."[194] Once again, Manjárrez linked Jaramillo – like Zapata – to the enduring regional mythology of popular justice, popular morality, and social equality. Manjárrez depicted Jaramillo as a strong revolutionary leader born out of the same historical and regional experience as Zapata. In the journalist's narrative, Jaramillo followed Zapata's footsteps to become a revolutionary hero that embodied national identity.

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[192] Manjárrez, 145.
[193] Manjárrez, 163.
[194] Manjárrez, 132.

Carlos Fuentes

> *Se murió el jefe. Ahora todos somos Jaramillo.*
> Told to Carlos Fuentes by a peasant following Jaramillo's 1962 assassination.[195]

Carlos Fuentes, a renowned Mexican intellectual, was one of the first to translate the jaramillista myth for national audiences. Writing at the same time as Manjárrez, Fuentes elaborated Jaramillo's connection to Zapata and further cemented the peasant leader's public image into national consciousness. Fuentes built his interpretation of Jaramillo to refute the official myth of the revolution sanctioned by the state. Where the official myth appropriated Zapata to serve the interests of the state, Fuentes proposed an alternative heroic figure modeled on Zapata but aimed at exposing the official myth's falsehoods. Thus, Fuentes founded his vision of Jaramillo in counter-hegemonic terms to voice his growing frustration with the dominant social order. He tapped into the regional mythology underpinning Zapata's and Jaramillo's revolutionary movements. In other words, he seized the truth of Zapata's life through the figure of Jaramillo and used it to expose the mendacity of the postrevolutionary state.

Like Manjárrez, Fuentes and a group of journalists visited Morelos soon after Jaramillo's assassination to, in his words, "investigar y denunciar uno de los tantos hechos silenciados por la prensa mexicana: el asesinato de Rubén Jaramillo."[196] Here, they interviewed Jaramillo's friends, relatives, and followers about the leader's life and struggle for social justice.[197] In his subsequent writings, Fuentes identified Jaramillo with Zapata, stating that Jaramillo carried out the same heroic struggle under arduous circumstances but had lamentably little success due to the corruption of the Revolution. Fuentes wove this Jaramillista myth with that of Emiliano Zapata,

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[195] Carlos Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano* (México, D.F.: Ediciones Era, 1971), 113.
[196] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano*, 123.
[197] Fuentes specifically mentions that he interviewed Jaramillo's fellow peasants, Raquel Jaramillo, and Epifania's mother in *Tiempo Mexicano*. My analysis of Fuentes in relation to Jaramillo's myth was helped along by valuable feedback from fellow seminar participants in History 829, Spring 2000.

placing Jaramillo in the pantheon of Mexico's revolutionary heroes.[198] Much like Jaramillo had done when he was alive, Fuentes tapped into a historically powerful regional mythology of popular justice, equality and morality when he connected Jaramillo to Zapata. Unlike the postrevolutionary state's mythology of heroes, Fuentes used the Jaramillista myth to articulate dismay with the state's brutal behavior. Instead of reinforcing the state's legitimacy, Fuentes's interpretation of Jaramillo as Zapata's heir was counter-hegemonic and gave voice to opposition movements in the 1960s.

Fuentes did not take on the particularities of Jaramillo's struggle for social justice or his proposals for political change. Instead, he lent authority to Jaramillo's claim to hero status by discussing the leader's strong sense of character, his morality, and the devoted loyalty of his followers. Fuentes distilled Jaramillo's political life to a summary of his agenda as a fight for peasant rights. When asked who killed Rubén Jaramillo, for example, an old man told Fuentes, "Pues hombre, la lucha que hizo por que le hicieran justicia al campesino y al obrero."[199] To add further authenticity to his words, Fuentes used long quotations from actors directly affiliated with Jaramillo, such as his mother-in-law and fellow peasants. These actors told of the impact that Jaramillo's life and brutal murder had on them; the reader thus shares their heartache over his murder and their anger at the very injustices of rural life that Jaramillo sought to redress.

Fuentes went so far as to describe in terms of a religious pilgrimage his visit to Xochicalco, the scene of the murders. Here, according to Fuentes, was a stone altar witness to the death and sacrifices of eagles felled by the poisonous fangs of the snake. In an inversion of the symbols on the Mexican flag, the malevolent state was represented as the snake that slaughtered the nation's heroes indiscriminately. As he stood before this altar, Fuentes recollected Epifania's last words to her killer, whom Fuentes referred to as Jaramillo's Judas: "Usted come con sangre

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[198] I owed credit for the concept of "the pantheon of heroes" to Ilene O'Malley who employs the concept to illustrate the role of revolutionary heroes in the myth of the Revolution crafted by the nation-state; see pg. 144 for an example of its usage.
[199] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano*, 115.

de sus semejantes y ahora va a comer de nosotros."[200] The state and its supporters sucked the blood of the very essence of Mexico, its heroes, to fatten themselves so as to continue exploiting the peasants. These were the same peasants, according to Fuentes, for whom "la revolución mexicana es todavía una promesa del futuro a fuerza de ser una mentira del presente."[201]

Following traditional constructions of Zapata and the apparent wellspring of heroes coming out of Morelos, Fuentes presented Jaramillo as an outcast; a man who held the peoples' interests close to his heart; a bandit whose legacy, like that of Zapata, would live on in el pueblo. Key to this heroic narrative was the role of the narrator who acted as the hero's spokesman for national audiences. Fuentes cast himself in this role by comparing himself to Jesús Sotelo Inclán, heightening the connection between Zapata and Jaramillo. In the 1940s, Sotelo Inclán traveled to Anenecuilco, Morelos to research the roots of *zapatismo* for history professor Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico (UNAM). Here, he met Francisco Franco Salazar, local intellectual and zapatista, who shared with Sotelo Inclán the lockbox of colonial land titles and maps of the people of Anenecuilco. These documents legitimated Zapata's agrarian struggle since he fought for land that rightfully belonged to the area's peasants and symbolized the plight of the pueblos all over the region. Zapata had pointed to this same lockbox and stated "por esto peleo," when a delegation from Michoacán paid him a visit in 1915 to learn of his intentions.[202] To safeguard the documents, Zapata entrusted the lockbox to Franco Salazar and to José Robles, another supporter, saying to them "yo me he de morir algún día, pero los papeles de mi pueblo se quedan para garantizar."[203]

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[200] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano*, 120.
[201] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano,* 120.
[202] Jesús Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razón de Zapata* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Etnos, 1943), pg. 203. This scene is also documented in Womack page 372 and in Mallon "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies," 58-59.
[203] Sotelo Inclán, 204.

Like the exchange between Franco Salazar and Sotelo Inclán, Fuentes tells of his meeting with Jaramillo's secretary during his trip to the area.[204] This man remains nameless in Fuentes's text, possibly to protect his identity from the authorities or to heighten the drama of the authors' pilgrimage to an area that recently witnessed state-sanctioned violence. Fuentes describes the secretary as an educated peasant who, like Jaramillo, was "gentil, orgulloso, triste y firme ademán y de palabra."[205] While Fuentes and his companions waited outside, the old man brought out an old, black folder from inside his humble home. He carefully took out several sheets of paper, stating,

> Estos son nuestros títulos sobre las tierras comunales de Tlaquiltenango. La tierra siempre fue nuestra. El Rey de España así lo reconció. Pero las tierras nos fueron arrebatadas. Zapata luchó por recuperarlas. Aquí está la firma de Miliano. Ellos no tienen estos papeles. Nosotros sí. Estos papeles prueban nuestro derecho a existir. Están en mi custodia, y nunca los perderé, aunque me cueste la vida.[206]

He placed them back in the folder and hurried into his house. Fuentes returned the following day, but the man was no longer there. Though he wondered where the man went, Fuentes understood that this "último zapatista" had to be careful to safeguard the papers entrusted to him.[207] After all, these documents were tangible and irrefutable proof of the government's illegitimate claim that it spoke for the revolution. The continued existence of these papers guaranteed that the state would not be able to erase with murder the memory of Zapata's and Jaramillo's struggle. Instead, the documents symbolized the hope of the region's peasants that one day they would claim the land that rightfully belonged to them. Sure of the righteousness and power of his role as guardian, the peasant secretary would continue in his mission to ensure that the valuable papers never fell into the hands of the state.

Corroborating what Fuentes and his associates already suspected, the old man told them that he knew who ordered Jaramillo's assassination: a rich man allied with the governor who,

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[204] Florencia Mallon also explores this meeting between Jaramillo's secretary and Carlos Fuentes in her article, "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies," 66-67.
[205] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano*, 123.
[206] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano*, 124.
[207] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano*, 123.

"según se contaba, había estado presente, cuarenta y tres años antes, en el asesinato de Emiliano Zapata."[208] The presence of this same individual in both murders further linked Jaramillo to Zapata and solidified a Jaramillista myth. Fuentes depicted this man as part of the PRI, a party which protected the unjust interests of those – such as the powerful Mexico City politician, state bureaucrats, local caciques, brothel owners, and factory managers – who sought to exploit the Mexican people. Fuentes sarcastically voiced these individuals' phony claim in the myth of the Revolution: "Todos somos buenos mexicanos. Todos buenos revolucionarios. Cómo no. Si todos son miembros del PRI."[209] Fuentes' anger and disillusionment are palpable in these passages. His search for Jaramillo in the rural communities of Morelos implies a search for the goodness that he notes absent from the nation-state. From his position in rural Morelos – one of the most important birthplaces of Mexico's heroes – he denounced the sham of the so-called institutionalized revolution and, at the same time, conjured up a sense of hope.

Through his words, Fuentes effectively legitimated the regional mythology of Jaramillismo at a national level, moving beyond the death of the hero to feed the conception that the revolution needed redeeming. In other words, Fuentes wanted to infuse a sense of optimism into the disillusionment he and others felt with the current political system. Though Fuentes expressed grief and disillusionment with state authorities, the words of Morelos's people seemed to fill him with hope. In the words of Jaramillo's mother-in-law, Doña Rosa García, "La tierra de Rubén es nuestra tierra. Pelearemos por ella."[210] He asserted that their voices kept alive the struggle begun by Zapata and continued by Jaramillo. The various connections he drew between the two revolutionary heroes illustrate a belief that Jaramillo was an extension or a possible reincarnation of Zapata. Moreover, these Morelenses had not been defeated and would soon rise again, laying claim to the true ideals of the revolution. They would bring the vindication of the revolution and not the revolutionary death Fuentes predicted in his 1962 novel *La muerte de*

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[208] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano*, 123.
[209] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano,*123.
[210] Fuentes, *Tiempo Mexicano*, 122.

Artemio Cruz.[211] Thus, Jaramillo provided an example and reasoning for a social movement to once again rise up and bring about revolutionary change, especially in the face of growing disillusionment with the myth of the Revolution. As the next section shows, this change eventually did take place with inspiration from Jaramillo as a counter-hegemonic hero. The outcome however proved to be unlike anything that Fuentes envisioned.

Paco Ignacio Taibo II and Elena Poniatowska

Around the world, 1968 was a year of dramatic events and social crises. Mass political mobilizations occurred in France, the United States, Czechoslovakia, and many other countries. These mobilizations spoke out in protest against a variety of issues, such as the war in Vietnam, the political status quo, and economic inequality. With a legacy of political protests against the ruling PRI in the preceding years, Mexico entered 1968 with many of its citizens feeling an increasing sense of dissatisfaction with the authoritarian regime that had been in place for almost forty years. From rail workers calling for improved working conditions, and peasants demanding greater access to market opportunities, to students protesting the United States's involvement in Vietnam, political dissidence pushed the boundaries of a system of control imposed by a monolithic state apparatus. By the middle of 1968, a student movement based out of two of the largest universities in Mexico City, the UNAM and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional (IPN), rose up in spontaneous protest demanding greater democratization and political dialogue with the governing regime as well as a stop to political repression. The student movement's demands resonated with many citizens and its ranks quickly expanded to include housewives, teachers, professionals, and Mexicans from all walks of life. From June through October, massive protest marches – including hundreds of thousands of people and led by the student movement – made the voices of dissident citizens heard in the governing palace of the capital city. As the marches

[211] Carlos Fuentes, *La muerte de Artemio Cruz* (New York: Penguin Books, 1962).

grew in size, official responses to the movement became more violent, leading to brutal confrontations with the police and the arrest of many of the student leaders.

At the same time that the student movement was taking shape, Mexico City prepared to host the 1968 summer Olympic Games scheduled to take place between the 12th and 27th of October. To counteract perceptions of an underdeveloped country that was prone to civil unrest, as depicted in many Hollywood movies, the government was anxious to present to the world an image of a modernized Mexico with a stable democracy and content populace.[212] Unable to ignore the threats to its authority posed by the student movement, and concerned with the need to replace order in the capital city before the opening ceremony of the Olympic games, the government chose a violent and swift solution. On October 2, 1968, army troops and police officials started shooting indiscriminately at hundreds of unarmed civilians peacefully assembled for a rally in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas located in the Tlatelolco housing unit in Mexico City. Chaos ensued, and after the shooting stopped and only ashes remained of the many fires, the toll from the Tlatelolco massacre left several hundred Mexicans dead, many more injured, and even more illegally detained and tortured in military camps. In the aftermath of the massacre, the student movement was effectively crippled and a government-led campaign of censorship and cover-ups silenced word of the massacre in time for the opening day of the Olympics. Nonetheless, the trauma and pain unleashed by the government's violent response left an indelible stain on the country's historical memory, so much so that it spurred the need by some intellectuals to create a new revolutionary hero. Acting as form of mancha sangrienta, this hero would give meaning to the trauma of the violence and instill a sense of hope that would vindicate the many deaths. In this regard, the heroic myth of Jaramillo fulfilled this need.

Though he does not directly address the case of Rubén Jaramillo, Paco Ignacio Taibo II captured the growing disillusion with the myth of the Revolution and quest for new heroes.

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[212] Examples of such interpretations of Mexico by Hollywood filmmakers in the United States are: *The Red Dance* (1928), *Hot Pepper* (1933), *Mexican Spitfire* (1940), and *Viva Zapata!* (1952).

Taibo's novel *Calling All Heroes*, set in the aftermath of the 1968 massacre at Tlatelolco, recounts a massacre survivor's plan to recruit comic book heroes to right the wrongs and bring back justice to Mexico. Taibo weaves the tale of the protagonist's plan with letters written by different individuals expressing ambivalence, pain, despondency, and confusion at different yet related events. The opening scene of the book conveys this sense of displacement and surprise:

> You are on a gurney that runs along the corridors, guided by a skillful hand, by an audacious pilot of gurneys, along the racetrack of the white hallways. The fellow ought to notice how a spot of blood is growing on the sheet that covers you. According to the rhetoric of hospital scenes it is obligatory that you encounter a beautiful woman hiding her tears (but not so well that they can't be seen) at the door to the operating room; but there is no door to the operating room, only the spot of blood which grows and the hand that slips from the gurney and falls to the floor [...]; the orderly wonders whether to stop and/or to push the gurney with violence, his eyes fixed, captivated by the red spot that grows on the white sheet [....] I am tired. I am not going to be able to read anything this way because I am rather seasick. The trapeze is moving. A nurse says something while she tears your blue bloodstained shirt from your body. "Long live Mexico, children of the Indian whore," you whisper, when they pass you from the gurney to the operating table [...] A wave of consciousness sweeps over you; you open your eyes and say: "Of me, they're scared of me..."[213]

Like a Jaramillista mancha sangrienta, the bloody stain on the sheet represents the government's brutality and betrayal of the Mexican people. Ultimately, the book is a tribute to those massacred and a call to consider ways in which to breathe new life into a movement of opposition calling for political change and democratization.

Though Froylán Manjárrez and Carlos Fuentes wrote about Jaramillo before the massacre, their works were published in collected editions shortly before and after the massacre: Fuentes in 1971 and Manjárrez in 1967. Nonetheless, both authors were on a mission to call on a hero to come rescue Mexico. Like Taibo's protagonist, Manjárrez and Fuentes sought to introduce a new type of revolutionary hero that would provide a sense of place in a nation that was rife with corruption and the betrayal of revolutionary values. This revolutionary hero would

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[213] Paco Ignacio Taibo II, Translated by John Mitchell and Ruth Mitchell de Aguilar, *Calling All Heroes* (Hawaii: Plover Press, 1990), 4-5. Taibo was a member of the student movement in 1968 and is today a popular Mexican writer, especially known for his many bestseller detective novels and his recent biography of Che Guevara.

not belong to the officially-sanctioned pantheon of revolutionary heroes; instead, he would belong to the people. He would set the example for benevolent leaders to follow and would show the path to a better society, one that Mexicans had fought so hard to achieve. This hero would give Mexicans hope that change was attainable and a way to find reason in their current disillusionment with the political system. Through their elaboration of Jaramillo as a new revolutionary hero, Manjárrez and Fuentes established a form of counter-hegemonic national mythology. They inscribed at a national level a "process through which people weave remembered events into a patterned story that makes both moral and historical sense."[214] This patterned story voiced through counter-hegemonic heroes, would fight and incapacitate the official narratives that had given refuge to the people's enemies. In the case of the heroic myth of Rubén Jaramillo, his story articulated a desire for change in the 1960s and explained the resulting violent response from those calls for change.

Carlos Fuentes, Froylán Manjárrez, Paco Ignacio Taibo II, and Elena Poniatowska were either direct participants in the 1968 movement or had some personal connection to it. From a generational standpoint, these intellectuals came of age at the time of the massacre. They belong to the generation who witnessed the censorship techniques implemented by the state to silence the outcry in the massacre's aftermath. In their written works, they pinpointed either tacitly or explicitly the connections between memories of the massacre, current events, and the potential for social change. All but Taibo used the figure of Rubén Jaramillo in their work to help explain the violent events and give voice to an alternative national identity. They ultimately inscribed Jaramillo into national consciousness as a true revolutionary hero, one not corrupted by the evil tentacles of the government.

One of the national intellectuals with the most authority on the subject of 1968 in Mexico is Elena Poniatowska, renowned Mexican journalist and novelist considered to have written the most authoritative and widely read text of the massacre. Elena Poniatowska's first book on the

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[214] Mallon, "Local Intellectuals, Regional Mythologies," 40.

1968 massacre, *La noche de Tlatelolco*, was published in 1971, just three years after the event. It is considered to be the most widely read book of the massacre and by 1992 had gone through forty-eight editions in Spanish.[215] In it, she presents fragments of interviews with participants in the student movement as well as witnesses to the events in the Tlatelolco housing unit on October 2, 1968. She weaves these fragments into a narrative that includes snippets of newspaper articles, sixteenth-century indigenous poems on the conquest of Mexico, and conversations overheard in public spaces. Though she remains silent, she expertly interjects her opinions into the text while drawing in the reader to formulate an independent conclusion of the massacre's significance. As Octavio Paz writes in the introduction to *La noche de Tlatelolco*, the interviews present a "collage [of] voices bearing historical witness" that chronicle a "history before it has congealed and before the spoken word has become a written text."[216] The voices of the participants tell of hope, passionate beliefs, political awakening, indiscriminate violence towards peaceful protesters, torture, imprisonment, an inability to speak memories, attempts to forget what happened, unbearable pain, bewilderment, and disillusionment. Like Fuentes and, to an extent, Taibo, these participants also speak of Jaramillo as a mancha sangrienta. In the words of one of the student participants, "[w]ith our footsteps we were somehow avenging Jaramillo, his pregnant wife, both murdered, his dead children; we were avenging years and years of cowardly crimes, crimes that had been carefully covered up, crimes resembling those committed by gangsters."[217] Inspired by Jaramillo's mancha sangrienta, the movement's participants saw themselves as avenging the peasant leader's killing and denouncing the nation-state's corruption and brutality.

Poniatowska's *Fuerte es el silencio*, published in 1980, presents a more direct portrayal of Jaramillo's relevance on the national stage in 1968 and its aftermath. In it, she narrates the

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[215] Elena Poniatowska. Translated by Helen R. Lane. *Massacre in Mexico*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992). For a useful analysis of Poniatowska's writings, see Beth Ellen Jorgensen, *The Writing of Elena Poniatowska: Engaging Dialogues* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1994), 76.
[216] Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico*, vii. Famous Mexican poet and Nobel Laureate, Octavio Paz resigned his post as Mexico's ambassador to India in protest of the massacre.
[217] Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico*, 55.

struggles of opposition movements in Mexico and the irruptions of the official myth of the revolution. Among the various sections of the book, Poniatowska analyses the historical context that gave rise to the 1968 student movement and resulting massacre at Tlatelolco. Tracing the movement's roots back to the period after 1939, Poniatowska looks at the power the notion of the revolutionary family wielded in ensuring social order and a propitious environment for capitalist growth. The nation-state, according to her, crafted an imaginary postcard-like image of Mexico that drew images of peace, prosperity, the absence of social conflict, and the political permanence of the PRI.[218] Even though there was the illusion of socio-political consensus, the author argues that there were barely perceptible cracks beginning to show in the official image of Mexico. Among these cracks, Poniatowska cites the case of Jaramillo's peasant movement and his brutal assassination as one of the most vivid examples sullying the postcard's picture. These cracks gathered momentum with the increase in oppositional voices in the 1960s critiquing the government and discussing alternatives to the dominant social order. Poniatowska mentions a number of journalists, including Carlos Fuentes, who influenced a growing movement expressing dissatisfaction with the political status quo. This sentiment of frustration resonated deeply among younger generations who felt stifled in "esa atmósfera de cuchicheos, de 'mejor no,' de 'al fin que no podemos hacer nada,' 'las cosas no van a cambiar porque tú hables."[219]

Poniatowska proceeds to explore the painful aftermath of the massacre and follows its reverberations into the 1970s. Investigating those disappeared in the massacre's aftermath, she asks: Were these disappeared individuals guerrilla fighters or political militants? Instead of students or urban professionals, she found that these individuals were primarily peasants and workers. Here, she highlights the case of Rubén Jaramillo to illustrate the government's hypocrisy – after all, state officials murdered the peasant leader soon after a picture was taken showing the then president, Adolfo López Mateos, embracing Jaramillo. Like Manjárrez and

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[218] Elena Poniatowska, *Fuerte es el silencio* (México, D.F.: Ediciones Era, 1980), 43.
[219] Poniatowska, *Fuerte es el silencio,* 65.

Fuentes, Poniatowska builds on the image of betrayal and connects Jaramillo to Zapata. As she states,

> A Rubén Jaramillo se le consideró el Zapata del momento y, aunque el Emiliano Zapata de 1910 tiene su estatua fundida en bronce en muchos estados de la República, a los Zapatas de los cuarentas, de los cincuentas, de los sesentas, de los setentas o a cualquiera que pretenda una lucha semejante, se le persigue para abatirlo como perro del mal. Su única condición tolerable es la de la muerte. Muerto se le declara vivo, se dice que aún cabalga por la sierra, que se puedan escuchar en las noches frescas y olorosas los cascos de su yegua blanca. Vivo, lo único que lo espera es una ráfaga de ametralladora.[220]

For Poniatowska, Jaramillo was Zapata's incarnation in the 1940s and 1950s, with other peasant leaders taking on his shape after Jaramillo's assassination. Though they were incarnations of Zapata – one of the revolutionary heroes heralded as a father of modern Mexico – the nation-state hunted down these leaders and killed them. The state could only tolerate Zapata in death, in the form of a bronze statue, or in the myth that he still continues to ride the hills of Morelos on his white horse. His living form in the shape of peasant leaders like Jaramillo posed too much danger to silence them merely through cooptation or duress, thus the need to kill them.

The final section of *Fuerte es el silencio* narrates the case of a land invasion in Morelos during the 1970s. Led by the leftist activist Güero Medrano, a group of landless peasants took over a large tract of land in 1973 and established a *colonia* named in honor of Rubén Jaramillo. Güero Medrano and other organizers hoped to inaugurate the first commune in Mexico and use it to launch armed movements to take over more land across the region. The colonia grew to encompass over ten thousand families and gain recognition across the region. The colonia's size called the attention of government authorities, who intervened in its affairs to stymie its growth. Adhering to Poniatowska's assertion that the state hunted down Zapata's incarnations, government officials assassinated Medrano in 1978 to silence his activism throughout the region.

Poniatowska's description of the naming of the colonia in honor of Rubén Jaramillo is of special interest to understand the linkage she draws from Zapata to Jaramillo and, in turn, to

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[220] Poniatowska, *Fuerte es el silencio*, 144.

Medrano. According to the author, Medrano proposed naming the colonia in honor of Jaramillo at a meeting of assembled peasants. He presented Jaramillo as a peasant leader from Morelos who had fought for access to land and was always on the side of peasant rights. Medrano proceeded to affirm Jaramillo as a hero that the government had never recognized. Upon mentioning that Jaramillo was a captain in Zapata's army, Medrano's audience dramatically changed. As he describes, "entonces sí hubo entre los rostros cansados y las miradas torpes un relámpago de interés, algunos alzaron la vista que habían tenido baja, otros canjearon su expresión ausente por una mirada más alerta."[221] Humble peasants thus responded to the invocation of Zapata's name and drew the connection to Jaramillo. Sensing the relevance of the connection, Medrano followed up by stating, "Rubén Jaramillo, compañeros, luchó al lado de Emiliano Zapata y fue un hombre de confiar." From the crowd of peasants, an old man yelled "Que viva mi general Zapata" and Medrano responded "Que viva Rubén Jaramillo."[222]

Raúl Macín and the Resuscitation of a Forgotten Prophet

The scholar Raúl Macín published a biography of Jaramillo in 1984, aiming to restore to national consciousness the memory of a forgotten hero who had fought for the rights of poor Mexicans. The book, which he calls "un grito novelado," highlighted Jaramillo's spiritual and religious qualities, casting him as a true prophet and leader of the people and contrasting him against the false prophets who claimed positions of power in the corrupt state.[223] Macín hoped his resuscitation of Jaramillo would awaken national political consciousness at a moment when political disillusionment ran rampant in Mexico. He also aimed to dismiss the notion that strong religious convictions were irreconcilable with an interest in fighting for the poor. This last point is especially significant because all other writings on Jaramillo, including his own autobiography, ignore or gloss over his religious convictions, stressing instead the leader's similarity to Emiliano

[221] Poniatowska, *Fuerte es el silencio*, 191.
[222] Poniatowska, *Fuerte es el silencio*, 191.
[223] Raul Macín, *Rubén Jaramillo: Un Profeta Olvidado* (México, D.F.: Editorial Diogenes, 1984), 8.

Zapata. Though Macín did not reject Jaramillo's connection to Zapata, he chose to herald Jaramillo's Methodist roots and argued that religion was the guiding principle driving the peasant leader's activism. In Macín's account, Jaramillo responded to a peasant's question about his ties to communism with the statement that his only inspiration was Jesus Christ "y francamente no necesito de más."[224] In highlighting Jaramillo's religious beliefs, Macín dismissed accusations that Jaramillo was a communist because, according to him, the two belief systems were irreconcilable. Macín effectively equated Jaramillo with Biblical prophets who carried out the work of God in the face of ungodly and unjust acts, denying any connection to communism.[225]

Macín used a variety of sources to present his account of Jaramillo's life and added new layers to the leader's story. Within his *grito*, Macín cited Jaramillo's autobiography, the work of journalists like Froylán Manjárrez, conversations with Jaramillo's acquaintances, and his own 1958 meeting with the peasant leader. Using these sources, Macín presented his own account of Jaramillo's life and his relevance for all Mexicans. Like Jaramillo in his autobiography, Macín chose to focus the majority of his text on events in 1943 and the first uprising. But unlike most other primary sources on Jaramillo, including the autobiography, Macín included a brief glimpse into the peasant leader's life in the 1950s and even provided excerpts of an interview of a 1961 by the magazine *La Política* in which he discussed a series of land invasions he led in Morelos.

In this interview, Jaramillo openly expressed his respect and admiration for Fidel Castro's revolutionary accomplishments in Cuba. When asked if he thought Castro was following in the correct path, he enthusiastically responded that Castro was very much in the right. He went on to say that, "Aunque les pese a los gringos y a los rajados y vendidos que han traicionado a su patria y se han vendido a los yanquis. ¡Cómo nos haría falta correrlos de México

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[224] Macín, 72.

[225] Unlike Macín's assertion that Jaramillo had no interest in communism, Donald Hodges has shown that Jaramillo was a card-carrying member of the Partido Comunista Mexicano at two points in his life: in 1938-39 and again in 1961. (pgs. 76-77) Jaramillo himself, according to Renato Ravelo in *Los jaramillistas*, also stated that he believed in a socialist form of government. (pg. 178)

nosotros mismos a los gringos! Nuestros problemas se reducirían mucho, palabra."[226] Jaramillo's public and disdainful scoffing of the United States in the context of the Cold War invites further interpretation, especially considering that his assassination came less than a year after the interview.

To enliven his portrayal of Jaramillo's life and to make his story more compelling, Macín includes recreations of conversations with the fallen leader. Here, we hear Jaramillo lovingly bid farewell to his wife when he first leaves her in 1943 to go battle his enemies up in the mountains, and we listen as he expresses growing dismay over various presidents' empty promises regarding agrarian issues. We listen in on Jaramillo defending himself before fellow Methodists who questioned whether his struggle for the poor distracted him from his religious duties to the community. We witness the final heated exchange between Jaramillo and his killers-to-be as they came to take him and his family away. Besides giving the reader gripping – if embellished – scenes, these recreations offer insight into the making of a Jaramillista myth. For instance, in Macín's telling, Epifania and her sons refuse to let the soldiers take Jaramillo to his death on that fateful day in May 1962 insisting that if the soldiers took Jaramillo, they would have to take his family as well. Though Jaramillo begged her not to go because she was carrying his unborn child, Epifania said to him, "si te matan, a mí también me matan...acuérdate lo que dijistes cuando Jenkins mandó a matar a Porfirio tu hermano: 'No importa que nos maten a todos, siempre habrá alguien que se levante para luchar en contra de la injusticia.'" As they all stood in the field awaiting their deaths, Jaramillo yelled "¡Viva Zapata!" and the rest of the family responded "¡Viva!" The soldiers cocked their guns and began shooting.[227] Macín thus presented Jaramillo as a hero, a prophet, an heir to Zapata, and a true leader of the Mexican people. With his strong morals and religious convictions, and with the powerful support of his wife and children, Jaramillo represented the true incarnation of the head of the Revolutionary Family as

[226] Macín, 93.
[227] Macín, 79-80.

dictated by the pueblo, not the state. Even decades after his death, Jaramillo lived on, with Macín arguing that "miles de Jaramillos en el campo, en las fábricas, en las universidades, esperan ansiosos la hora de la justicia."[228]

Froylán Manjárrez, Carlos Fuentes, Elena Poniatowska, Raúl Macín, and indirectly Paco Ignacio Taibo II grasped the regional mythology of Jaramillo and translated it onto the national stage. Driven by their disillusionment with the postrevolutionary state, these scholars brought Jaramillo to life in the collective consciousness of Mexicans across regions and inscribed him into a national historical narrative that questioned the dominant social order. They presented Jaramillo as a counter-hegemonic revolutionary hero who was very much of el pueblo and had not been appropriated by the nation-state. To fit this image, these authors stressed and silenced aspects of Jaramillo's life that they believed would best suit the public image of a revolutionary hero. They highlighted the peasant leader's connection to Emiliano Zapata and his dedication to an agrarian struggle in Morelos. These scholars emphasized Jaramillo's assassination as an act of betrayal and detailed how fellow peasants avenged his murder. At the same time, they downplayed some aspects of Jaramillo's radical and political vision, life, and (with the exception of Macín) his religious beliefs. Though they mention the Plan de Cierro Prieto in light of the Plan de Ayala, they do not discuss its more radical nature. They do not question Jaramillo's insistence that his two concurrent wives were one for him. They leave aside any inquiry into the peasant leader's membership in government-affiliated organizations like the CNC. They do not delve into his potentially problematic and contradictory beliefs, such as thinking himself superior to peasants and how he was able to reconcile his anarchist and socialist sentiments with his Methodism.

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[228] Macín, 84.

These scholars selected some of the truths of Jaramillo's life to create a new hero. Consequently, they used the Jaramillista myth in ways that went beyond the peasant leader's existence to create a new revolutionary hero. The heroic image of Jaramillo revealed him as Zapata's heir: an incarnation of the untainted revolutionary hero who was the true founder of Mexico and gave meaning to disillusion with the modern nation-state. Ultimately, they created a myth of Jaramillo that revealed more about the state than about the peasant leader, epitomized in the image of Jaramillo as a mancha sangrienta.

PART V

CONCLUSION

During the twentieth century, marginalized peoples have spoken out against the postrevolutionary Mexican state that imposed its versions of citizenship onto diverse peoples across regions with different historical and political legacies. Differences among these "citizens" were more or less silenced or coopted in the projection of an official history that legitimated the existing social order. The nation-state for example adopted its own official discourse of diversity that sought to "integrate" indigenous peoples into the broader national project. This integration took place through paternalistically driven strategies, such as the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista's* (INI) implementation of literacy programs after its creation in 1948 that used indigenous languages to teach Spanish to indigenous peoples.[229] Through such projects, the nation-state fostered an official version of *indigenismo* that weakened the potentially threatening elements of an autonomous indigenous identity. This officialization of *indio* resonates with the nation-state's appropriation of Emiliano Zapata's public image to counteract the rebellious regional identity of *los del sur* prevalent among community members in Morelos, Puebla, and other nearby states.

The imposition of official forms of citizenship did not stop alternative versions of historical memory from surviving in regional and local areas. Popular forms of nationalism, contradictory historical narratives, different myths and heroes that gave meaning to peoples' lives arose in opposition or as an alternative to official nationalism dictated by the nation-state. This practice of subsuming distinct historical memories into a homogenous national vision was heightened during the decades between the 1940s and 1950s – the era when the state purportedly institutionalized the Revolution. While alive, Rubén Jaramillo helped articulate collective

[229] For more on the INI's role in fostering the official integration of indigenous peoples, see Guillermo Bonfil Batalla. *México Profundo: Reclaiming Civilization*, 117-120.

opposition against a hegemonic state. In death, he continued this articulation in the figure of a counter-hegemonic hero within a national movement expressing opposition to the nation-state. Jaramillo's voice thus was heard and interpreted within his community, and then translated up to the regional level and eventually to the national level.

As collective memories get passed from communities onto the national stage, they go through a process of translation in a regional dialogue. This regional realm is key to understanding the shaping of local historical narratives when they move into centers of knowledge that speak to the nation as a whole. This project showed how mythological memories surrounding Rubén Jaramillo were transformed in each of these three different arenas.[230] In the context of Morelos' historical legacies with gender and power, Steve Stern argues that regional and subregional heterogeneity should be contextualized to define a synthesis of the unusual and the common, rather than repressed.[231] My interest in the historical significance of Jaramillo is rooted in an overarching desire to show what this peasant leader's experiences ultimately reveal about the evolution of a political culture across time and space in a manner that recognizes regional heterogeneity while also considering national politics. This thesis project shows the importance of hearing peasants' voices in the historical narrative, particularly the truths that alternative visions of citizenship reveal in the face of a corrupt and unjust nation-building project that was to last for the majority of the twentieth century.

Of all the primary documents on hand to investigate Rubén Jaramillo, his autobiography is the richest and most useful – reading his own words written with his own hands sheds light on him in a way no other source can. Part III sought to unravel this document and interpret its significance in relation to the social movement Jaramillo sparked. The interpretation in Part III.B applies a historical and political analysis to the autobiography as a personal document.

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[230] The attention to regional diversity in historical processes is inspired by Steve J. Stern's work in *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), specifically Chapter 12: "The Many Mexicos of Every Mexican Region: Morelos Reconsidered" grapples extensively with the notion of regions across Mexico, 285-294.
[231] Stern, 285.

Nonetheless, there is another way to read this document – a method that moves beyond the scope of this project and posits avenues of inquiry for a future research agenda. Beyond a personal document, Jaramillo's autobiography is a political document. Part III.B hints at this facet of the document but privileges a more personalistic approach: ultimately, the autobiography embodies a justification and legitimation of Jaramillo's peasant leader and revolutionary hero status. Privileging the autobiography as a political document reveals a process of change over time in his political beliefs; in other words, the autobiography shows Jaramillo's political education. Beyond legitimizing his status as a political leader and hero, this education process seeks to legitimize his politics and his belief in the need for a new revolution. He explores for himself and argues for the reader how and why he comes to follow a road to violence.

Jaramillo spends considerable time detailing his rationale for his first armed struggle in 1942, including all the corruption and intimidation he endured as manager of the Emiliano Zapata Sugar Mill. He showed mercy upon those who betrayed him, such as when he spared the life of the infiltrator sent to assassinate him during his first armed uprising. As time passes, these acts of betrayal accumulate and begin to wear on Jaramillo's adherence to mercy and forgiveness. He witnessed corruption at so many levels and over such a prolonged period of time that he began to lose patience. Seeing such dastardly acts committed in the electoral arena, in response to the hoof and mouth epidemic, and among local town leaders was disheartening and compelled him to believe that there was little other option to bring about change but through violence. He tried to negotiate using official channels of communication like joining state-affiliated organizations and meeting with presidents. He went so far as to establish an alternative political party and run for office unsuccessfully. Though he attempted to bring about change via peaceful means, his efforts were to no avail. Feeling that he had exhausted all courses of peaceful action, Jaramillo believed he was forced to resort to violence. The autobiography ends in 1950, three years before Jaramillo led his second armed uprising. An act that took place during this second uprising reflects Jaramillo's political education learning process. Unlike the mercy and compassion he showed

during his first uprising where he refused to execute his enemies, he took a different approach in the second uprising. In March 1954, Jaramillo ordered four individuals executed whom he considered enemies of the people. Whereas before he only killed during battle, now he killed to punish the pueblo's enemies.

In the foreword of *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*, Elena Poniatowska writes that telling the stories of the subaltern amount to narrating "the painful, dark, and deep history of those who have nothing and are still able to create their own idols, the myths of their culture, the saints of their devotion."[232] This project has sought to add Rubén Jaramillo to that list of idols, myths, and saints employed by subalterns. It has done so by showing the interplay between a counter-hegemonic leader, the making of myths, and the creation of an alternative hero who gives hope and voice to what Poniatowska calls "painful, dark, and deep history." Heroes' narratives are passed down through generations and become part of communal historical memory. In this sense, heroes are intimately linked to the notions of myth and charismatic leadership.[233] A hero is made up of selected truths from the leader's life that articulate a specific mythology – truths that are also subject to manipulation. The relation between a charismatic leader and hero is not part of a historical continuum, where a hero evolves only after the leader's death. Instead, I posit that the relation between the two is best understood as a double helix: where the hero as a person of myth and the charismatic leader as a person of history are intertwined. The difference between the two lies in the angle and moment of observation.

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[232] Elena Poniatowska, "Foreword." In Fragments of a Golden Age, edited by Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov, xi.
[233] For more on charismatic leaders, see Max Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

Precisely because of the strong regional identity and collective historical memory embraced in regional mythology, I refer to peasants originating from Morelos, Puebla, and the bordering states as a people. These peasants self-identified with more than social class; they saw themselves as originating from a unique geographical and historical place that differentiated them from other social groups. They saw themselves as part of a distinct pueblo. To claim a regional peasant identity called on a longstanding legacy of strong, autonomous, and rebellious peoples that had inhabited the area since colonial times. Thus, the key to understanding Jaramillo's notion of alternative citizenship is the regional mythology of popular justice, popular morality, and social equality. This mythology had a long history – including usage by Emiliano Zapata in the Revolution – and it inevitably shaped Jaramillo's beliefs of morality, justice, and equality. This mythology provided a frame of reference that gave meaning to his fight against what he saw as wrong, namely the oppression peasants endured at the hands of state-affiliated elites. Jaramillo also used it to articulate his agenda for social change. Rather than simply perpetuating the regional mythology employed by Zapata, Jaramillo transformed that mythology through his vision of alternative citizenship. It grew to encompass qualities unique to the Jaramillista experience, such as his Protestant religious beliefs, his views on women, and his organizing strategies for negotiating with a state that had partially abandoned it progressive agenda and transformed into one that was less progressive and more capitalist in orientation.

In the context of struggles over the implications of citizenship, I turn to Dorothy Soligner's and Florencia Mallon's interpretations of citizenship and nationalism. Using the work of Brian S. Turner and T.H. Marshall, Solinger presents citizenship as composed of two issues: social membership in the nation and allocation of rights and resources. With these two issues in mind, she states that the "hallmark of citizenship is exclusivity, as it 'confers rights and privileges' just to those legally living with specifically designated borders."[234] These borders can

[234] Dorothy J. Solinger, *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China: Peasant Migrants, the State, and the Logic of the Market* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 6.

be geographically or socially drawn to circumscribe a specific community in order to include and exclude social groups. Though it varies widely across spaces and communities, citizenship is understood as conferring civil and legal status that implies participation in political life. Mallon's definition of nationalism helps locate citizenship in an overall political panorama that recognizes change. According to her, nationalism is "a broad vision for organizing society, a project for collective identity based on the premise of citizenship – available to all, with individual membership beginning from the assumption of legal equality."[235] Nationalism's broad vision thus leads to struggles for inclusive citizenship that question official forms of nationalism. In turn, struggles by groups of people granted only partial benefits or access to promises heralded in official nationalism can result in visions of alternative citizenship and give rise to popular forms of nationalism.

Because most Latin American nations only gained their independence between 1810 and 1824, nation-building projects were in flux and not fully consolidated for most of the nineteenth century. The still malleable and flexible character of these projects allowed for spaces of autonomy where different social actors – such as peasants, indigenous peoples, and former slaves – could engage in discussions over the meanings of citizenship and nationalism. The moment of stabilization for these nation-building projects varied across space and time, with the majority coming together in the first half of the twentieth century. Mexico, for instance, entered this moment of stabilization in the 1930s with the populist presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas. After the consolidation of the nation, alternative visions of citizenship, especially those emanating from peasant groups, were usually repressed and at best subsumed or coopted into state-led official nationalism. In other words, there were fewer spaces for peasants to articulate a counter-hegemonic project that offered up innovations and resistance to official nationalism. At this point, peasant struggles became resistance movements circumscribed by hegemonic narratives of

[235] Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*, 4. Thongchai Winichakul also provides a useful analysis of nationalism in *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

citizenship. In the context of Mexico, the nation-state inscribed into official historical narratives the power of popular memories to fuel opposition movements, rendering them less volatile and threatening to the nation-state. Hence, peasant voices articulating popular nationalism were largely silenced with the formation of a modern nation that imposed its versions of citizenship onto all through an official nationalism.

Rather than disappear, popular nationalism in the twentieth century was taken up by other sectors of society, principally indigenous groups seeking greater autonomy and respect within national arenas that had repressed them culturally, politically, violently, and economically. Some indigenous groups, such as those discussed by Joanne Rappaport in Colombia and Florencia Mallon in Chile, took up radical projects calling for the formation of autonomous indigenous jurisdictions and recognition of "plural-national" identities within the nation-state. Whereas class-focused peasant movements in the twentieth century set aside such issues while attempting to change peasant's downtrodden existence, indigenous movements called into question the notion of one version of citizenship exalted in the modern nation-state. These movements often were especially powerful between the 1920s and 1930s, and gained currency once again in the late twentieth century with the political opening created by human rights movements protesting dictatorships and repressive regimes in Mexico, Chile, and Brazil, among others. Indigenous movements in the twentieth century thus offered counterhegemonic projects that recognized ethnic autonomy or sought to recover land lost during colonization.

To explain processes of state formation in Mexico, it is necessary to understand the state founded after the Revolution as the dominant actor in a hegemonic process. Seeking to centralize power, the state functioned in an arena characterized by cooperation, cooptation, and repression of and between various groups. Within the nation-building project, notions of citizen are negotiated depending on the aspirations of actors, political practices, and historical memories – such as regional mythologies – inside the country. Thus, the Mexican state was a hegemonic entity seeking to sustain its position of power by quelling any potential competition. In this

context, counterhegemony entailed not only resisting a hegemonic project but also offering an alternative project to replace the existing paradigm. Jaramillo went beyond resisting the state to build on a pre-existing Morelos project founded on popular justice, popular morality, and social equality. Thus, he was one of the few non-indigenous peasant leaders in Mexico able to lead a movement calling for an alternative vision of citizenship similar to that of indigenous movements in the twentieth century.

After the stabilization of the nation-building project in the 1930s, the Mexican state labeled *malinchista* any oppositional project that questioned or threatened the official historical narrative that legitimated the existing social order. Malinchista is derived from the figure of *La Malinche* – the Indian woman who became the interpreter, mistress, and guide to Hernán Cortés in his conquest of Mexico. In conventional Mexican lore, she embodies the corrupt mistress of the conqueror who lent her body in order to create the mestizo race. Hence, her name carries a strong derogatory claim of betrayal and a mimicking of foreign, non-Mexican values.[236] Far from foreign, Rubén Jaramillo originated from the very place from where the national mythology supposedly evolved – the Mexican countryside, the land of the mestizo, and the home of Emiliano Zapata. Had the nation-state labeled Jaramillo a malinchista, and had it taken up Jaramillo's socialist politics and affiliation with the Protestant church to denounce his connection to *lo mexicano*, that would have implied questioning people at the heart of the national mythology. Moreover, this questioning would put the countryside back into play onto the national stage – that sacred place in the collective imagination of Mexicans that was conveniently

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[236] For an excellent example of the nation-state denominating oppositional movements *malinchista*, see Steven J. Bachelor, "Toiling for the 'New Invaders:' Autoworkers, Transnational Corporations, and Working-Class Culture in Mexico City, 1955-1968." In *Fragments of a Golden Age*, edited by Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov, 273-326. Bachelor looks at the evolving cultural and political orientations of GM autoworkers in Mexico, who are denominated malinchistas by state-affiliated labor bosses critical of the autoworkers organizing efforts. For more on the negative and positive uses of the figure of La Malinche from colonial to contemporary times, see Sandra Messinger Cypess, *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: From History to Myth* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

relegated to folkloric status with the establishment of a modern nation. So threatening was Jaramillo's call to arms for the nation-state that the only way to silence him was to kill him.

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APPROVED

Major Advisor: Florencia E. Mallon

Department and Title: Professor of History

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