

The Mexican Revolution "Ends"

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

NEWS dispatches from Mexico report that the reactionary uprising has been unsuccessful and is drawing to a close. Of course guerrilla warfare will continue for a long time, and the rebels still have organized armies of considerable size in the field, but it seems clear that the backbone of the latest counter-revolution is broken. Although information, particularly as to the degree and manner of participation of the organizations of the masses is still lacking, it is already possible to draw a tentative "balance sheet" of the uprising and the perspectives of future development in Mexico.

U. S. Imperialism Intervenes.

For the second time in the history of the Calles-Obregon-Portes Gil regime, American imperialism intervened on behalf of the Central government. This time the intervention was open, swift and of great importance in determining the outcome of the revolt. The first action of the new Hoover government was a decision to sell and deliver to the Mexican army 10,000 Enfield rifles, 10,000,000 rounds of ammunition and 25 airplanes. At the same time, an embargo was placed on shipment of arms, ammunition or planes to the rebels, and the war department announced that it was prepared to deliver to the Mexican government an additional supply of rifles and bullets up to any desired quantity. Ambassador Morrow and the American consuls in Mexico acted as publicity agents for the victories of the government. Washington announced that it would give help in crushing the rebellion because "the existing government is disposed to observe its international obligations and therefore deserves assistance."

British Hopes.

British imperialism looked longingly on, while the rebellion on which it had the right to set hopes, was swiftly crushed. British newspapers openly deplored the defeat of the rebellion and the intervention of the United States, but Britain did not venture to intervene openly. It is likely that certain British funds found their way into the hands of the rebels. Certainly, British hopes tended to rest upon them.

The Mexican government, after a "Left-ward" zigzag, on the eve of the revolt (distribution of lands and arms and ammunition to peasants to insure mass support in the face of the uprising) hastily "righted" its course a moment later to assure wholehearted support of American imperialism. When the revolt broke

U. S. Imperialism Intervenes Again for Calles-Obregon-Portes Gil Regime

out, Portes Gil issued a long declaration ringing with radical phrases, calling upon the masses to defend "not the government but the gains of the revolution."

At the same time the government issued a brief declaration concerning the unusually large number of oil concessions granted in recent months, and its intentions and achievements in payment of the funded debt instalments to the international bankers. The petty bourgeois government, fearing to lose the mass support which once swept it into power and which to a considerable extent it still retains, flirted with the idea of creating an armed base among the masses, without for a moment trying to break up or even weaken the professional military machine. At the same time it threw itself more unreservedly than ever into the hands of Yankee imperialism.

So soon as it began to be clear that the masses were in the main against the counter-revolution and that the counter-revolution would not triumph, the government hastily declared that it needed no more volunteers and would furnish no more arms to peasant contingents.

Masses Active.

In spite of the reluctance of the petty bourgeois government to unchain forces which it cannot control, it was forced by the nature of things to seek mass support and to promote the activity and political development of the workers and peasants. To what extent the masses intervened in the struggle between the two sections of the army (rebel and "loyal") is not yet clear, but from the meager information available here it seems certain that they did so to a greater extent than ever before. The uprising in the state of Vera Cruz was defeated, judging from reports, not so much by professional troops as by armed bands of peasants and workers. For the first time, there was street fighting in the streets of the Port of Vera Cruz. The rebels were harassed everywhere by rearguard actions of the hostile peasant population.

C. P. Militant Program.

The Communist Party issued a statement branding the uprising as reactionary, sharply criticizing at the same time the treacherous conduct of the government and is-

suing an independent program, and calling upon the workers and peasants to fight the reaction independently of the government, organize their own "fighting squads against the reaction," arm themselves, seize the land, organize workers and peasants committees to carry out a program of elementary demands and lay the basis for a workers and peasants government which alone is capable of destroying the forces of reaction, fighting imperialism and realizing the aims and interests of the masses. This declaration, in spite of shortcomings of a fairly serious character, represent a big advance over previous declarations of the Party in similar complicated situations.

The workers and peasants bloc, although largely under Communist influence, appears to have differentiated itself much less, and the Peasants League, also largely influenced by Communists, seems to have preserved very little independence from the government in fighting the reaction. (However, this judgment is based on very meager information and may very well require modification when all the facts are available.)

Independent Mass Action.

The importance of independent action of the masses under Communist leadership for their own program, is thus summed up in an editorial in the Daily Worker of March 19:

"The toiling masses of Mexico are placed in such a position that, barring their own revolutionary activity in the civil war, any outcome will mean their deeper enslavement. If the fascist uprising were to win, it would certainly mean no freedom for the workers and peasants. If the present uprising is suppressed by the Portes Gil government with the help and practical superintendence of the United States government—and without any intervening mass activity of the workers and peasants—then Mexico will come out of the civil war bound hand and foot tighter than ever before by the Wall Street government. The Mexican workers and peasants must fight as a force independent of the cowardly petty bourgeois government of Portes Gil and the 'Governor-General Morrow'."

That the Mexican Communist Party has understood this, in a situ-

ation similar to that in which more experienced Parties have failed (cf. Stambulinsky government) indicates the growing ripeness of the Mexican Party. What is not yet clear is how far it has succeeded in making this clear to organizations actually or nominally under its influence.

The events of the March 1929 uprising seem likely to prove a turning point in Mexican development. On the one pole American imperialism comes out with its hold on the Mexican government and resources strengthened. On the other, the Communist Party and the mass organizations of the workers and peasants come stronger out of the struggle. Simultaneous strengthening on both ends is a sign of the growing polarization, the growing class differentiation and sharpening of the revolutionary situation in Mexico.

A decisive section of the new bourgeoisie and capitalist landowning class created by the revolutionary events of the last two decades in Mexico (the Sonora group—"men of the revolution") has gone over to an alliance with the semi-feudal, clerical landowning reaction. The petty-bourgeois government remains typically petty-bourgeois in its zigzag occasioned by steady surrender to American imperialism and the necessity of retaining as much mass support as possible. More and more will the Party's struggle be a "fight on two fronts," against government and anti-government forces at once, as it already has been in the present struggle.

Paths of Counter-Revolution.

Today it is clear that there are two paths open to counter-revolution—the path of the armed uprising such as was attempted by the recent rebellion, and the path of further evolution of the present government along the line of its present development, as a more fitting tool of American imperialism and internal capitalist and agrarian reaction. At the same time, the consciousness of the masses grows, the Communist Party ripens rapidly towards a mass party equal to its complicated and enormous tasks, the revolutionary forces of the partially armed and partially awakened workers and peasants crystallize ever more independent of a government that began by failing to carry out the tasks of the revolution that swept it into power and has ended by openly betraying these tasks. The masses stand before the dilemma of the victory of the counter-revolution or the establishment of their own independent revolutionary power, the government of the workers and peasants. There can be no doubt how the stirring masses will choose.