

"banner of civil war within the democracy," he perceptively noted.

Only one Bolshevik spoke in Lenin's defense, the great woman revolutionary Alexandra Kollontai.

The struggle to transform politically the Bolshevik party had begun. By April 7 *Prauda*, the official party newspaper, printed Lenin's famous "April Theses." On April 8 it printed a statement disassociating the party from its contents.

Winning the Bolsheviks

When the All-Russian conference of the Bolsheviks convened April 24, Lenin was able to carry the party, despite stiff resistance from Kamenev and a few others.

How was Lenin able to achieve such a striking victory in his party in such short order? Obviously he had great authority in a party he had contributed so much to. But there was more involved.

The party had been built in bitter struggle against Menshevism and conciliation with the capitalists. And the worker base of the party responded to Lenin. He vocalized their own class feelings, their own desires. They in turn were able to exert great influence on the leadership, especially in such revolutionary times.

Without Lenin it is doubtful that the party could have changed its course soon enough to act decisively. And Lenin, without the party, could well have been a man who knew what to do, but lacked the means to accomplish it. Lenin's political rearming of the party was thus decisive for the course of the revolution.

Having rearmed the party, Lenin then had another task to confront—winning over the masses. This required patience. The masses would have to learn the correctness of Lenin's point of view through their own experiences.

Lincoln Steffens gives one example of Lenin's efforts, repeated a thousand times, to convince the working class:

"The day I got close enough to hear him, the crowd evidently had been troubled by the inactivity of Kerenski [the head of the provisional government], and some advice to them to go home and work, not to give all their time to their self-government. My interpreter repeated Lenin's manifold speech afterward, as follows:

"Comrades, the revolution is on. The workers' revolution is on, and you are not working. The workers' and peasants' revolution means work, comrades; it does not mean idleness and leisure. That is a bourgeois ideal. The workers' revolution, a workers' government, means work, that all shall work; and here you are not working. You are only talking.

"Oh, I can understand how you, the people of Russia, having been suppressed so long, should want, now that you have won to power, to talk and to listen to orators. But some day soon, you—we all—must go to work and do things, act, produce results—food and socialism.

"And I can understand how you like and trust and put your hope in Kerenski. You want to give him time, a chance, to act. He means well, you say. He means socialism. But I warn you he will not make socialism. He may think socialism, he may mean socialism. But, comrades—and here he began to burn—I tell you Kerenski is an intellectual; he cannot act; he can talk; he cannot act. But, quietly again, 'you will not believe this yet. You will take time to give him time, and meanwhile, like Kerenski, you will not work. Very well, take your time.

"But—he flamed—'when the hour strikes, when you are ready to go back yourselves to work and you want a government that will go to work and not only think socialism and talk socialism and mean socialism—when you want a government that will do socialism, then—come to the Bolsheviks.'"

They did.

Latino groups targeted

FALN grand jury probes give cover for political harassment

By José G. Pérez

The government is using a purported investigation into a mysterious terrorist group to slander, harass, and disrupt a wide range of Latino organizations throughout the United States and Puerto Rico.

Two federal grand juries—one in New York, the other in Chicago—claim to be investigating the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation). The group has reportedly taken credit for dozens of bombings in New York and other cities.

According to a report published on the front page of the Sunday, April 17, *New York Times*, the government has linked a wide range of movement groups to the FALN.

These include the New Mexico Raza Unida party; the Denver, Colorado, Crusade for Justice; the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church; Puerto Rico's National Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Political Prisoners; and Chicago's Rafael Cancel Miranda High School.

Last November cops claimed to have found an FALN "bomb factory" in a Chicago apartment said to be rented by Carlos Alberto Torres. The cops' story, however, is more than a little fishy.

They say a dope addict living in the building broke into the apartment and began selling the dynamite. Cops got wind of this and arrested him. He led them to Torres's apartment, which they raided—without a warrant—November 3.

The FBI came back the next day with a warrant. Torres was then charged with illegal possession of explosives.

Torres apparently wasn't around at the end of October and beginning of November when all this was going on.

And he hasn't been heard from since.

What's the link to the FALN? The cops can't get their story straight. Some say a typewriter used to type FALN messages was found in the apartment. Others assert there was FALN literature. Still another story says an FALN communiqué.

Many reporters have taken these police assertions as proof positive that Torres is a member—some say "leader"—of the FALN. But the government has yet to charge Torres with even one of the dozens of bombings attributed to the FALN.

During 1976 Torres worked with the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church. He volunteered to help write a hymnal and prayer book in Spanish.

The Episcopal commission works with people belonging to dozens of Chicano and Puerto Rican movement groups.

Using the traditional police methods of guilt by association and frame-up, the government has launched an extensive fishing expedition.

Following the alleged discovery of the "bomb factory," the FBI visited Maria Cueto, then-director of the Episcopal commission, and her secretary, Raisa Nemikin. The two women said they knew nothing about Torres's whereabouts or the FALN. But the government wasn't satisfied.

Working with some high church officials who want to squash the Hispanic commission, the government obtained unrestricted access to everything in the church's national headquarters.

Then the two women were dragged before the grand jury in New York and told to either testify or face prison.

Cueto and Nemikin refused to testify, saying the government was carrying out a witch-hunt. So they went to prison.

Meanwhile, in Chicago, several Puer-

to Ricans associated with the Rafael Cancel Miranda High School and two Chicanos associated with the New Mexico Raza Unida party were subpoenaed.

What's the connection between Carlos Torres and the targeted high school?

His father was a founder of the school, and Carlos Torres once tutored there three days. But the school is run by movement activists who are strong supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

What Moises Morales and Pedro Archuleta—the two New Mexico activists—supposedly have to do with the FALN is unclear. Some cops say Archuleta might have stolen dynamite for the group—in 1969, five years before the terrorist group emerged. Another says maybe Morales made phone calls for the FALN. Still a third says they only want to question them—implying they're not suspects at all.

The Chicago grand jury subpoenas have been challenged, since the way the grand jury is chosen systematically discriminates against Latinos and women.

But this posed no problem for the government. They began resubpoenaing people to testify in New York.

The "links" between the FALN and other groups are equally tenuous.

For example, one apparent suspect, judging from the *Times*, is Nelson Canals. Canals is a former associate director of the Episcopal commission. Currently he is head of a committee in Puerto Rico that is seeking freedom for five Puerto Rican nationalists who have been in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s. The "link" is that the FALN has reportedly also called for release of the five, and that Canals has visited the imprisoned nationalists.

Another piece of "evidence" is that

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P.R. leaders debate ties to U.S.

By Juan Rodríguez

STORRS, Conn.—Three prominent Puerto Rican political figures debated the island's ties to the United States here April 21.

Close to 800 people, three-fourths of them Puerto Ricans, attended "The Great Debate," which was organized as part of Puerto Rican History Week at the University of Connecticut.

The debaters were:

- Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party and candidate for governor in 1976. The PSP calls for an independent, socialist Puerto Rico.

- Rafael Hernández Colón, a central leader of the Popular Democratic party and governor of Puerto Rico from 1972 until 1976. The *populares* support the so-called commonwealth status, the current form of U.S. domination over Puerto Rico.

- José Granados Navedo, a leader of the New Progressive party majority in the Puerto Rican legislature. The New Progressives call for Puerto Rico to become the fifty-first state.

Hernández Colón, the first speaker, asserted that Puerto Ricans have achieved self-determination because they "freely" chose commonwealth status in a 1952 referendum.

Colón noted that his party and the New Progressives have much in common, because they both support "permanent union" with the United States, only differing on how to achieve it.

He claimed that Puerto Rico can

never be independent, saying it is too small and suffers from a "lack of natural resources." He said this explains why proindependence parties have not received more than a few percent of the vote in the last several elections.

Granados Navedo began his presentation with a sharp attack on the Popular Democrats. He admitted that under commonwealth status Puerto Rico is a colony.

But the way to solve the problem, he said, is to make Puerto Rico a state. This would mean that Puerto Ricans could vote for president and elect representatives and senators to the U.S. Congress.

He launched a red-baiting attack against the independence movement, saying "socialist independence is tyranny."

Mari Brás denounced the demagogic claims of his opponents to support self-determination. He explained that independence is a necessary prerequisite for Puerto Ricans truly deciding their own destiny.

He debunked the myth that Puerto Rico has a "lack of natural resources." Puerto Rico, he said, has a large industrial base, fertile lands, and deposits of minerals such as nickel and copper. He also noted that, according to recent studies, Puerto Rico may also have petroleum and natural gas.

Mari Brás explained that Puerto Ricans have already experienced the reality of commonwealth and state-

hood.

In Puerto Rico wages are one-half to two-thirds those in the United States. Real unemployment is roughly 40 percent. And people are so poor that 70 percent qualify for food stamps. All these, he said, are the reality of commonwealth.

In the United States, Puerto Ricans are crowded into ghettos, get the worst jobs with the lowest wages, and are victims of racism. All these things, he said, are in reality statehood.

Mari Brás emphasized that "Puerto Rico's right to self-determination can only be exercised in the complete freedom that is present only in independence."

The crowd listened attentively and politely to the three presentations. It was clear, however, that their sentiments were with Mari Brás. When he was introduced, a section of the audience stood up chanting, "*Mari, seguro, a los yanquis dale duro*" (Mari, for sure, hit the yanquis hard). When he concluded, they gave him a standing ovation.

This is the first time in recent years that prominent supporters of North American rule in Puerto Rico have debated an independence advocate in this country. That the New Progressives and Popular Democrats felt compelled to do this is testimony to the growing support for Puerto Rico's independence among people living in the United States, especially young Puerto Ricans.