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DESCRIPCIÓN: Cuatro ejemplares de la revista "Today" del 19 de septiembre de 1936, publicada en Greenwich, Conn., E.U.A. y dedica en su mayor parte al General Plutarco Elías Calles. Los artículos son: "Calles speaks" de Raymond Moley; "In Praise of Moderation" escrito por el mismo General Plutarco Elías Calles y "México's Exile" de George W. Lynn.

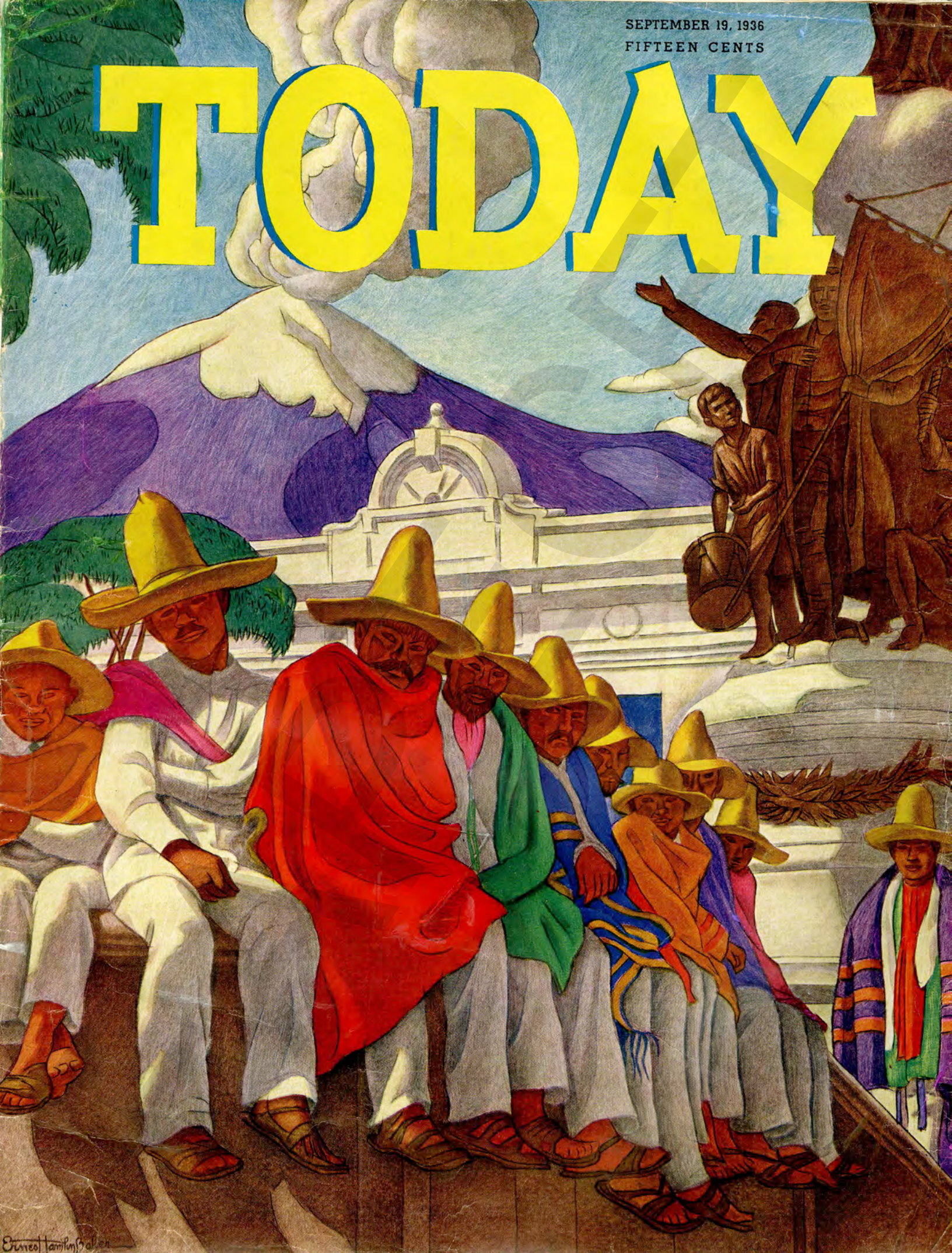
La primera nota está ilustrada con una fotografía del General Plutarco Elías Calles y subtitulada "Calles breaks his silence, Perspective". Es una entrevista al General Plutarco Elías Calles quien se encuentra exiliado en San Diego, Cal., E.U.A. El autor recuerda que se entrevistó con Calles en Cuernavaca, Mor., México, en 1934, cuando era el hombre fuerte de México. La nota presenta una perspectiva introductoria para el artículo que el propio General Plutarco Elías Calles escribe y que se publica en la siguiente página "In Praise of Moderation" es un ensayo en el que el General Plutarco Elías Calles se pregunta en que extraño mundo está viviendo y hasta cuando la razón será la que rija la vida de los hombres y establezca la armonía en la sociedad. Afirma que la lucha entre izquierda y la derecha es cada vez más encarnada y que los seres humanos vivimos como rehenes de

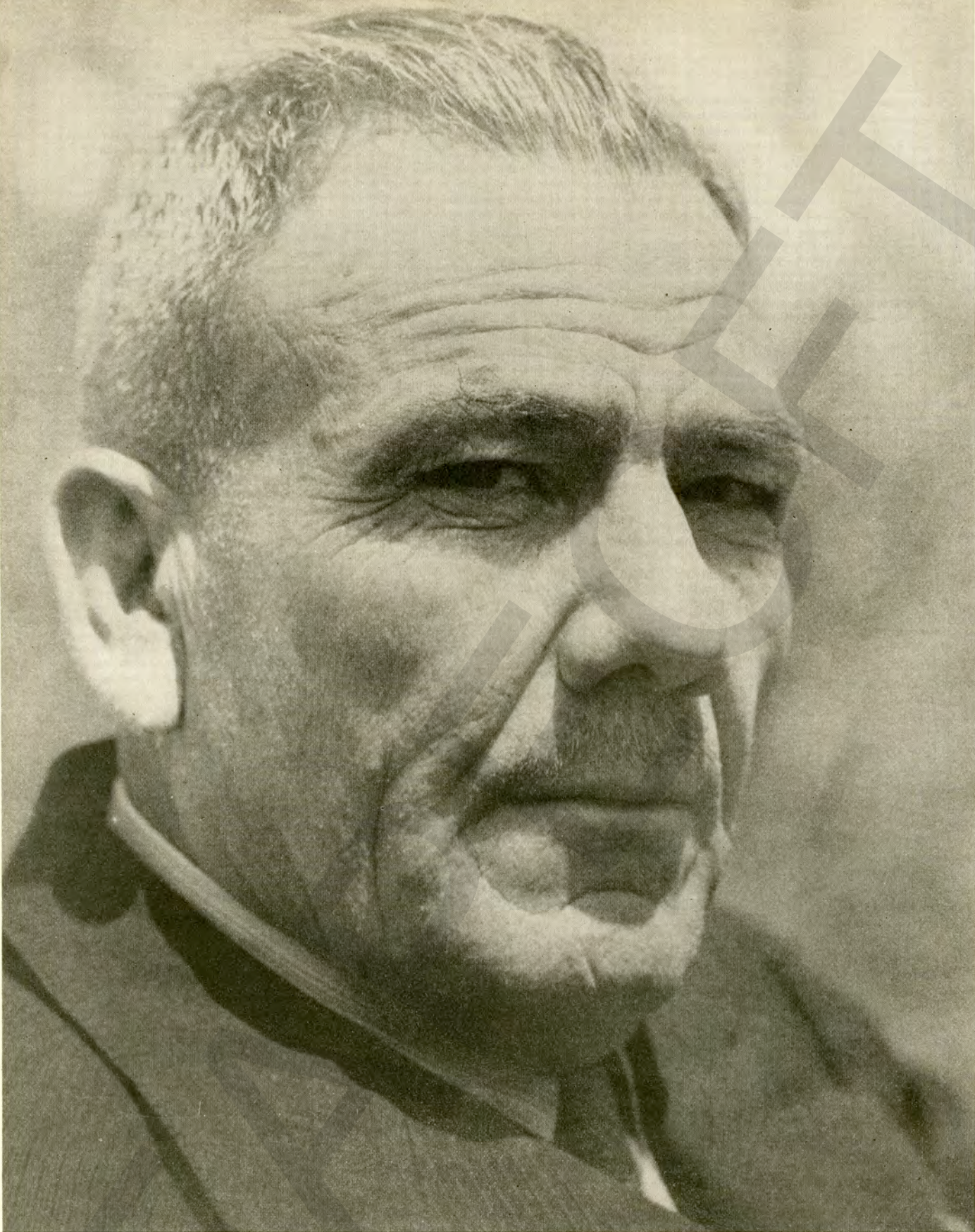
la Ley del Péndulo, ya que vamos de un radicalismo impulsivo a una intransigente reaccionaria y que es imposible calmar las fuerzas que nos llevan de uno al otro lado. Analiza las posturas y las conductas de ambas fuerzas que cuando toman el poder gobiernan no para el bienestar del pueblo sino para favorecer sus propios intereses. Necesitamos un partido que gobierne para todos, con moderación y espíritu abierto para escuchar todas las voces y tomar las decisiones pensando en el bienestar general. Recuerda la doctrina de Maquiavelo y dice que es la que siguen los hombres para llegar al poder; que el poder por sí mismo hace perder la razón y lleva al desastre, que debe ejercerse con responsabilidad y sentido crítico. El verdadero hombre de estado es el que conduce con igualdad y firmeza a su pueblo tanto en la guerra como en la paz. Condena al fascismo por ser régimen que se basa en la fuerza y la opresión, que la libertad es un anhelo de los pueblos y cuando es pisoteada viene una reacción tan violenta que es imposible controlar. Lo mismo afirma del comunismo, analiza las razones por las que el pueblo alemán sigue a Hitler y lo ve como reivindicador de sus derechos y por qué el pueblo ruso se somete al comunismo, porque siempre ha sido tiranizado. Considera que la democracia es el único sistema que llevará paz a las naciones y hace un profundo recuento de la situación en España.

El artículo titulado "Mexico's Exile" presenta al General Plutarco Elías Calles en el exilio: lo describe físicamente, habla de su vida diaria, sus intereses y trayectorias revolucionarias desde que se lanzó a la lucha armada hasta que salió al exilio por órdenes del Presidente Cárdenas. El autor afirma que Calles se considera a sí mismo un socialista práctico y asegura que no se levantará en armas contra Cárdenas. La nota se ilustra con varias fotografías del General Plutarco Elías Calles.

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CALLES BREAKS HIS SILENCE

No small part of the world's accumulated wisdom about government, politics and life in general has been the legacy of men in lonely exile

PERSPECTIVE

BY RAYMOND MOLEY

Calles Speaks

I TALKED with General Calles exactly two years ago in Cuernavaca. I saw him again in San Diego a month ago. In 1934, Calles was the master of Mexico, the chief of the party which wielded supreme political power there. Now, in 1936, he is exiled, his actual control over the government gone, his estrangement from the chieftains of his party complete, and his popularity with the masses of the Mexican people problematical.

But his mastery of the art of statecraft remains unimpaired, in fact reinforced by the objectivity that comes to a man removed from active participation in political life. After all, no small part of the world's accumulated wisdom about government and politics has been the legacy of men in lonely exile.

In the course of our long conversation I asked Calles what seemed to me to be the most pertinent question of all: "What will happen after the present dictators pass on?" His answer was characteristic of a troubled state of mind poignantly reflected by his article in this issue of TODAY: "I do not know. I wish I did."

Perhaps a better answer was unspoken, implicit in the man who was sitting before me. Here, in this grim-eyed, worldly-wise realist, was the power that had guided the destinies of Mexico for ten years. Since his banishment, he has seen what can follow in the wake of a dictator. And heaven only knows how many doubts he feels as he looks back on his own course of action.

THE revolution of which he was a part had all but destroyed the two forces that had kept the atomic life of the nation together—feudal land ownership and the church. He had sought desperately to provide a new means of unification through a species of state capitalism. In the midst of his efforts, communism began to grow and, when his firm hand was removed, his new socialized capitalism, an immature means of social control, was strained to the utmost by his more ardently radical associates.

Cardenas, his successor, Calles believes, is proving incapable of withstanding the destructive influence of communism. But while Calles fears the influence of the communists who surround Cardenas, he realizes that to destroy Cardenas' power would be to plunge Mexico into bloody civil war again. The most forceful statement he made in the course of our conversation was that he did not desire the overthrow of the present government in Mexico. He hopes

passionately that it will succeed and avoid the dangers which he fears and Cardenas deprecates.

I doubt whether Calles would wish to return to active power in Mexico, even if he could. But I believe (although Calles by no means suggested the idea) that if Cardenas would offer reconciliation on a reasonable basis, Calles would gladly put at his disposal all the influence and wisdom he possesses. This is pure speculation, however.

IN reading Calles' political views, it is well to bear in mind that he believes firmly in capitalism and democracy. I asked him if he did not think his reforms had weakened capitalism to the point where it could no longer assert its natural power of resistance against communism. "Absolutely no," he said. "Capitalism in Mexico, as I found it, was dangerously ruthless and selfish. It did not offer labor a sufficiently large share of its income." What he had tried to establish in Mexico, he said, was a system by which the central government would hold the balance in the distribution of the national income.

As a matter of fact, Calles' reforms in this direction constitute the heart of the socialized capitalism which he contemplated. He recognized that the control of credit in a modern State is the most potent instrument for the control of its destinies. These reforms, far overshadowing his labor and land policies, have been almost completely overlooked in the many books on Mexico written by Americans in the past ten years.

Calles' views on public education, as he expressed them two years ago, were dominated by a twofold purpose: the "liquidation of illiteracy", as essential to the stability of democratic institutions, and the systematic inculcation of socialistic doctrine, as essential to the perpetuation of the National Revolutionary regime. Calles, two years ago, would not admit the dangers inherent in his second purpose. But now he sees how easy it is to pervert education, once the principle is established that political ideas are a legitimate part of publicly supported instruction. He bitterly observes that the socialistic education which he defended is now becoming communistic propaganda.

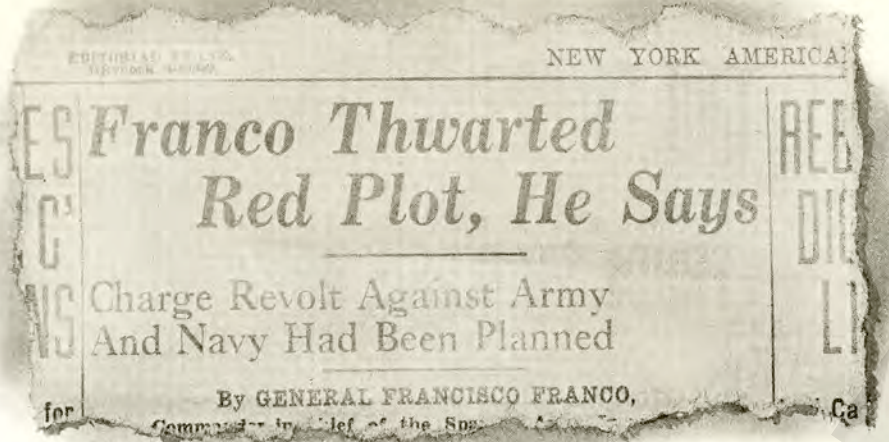
TWO years ago I refrained from discussing religious issues with him. It was clear, in fact it has always been clear, that in his attitude toward the church there are deep-seated emotional reactions which differ in nature and intensity from his generally moderate and rational feelings about

other aspects of national life. I believed then that he went too far in his policies regarding the church and, while we again avoided this subject of difference, I suspect that he recognizes that the time has come to permit the church to function as an instrument of stability. Much of his antagonism toward the church in days past was sedulously cultivated in his mind by the very communist advisors who have now deserted him for the more pliable Cardenas. Wise students of Mexico tell me that Calles could do nothing so important to the future of Mexico as to make a statement expressing his feeling that the church in Mexico ought to have precisely the same rights and liberties as it enjoys in the United States.

Whether Calles or Cardenas or, indeed, anyone promised the immediate redistribution of the land is less important than the fact that millions of Mexicans believe such a promise was made. Within the past year, former peons have been moving in on the haciendas, harvesting their crops on a communal basis. Many of Mexico's crops, such as sisal, must be grown under large-scale methods of production and the nation simply cannot continue to raise them in exportable quantities if the promises of land redistribution are completely carried out. It is into this impasse that the land policy of Mexico has moved.

On the side of business, industry and labor, it was part of the Calles policy to build up the capital necessary for the development of industrial production through a wisely managed and centrally controlled banking system. Calles believes that the present government has completely forfeited the confidence of business.

IT is impossible to read Calles' profoundly significant article without recognizing the vast interest which the United States necessarily has in the future of Mexico. Neither Calles nor Cardenas is in himself important, seen in the light of our national interest. Yet the social and economic forces that may be loosed by the failure of moderate counsel to prevail in Mexico cannot but concern us. The institutions of democracy, firmly established here and in Great Britain, are by no means secure south of the Rio Grande. Latin America offers an inviting field for the activities of international agencies of propaganda. Should a secondary center of communistic enterprise grow in Mexico, it would not only destroy the reforms of Obregon and Calles, and the well-meaning socialism of Cardenas, but it would threaten democracy in the Western Hemisphere. It is for this reason that Americans must hope that Calles and Cardenas can resolve their differences.



NEW YORK AMERICAN

IN PRAISE OF MODERATION

BY PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES

IT has fallen to our lot to live, during these last years, in the midst of a world governed by passion, divided by intransigence and bathed in blood by every type of violence—from personal assault to mass killings. The average man, who has neither time nor inclination for deep consideration of problems finds himself, much to his sorrow, affected by them in full. They touch his interests and wound his feelings. Within the family circle or in discussion with his friends, when commenting on the grave news of the day—such as the conflicts in France, or destructive and bloody civil strife such as Spain is undergoing, or the eternal threat of a new world conflagration—with reason he asks himself: “In what strange era are we living? Has humanity lost its reason? Will it never again be possible that peace shall return to reign among men?”

Certainly human life is and has been a

battlefield, life a struggle, and man a soldier who draws the fire in combat. Whenever a new concept of progress matures and the wornout institutions of the past are thrown down, the human race has known bloody wars, fratricidal struggles and tremendous social convulsions. New forms of government begin in the sorrow of enlightenment. But between crisis and crisis men have known also the tranquillity of the periods of work and of peace in which the continuous struggle between individuals and between peoples has softened their methods of procedure, imposing constructive intelligence upon destructive violence, and causing the social instinct of solidarity to triumph over the dissolving hatred of anarchy. For this reason, as we view the spectacle of a world in a ferment of change, fearful lest the violences of the upheaval shall perpetuate themselves, we all anxiously repeat the question, “When will reason return to rule men and to establish harmony in society?”

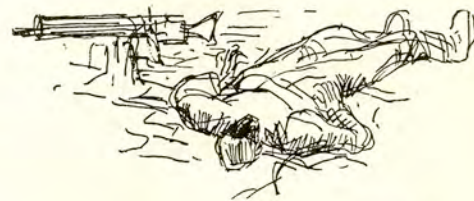
This is the problem which presents itself to us in the troubled times in which we are living: it is the enigma that occupies us all. Is the political and economic organization of humanity transforming itself? Assuredly, I do not believe that there is anyone who will deny it, but the important thing is to know how? . . . when? All of us are anxious to achieve reform as soon as possible, to destroy that which should be destroyed, to create that which must be created. We all want to construct a society of harmony and solidarity with the new which comes forth and the old which survives; within which one can live according to those human sentiments created by civilization, far from outbursts of hatred and intransigence.

But it is precisely here that the roads branch. When a solution is proposed, tendencies divide, interests clash, concepts differ and passions break loose.

Some claim that the world can only progress by pushing towards the Left, and others wish to save it by dragging it to the Right. The worst of the situation is that doctrines are not discussed; they are imposed as irreducible dogmas. No one wishes to compromise. As in all great moments of social transformation, so in these times of passion and fanaticism everyone believes that he possesses the absolute truth and is seeking a means of imposing it by violence. When he meets resistance, conviction becomes fanaticism and no other road to salvation seems to present itself save dictatorship—with its subjugation, autocracy, force. Thus there disappears, in the name of a professed public interest, the rule of right, the guarantees and elemental liberties which have made man a civilized being. Intransigence darkens the world and passion makes everything seem false.

An atmosphere of perpetual combat produces in individuals a special psychological state of nonconformity, of bitterness and of impulsiveness which overcomes social discipline. All men, the intellectual and the ignorant, the bankers and the unemployed, are alike possessed of that aggressiveness, of that instinct of the assassin which makes boxers great. The world has been converted into an immense “ring”; social and political “boxing” prevails, dominated by the idea of struggle without a thought of conciliation. Truly it is a tremendous combat in which it appears that we are lacking the only possible arbitrator, common sense.

It seems clear that in this type of world, power becomes the prisoner of the daring and the impulsive, and unfortunately often of those who are not prepared to wield it. This is the very reason why conflicts multiply, struggles perpetuate themselves and social harmony ebbs away. In the face of contradictory solutions and of the failure of differing programs, that immense mass of neutral people, those who in the end will have to pay for the broken glass, becomes unsettled, and oscillates from the Right to the Left and from the Left to the Right even as it fails to attain its fondest desire, namely, that it be left to work and live in peace. Circumstances thus impose upon opinion what we may call *The Law of the Pendulum*, the swing from radical impulsiveness to reactionary intransigence; from the errors and intemperance of the “Leftists”, who seek to destroy everything in order to create a new Utopian world, to the errors and violence of the “Rightists”, who wish to mummify society.



It is impossible to quiet the forces in this tempest of contradictory desires. When Leftists obtain control of the government they give themselves over to unloosing persecution on conservative men and interests. If, on the other hand, it is the Rightists who gain power, they act with equal lack of reason, and persecute organizations and men of radical and advanced ideas. Passion grips the contestants and makes them forgetful of everything save only the desire for power. Government becomes only an instrument to subjugate their opponents and to impose upon the people—disregarding existing laws—dogmatic programs, which are not only poorly thought out but are badly applied by incapable men concerned primarily with their own rise to glory. Parties, when they come into power, do not govern for the good of all of the people, but to favor their own groups and arbitrarily to impose their own principles.

Peace cannot come through such means, and the violence of the radicals produces reactions of opinion of which conservatives may take advantage. The excesses of these latter awaken in their turn sympathy for the Leftists. What we need is a party which, when it gains control of the government, will work for all, adjusting its action in accord with its own program, but controlling the passions and refusing to hear the dictates of intolerance, listening to opinion and respecting the rights and legitimate interests of everyone, even those of its enemies.

In short, the moderation of the statesman should impose itself upon the intolerance of the partisan.

The problem is psychological, whether one treats of the state of mind of those who govern or of the collective spirit which animates the partisan. The aggravated and repeated incidents of so long a struggle inflame everyone and drag men into a vicious circle, wherein the intemperate action of the fanatics only serves to breed, in its turn, new partisans. There is being cultivated in political life an impulsiveness and an irresponsible daring which deprecate the teachings of experience. Drunk with ambition or blinded by hatred, there are many people who believe that they have a Machiavellian wisdom when they advise those who govern

that it is better to be violent than considerate, because Fortune is a woman.

Well then, the modern emulators of the ancient and much-discussed Florentine writer think so little of consideration and dedicate themselves in such a manner to violence that they treat Fortune not only as a woman, but as a wanton. They flatter her in the midst of intransigence and persecutions until Fortune herself, inconstant likewise because she is a woman, abandons them and draws them to their destruction.

Upon such foundations no government can endure, nor can any program helpful to the people be developed. The Machiavellian policies and the capriciousness of so many political leaders of all nations demonstrate that through all of the centuries and among all races it is the partisan passions which drive men into error.

It all comes from a lamentable confusion of thought and from a weakening of the sense of responsibility. The characteristics of the fanatic—a blind faith in the principles which he professes, his daring in exposing his life, his possessions and his peace of mind to destruction, his simple conception of public problems, his disregard for the opinions of others, his audacity, his unconditional loyalty to his partisans and his systematic and unthinking hatred for his enemies—are characteristics that may be considered as virtues in the struggle for power, in the diffusion of doctrine, in arousing the masses and in a campaign of partisan proselytism. They are powerful negatives in the work of government. These characteristics are the indispensable ingredients of the mixture from which leaders are made and they adapt themselves admirably to the purposes of agitation and propaganda.

These are the means by which leaders of groups ascend to power. Afterward, their use of the power and the practice of administration are the touchstones which serve to indicate to us whether or not there may be within these agitator leaders the capacity to govern as a statesman should govern. Only a clear notion of the responsibility assigned



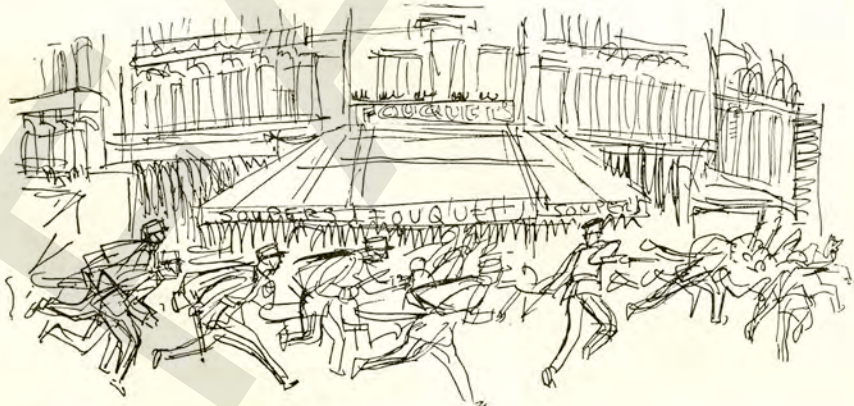
the arbiter of the people's destinies and the restraining force of the requirements of ethics, dominating the ambition and suppressing the egotism of the partisan, can give to a man that sensibility of statesmanship which enables him to use fanatic enthusiasm for the purpose of propagating his teachings and moderation in government in order best to serve his country.

It is this sense of responsibility—which is frequently wanting in the excited combatants of the present day. In the great majority of cases, the heads of the Leftists and the directors of the Rightists, magnificent agitators, excellent as leaders of opposition, many of them possessed of great personal valor, fail completely as directors of government, exploiting the opposite forces with their extreme intolerance. That is to say, they carry with them to positions of rule not the science of government, but the trappings of hatred and the rancors of the political campaign.

Life is a struggle as I have already stated, but not a perpetual struggle. It is not an unending battle. Even in a military campaign, battle is the momentary exception. It is generally of but the shortest duration. More important and of longer duration are the preparations which precede the campaign. The same thing may be said of the operations which an army carries on after the battle, if victorious, for the purpose of taking advantage of the results of victory or, if defeated, for the purpose of avoiding greater misfortunes. But neither a soldier nor an army lives continually in a state of fighting and firing, as those intemperate propagandists of a "social war" would have us believe.

The true statesman, leader of peoples, knows that nations, like individuals, can battle with all ardor and decision for the victory of the principles which they profess and for their interests; but he knows likewise that they cannot live in a perpetual and chronic struggle. For sooner or later anarchy tires the citizenry, and causes various groups to turn their eyes to one who can offer them order. This unfortunately comes generally in the form of a dictatorship and at the price of public liberties.

In the effervescent state of political passions and of the conflict of social tendencies now animating the modern world, moderation should be preached to the people and to their leaders. Only the science of government, dispassionate and clean, having for its objective national interests and those of the human race, and disregarding seductive urgings toward intolerance, can protect na-

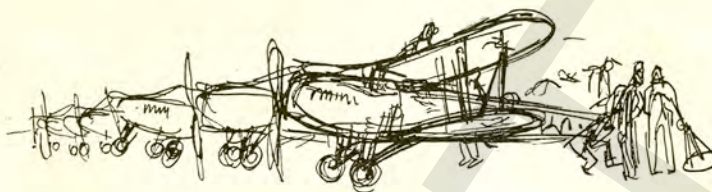


tions from bloody civil wars and save humanity from a new world war of tremendous consequences.

Up to the present moment what have been the results of the systematic employment of tactics of violence? Speaking frankly, these tactics have only brought about misfortune for the race and in the greater number of instances a loss of prestige for the doctrines they have attempted to impose. This is proved by the happenings since the termination of the World War and up to the present time.

Italy, controlled by radicalism, following tactics and procedures which were carrying her to anarchy, revolted against such methods and against those who employed them. She developed a current of opinion contrary to "Leftism", which made possible the advent of the Fascist regime, a dictatorship imposed, it is true, by violent processes, but which, now that it has settled itself in power, uses less and less violence and more frequently intelligent tolerance. With the exception of the communists, whose methods are generally the chaotic violence of anarchy—at least in countries where they actually irresponsible minority groups—Mussolini compromised with opposing groups and succeeded in assuring work, quiet and well-being to the Italians of all parties and of all sections.

Of the future of Italian Fascism, as well as of the future of any dictatorial tendency, it is not possible to make any prognoses because its existence rests in a regime of force, and in this fact is the danger. Oppression engenders a corresponding reaction and, in passionate and liberty-loving peoples like the Italians, the use of this force, the military dictatorship, threatener of human rights and prerogatives, produces violent convulsions. Civil war breaks out as the only apparent method of recovering lost liberties. The life of Mussolini and the life of Fascism (as in all dictatorships) are intimately united. We still want to see whether the Italian dictator will be capable of changing himself into a statesman and will have the energy and decision necessary to purge his regime from its inclination to methods of violence and terrorism, and permanently rest public authority upon respect for the institutions of the country and human rights and liberties. If this is accomplished it will endure even though the dictator disappears, because it cannot be denied that Fascism was born of a popular movement, a natural



reaction provoked by the violent acts of those radicals who sought to implant communism. It was also brought about by those leaders who, however well-intentioned and stainless, could not discipline and control the masses they manipulated.

The history of the last years of the land of Machiavelli brings to our notice the misfortune of his advice when leaders seek to govern by caprice. Methods of violence caused the Italian radicals to fail, and created an atmosphere favorable to the Fascist reaction. If Mussolini had brought to the government only the methods of agitation and violence which he employed during his march on Rome, he would quickly have fallen as one more rebel defeated by an opinion cultivated by his own intolerance.

In Germany there was a similar phenomenon. The excesses and the errors of Socialists and Communists, the intolerance in the methods employed both by men of the Left and by those of the Right, were dissolving the German State and weakening the nation. Opinion, reacting before a state of anarchy, turned toward the group that offered it order, the Nazis. While Hitler came into power through a campaign of intolerance and violence, he very promptly modified this narrow vision of things, amplifying it with an apparent nationalism to the idea of a Germany as a fatherland not only for those of his party but for all Germans. His errors are due to the survival of the factional spirit, just as Mussolini's are.

The example of Chancellor Hitler proves the thesis which I am developing, in that it offers us a clear example of how systematic intransigence, even when it goes beyond frontiers and converts itself into a thing that is international, serves frequently to create situations directly opposed to the end it seeks. We agree that the intemperate tactics of the conquerors of Germany have contributed in no small way to the rapid career of the *Führer*. When French passion increased pressure on a Germany disorganized by internal agitation, the only thing accomplished was to awaken the instinct of self-

preservation in the majority of Germans, moving them towards the Nazi group, which resolutely proclaimed a national opposition to that which it judged a foreign injustice. We see that in this case the intolerance of the German radicals created the possibility of dictatorship under the Swastika, and that the irreconcilability of in-

ternational chauvinism grouped the Germans around Hitler, to whom the attitude of his enemies offered the opportunity to present himself as the savior of the Reich.

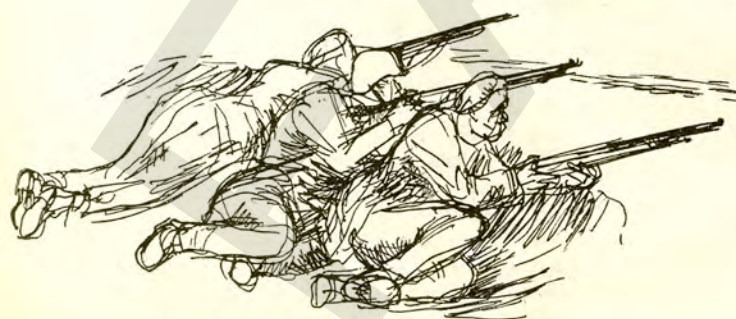
If we turn our glance to Spain we find her torn asunder and bleeding from the factional strife which created passion, intolerance and a lack of moderation, particularly among those who were governing.

A spent and worn-out monarchy gave the bad example and began the disorder by destroying legal process, creating a military dictatorship and attempting to suffocate all progressive tendencies under the tyranny of Primo Rivera. This torpid capriciousness of a dying regime only served to excite the Republican forces to the ultimate end of destroying the Monarchy. The Republic having been created and the control falling into the hands of the "Leftists", the leaders lacked moderation and, because of their unwillingness to change and the outrages which they committed, they lost the sympathies of the masses to such an extent that the direction of public affairs passed to the "Rightists".

On their part, the men of the "Right" came into power without other inspiration than partisan passion and the desire for vengeance. They moved so far toward reaction that they provoked an armed movement which they drowned in blood, loosing upon the people a series of odious persecutions such as putting in jail more than 30,000 political prisoners.

Because another reaction set in and opinion inclined toward the persecuted "Leftists", the latter returned to power without even yet seeming to have profited by their former experience.

In fact, the radical elements gave themselves over to an anarchical agitation which was destroying Spain economically, while the authorities, incapable of restraining the extremist wave they had unloosed, tried to silence criticism with new and stupid persecutions. The country went rapidly towards anarchy, dragged by the political passions of first one and then another, and all social discipline was destroyed. There began a series of strikes, assaults, assassinations, incendiarisms; every kind of disorder and violence. Against such a situation there arose in rebellion certain militarists, backed by the conservative interests and the non-conformist groups, and an alarmed world has witnessed an intense factional strife, bloody to the point of savagery, passionate to the point of extermination, in which thousands and thousands of human beings have perished, entire populations have been annihilated, historical monuments blown up and burned and works of art and



wealth, accumulated through the centuries, destroyed. Whatever faction is triumphant, it will only find a country laid waste and a society torn to its roots by hatred. This is the sad crop of passionate intransigence which the "Left" and the "Right" sowed on coming alternately to power. Will there come forth the group and the statesmen capable of organizing this anarchy, bringing about order and pacifying public opinion? It is to be hoped that it may be so, although up to the present time nothing leads us to expect it.

The case of Russia is interesting for other reasons. Here we find a people more Asiatic than European, accustomed to suffer all the crimes and misrule of an autocratic state in which political power has been reinforced for centuries by the authority of religion. The errors and the intemperance of that autocracy, whose dissolution was hastened by the World War, unloosed the hatred of the multitudes. The Communists have implanted there another system without law, dogmatic, passionate, which disguises the domination of Stalin and his group under the name of "the dictatorship of the proletariat". A regime of fanaticism has been able to sustain itself solely because the masses look with even greater fear upon the threats of a restoration of their old rulers. They have thus justly interpreted all of the counterrevolutionary attempts which, because of these forces of reaction, have employed the "white terror" without scruple. Measured by the ancestral experience of the *mujik* the present masters are more progressive and less cruel than the former.

How does it happen that the Russian people have endured such a regime for so many years? In order to understand this, one must remember that the populations forming the Soviet Union have lived long centuries under brutal Asiatic tyrannies and in reality have never known democratic liberty. Nevertheless, as I am informed, there are being created further currents of opinion in favor of public liberties and constitutional reforms, making democratic concessions to the people and to private property, and to the very capitalistic system itself. From this great Russian tragedy there could come forth, if her statesmen were capable of for-

getting the dogmatic prejudice and the violent intransigence which characterizes them, not the Utopian "society without classes" of Communism, but a democracy wherein the socialism of the State and a controlled economy would succeed in minimizing the evils of the capitalistic system. Nevertheless, I fear that at the present time, passion still dominates them and moves them toward the terrible adventure of seeking to impose their doctrine upon the world by bloody strife.

This is the spectacle which Europe presents to us—a battlefield where the two extreme tendencies fight passionately; the "Rightists" and the "Leftists"; fascism and communism; dictatorial tendencies in a combat wherein they have declared war to the death without a thought of the methods of extermination which are employed by both sides. One of the most serious things in this situation is the fact that it seems necessary, in order to triumph, for these extremists to seek places of influence among other peoples. For this reason they are developing a policy of "penetrating" with their teachings, breaking down the sovereignty of nations to such an extent that it is not too much to predict that these actions of absurd impositions will carry the world to a new conflagration which will be fatal to modern civilization.

Nevertheless, these situations which have come forth, or which may come forth, through violence, always will be transitory, say what one will. Mankind has known too much of liberty to be able to forget and renounce it, even in exchange for bread problematically assured, and a system which does violence to all individual aspirations and which cannot perpetuate itself. These dictatorial regimes are destined to disappear.

And afterwards . . . ? It is probable new and bloody struggles will follow. All governments are destined to obey, in accordance with the evolution of society, the influence of the people, an influence which in time converts itself into a sovereign will. And if the leaders of the masses have not known how to inculcate in the spirit of the people the idea of duty, of responsibility and the notion of restraint, and have only



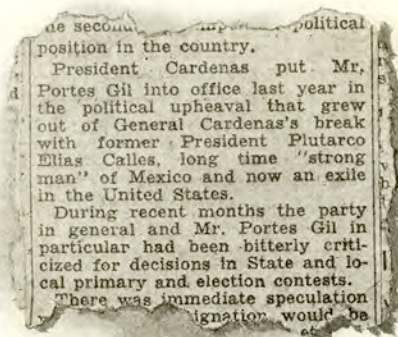
awakened the consciousness of their power, this sovereign will of the masses, this conviction of their own power will be converted into a despotic will, and force national catastrophe, especially if the people have had as their only spiritual food hatred, revenge and prejudices, because the action which should be directed towards social wellbeing and happiness becomes an anarchical activity, destructive and cruel.

The cult of force and its systematic employment has demanded intransigence and now no one wishes to travel the middle road. The communists agitate anarchistically in order to prepare for the advent of that "society without class", whose existence seems ephemeral while man is what he is. The "Rightists", for their part, try to make life go back to formulas long outmoded by evolution. Such "exclusionist leanings" cannot be taken seriously. Not even in Russia have they been able, after many years of domination, to install the "society without class". Nor is it possible to believe a reversion to the principles of Czarism will be able to solve the problems of that country. Neither is it conceivable that among a people as individualistic as those of Spain will a communist state succeed, nor will the leaders and the institutions of the monarchy save it from chaos. Out of these human currents, renewed in struggle, will come forth the men who shall chart the new course for the peoples of the world, already tired of experiment and extremism.

But all of us ask by what means we shall approach this goal, and experience replies: "By one. By the only one which guarantees the liberties of the citizenry; by means of the institutions of democracy."

If it be certain that at times a dictatorship appears necessary to bring order to a people when they are in anarchy, it is no less certain that social harmony can only be obtained by the exercise of democracy. For a party with a defined national policy, violence cannot, and should not, constitute in its system more than a passing incident of the struggle against the forces of opposition. But once the (Continued on Page 27)





NEW YORK TIMES

MEXICO'S EXILE

BY GEORGE W. LYNN

THE days are dull, listless and physically uncomfortable for General Plutarco Elias Calles. Once the strong man—"the iron man of Mexico"—he fought his way up from country schoolteacher to the Presidency of the Mexican Republic. He became the guiding mind of a nation and with courage and tenacity translated dreams and hopes into practical realities.

But now, deposed from power, driven from the country which he fought to free from stupid tyranny and confusion, he waits for the hour which he knows will come, making no move to hasten his destiny. In the small house of his exile outside San Diego, California, he studiously avoids conferences with political advisors. He feels sure that he is being watched. The United States will tolerate no revolutionary plots being hatched within its borders. And he is too cunning to give enemy spies a chance to benefit from their espionage.

Calles is dynamic. He is blunt, yet courteous. He listens intently to what people say. He then, suddenly, bristles with energy. His eyes gleam and his voice booms with slow, deep, measured cadence. He uses his hands—hands that are slender and agile—to emphasize what he says. His language is the

treble of culture and the bass of rumbling finality. Soldier, educator, philosopher, cattleman and farmer, he has gone far, lived hard, assumed tremendous responsibilities, but he remains a simple man.

Apparently resigned to exile, his mind is concentrated on considering practical means of strengthening that democracy in Mexico which has been his life's dream and which he believes is being endangered by others.

He rose to his great power in the bloodless revolution which overthrew Carranza. It was Calles who made Obregon President, rather than Obregon who started Calles along a road that eventually made him supreme in the Republic of Mexico. Both Obregon and Calles were exceptional men, friendly contemporaries in a maze of political intrigue bound by ties of loyalty to their people and patriotism to their country. Obregon, however, saw the Mexico of that day. Calles envisioned it over a long span of progress, brought about through evolution, not revolution.

From almost the beginning of the present century Mexico has been in revolt against personal rule and the despotism of Presidential dictators. Yet paradoxically for more than a decade the people subjected themselves to the strong but devoted will of Calles to free themselves from dictatorial rule!

The people seemed to want institutional government. They were weary of ruthless rulers who perpetuated their own power. In 1920 Carranza was such a ruler. His government was cruel and corrupt. Men in high command were raiding the Treasury of millions, while the country was prostrate and hungry. Carranza misjudged the temper of his people. He proposed to elevate Ignacio Bonillas, Mexican Ambassador at Washington, to the Presidency of the Republic and thus, with a puppet ruler, continue his own relentless dynasty.

It was a fatal error for Carranza and a turning-point for Mexico. Calles, watching in the shadows, organized a revolutionary zone in the State of Sonora. He pushed Obregon into the limelight, emphasizing him as the hero and idol of the hour. And it was here, in the State of Sonora, that Calles conceived the Plan of Agua Prieta,

which many have described as the Mexican Declaration of Independence. While Obregon marched and was acclaimed, Calles thought and planned. It was a winning partnership these two had—of military brilliance, political strategy and shrewd, far-seeing statesmanship.

They guided the revolution to quick success. A temporary and provisional President was installed until the time Obregon could legally assume the office in fact, and Obregon held it until he had prepared the way for Calles to take it. Calles has been the governmental brains, the dreamer, the builder and the strong-willed leader of Mexico.

Calles indignantly denies that he was ever dictator or used dictatorial methods, but master he most certainly was. People may have disagreed with what he did, but they believed in his sincerity. They may have resented his bluntness but they understood his purpose.

More than a decade has passed since Calles dictated the tenets of the Plan of Agua Prieta, which drew its name from the little mud-thatched village of Agua Prieta—just across the border from Douglas, Arizona. It was here near the American line that Calles maintained his revolutionary headquarters, and here also that those of us who were newspaper correspondents saw the first awakening of a slumbering republic.

Soon after that, Calles decided to emerge from the shadows because not even Obregon, the popular idol at that time, could visualize the practical and immediate purpose of this new liberty which Calles had written into the Plan of Agua Prieta. Under the principles of this plan the peasants were to have land. Military violence was to cease. There were to be schools, free education, lower rates of interest, a monetary system that the government, and not the bankers, would control. There were to be equal rights, honest elections, institutional government, religious freedom, equitable taxes, credit grants for the development of agricultural resources, and co-operatives that would make it possible for neighbors and wage earners to work together for their common benefit.

Although Obregon remained in the lime-

PHOTOS FROM ACME



light, Calles was the man who gave the orders. When he finally succeeded the soldier hero as Chief Executive the framework of his great ideal was built. He took his office with the definite purpose of retaining the power of the country within his own grasp until those reforms which he believed possible of accomplishment were achieved.

When Calles protests that he was not a dictator, he means that he never ruled for the sheer lust of power. Instead he imposed his will upon the nation as a means to an end.

"Time and heavy responsibilities," he says, "have taught me much. I am more radical than I was at the beginning. I am what Americans might call a *practical socialist*. But it will take a generation to bring many dreams into realization." However, he believes that the government must be an institution of the people, for all of the people. It must think in terms of the common good, of the nation as a nation. And with forgivable zeal he points to such reforms as the Central Banking plan, the new monetary system, the improved condition of labor, the building of good roads and the broadening influence of education within his nation and some of the ideals that have been achieved or are within sight of their goal.

Calles has given severe punishment to political enemies in the past and he is taking it from them now. Proud and arrogant, he prefers not to discuss his exile at the hands of Lazaro Cardenas, present President of Mexico. Cardenas was the blunder which arrested Calles' long and brilliant political career.

There are three stories of what happened.

One is that Cardenas in his betrayal of Calles was moved by that zeal and sincerity which responded to the restlessness making itself articulate in Mexico, that he became President of the country by the sheer force of his will and personality.

The second version, and one with which Calles agrees, is that Cardenas was the bona fide nominee of the National Revolutionary Party.

Calles admits that he supported both the platform of that party and its candidate, and that the break between these two men came only after election. It was then, Calles



Mexico's "man of iron" passes his days in California—countryless, but far from friendless. Plutarco Elias Calles accomplished much for Mexico in the years of his power. Today, he contemplates problems of European government

says, that Cardenas violated and abused his platform pledges. Calles insists that there would have been no rift had Cardenas followed that platform, but in the stormy days which followed he accused Cardenas of betraying it. The two men quarreled. There was finally an open breach and Calles was lost.

The third version—and it, too, contains some element of truth—is that Calles created Cardenas as a puppet President, and that Cardenas bit the hand that fed him and figuratively chased his benefactor across the international border into a land of exile. Whatever may be the truth, Calles will not

forgive, and there are indications that Cardenas does regret.

However it was, the people had tasted the first fruits of liberty and were clamoring to climb over the fence into the orchard. The reforms which seemed so revolutionary when Calles had promised them in 1920, now seemed tame, indeed, and there were those who were beginning to believe that Calles, this self-imposed master-mind, was not a liberal at all.

There was a group becoming more and more articulate who wanted a new "plan"—something like the Soviet Five Year Plan. They were de- (Continued on Page 25)

