

[AMNESTY IN CANADA]

Editors / The Canadian government is about to enact certain immigration laws that will be of great benefit to tens of thousands of American war-resister exiles living in that country.

Many young Americans who found they could not in good conscience participate in the war in Southeast Asia refused service in the military. Others left the armed forces on their own when they realized the useless and destructive character of the war. About 40,000 to 50,000 American war resisters are in exile in Canada. Over half the exiles are there "illegally" because they could not meet the restrictive immigration standards of the Canadian government. They cannot legally get a job or have the benefits of governmental social services. They are always in fear of being discovered or deported.

Now, the Canadian government is about to adopt a new law, providing that for one final, not-to-be-repeated period of 60 days, every exile who arrived in Canada by November 30, 1972, irrespective of how he came there or under what conditions he stayed, may apply to have his residence in Canada legalized. Over 20,000 American exiles, therefore, will have a brief opportunity to regularize their lives in Canada until such time as the American people welcome them back with a general amnesty.

But the identities and whereabouts of these war-resister exiles are, of course, unknown. It is therefore essential that their families and friends inform them immediately of the new Canadian law and urge them to be in touch promptly with the American exile "aid center" nearest them for help with the process of applying to Canadian government authorities for obtaining "landed immigrant" status. Those who do not know the exile "aid centers" in Canada should write to the National Council of Churches, Room 766, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Henry Schwartzschild
Project on Amnesty
American Civil Liberties Union
New York, N.Y.

[POWs]

Editors / It is true that the government's portrayal of the returned POWs as heroes is hypocritical and absurd. But is it necessary for anti-war personalities to make careless and all-inclusive statements that could be as damaging as the Pentagon's brutal charges?

Does Ms. Fonda really believe she is preventing the government from turning the POWs into "heroic victims" by making statements that lend themselves to misrepresentation and that make the American

people even more willing to accept government propaganda? I doubt it.

The POWs' lack of compassion for the Vietnamese people in no way justifies our lack of compassion for the POWs. Let the ignorant, self-righteous officers continue to make damaging accusations. Let us show reason in our statements and show concern for human beings in a horrible dilemma. Compassion should not be selective.

Tim Hosey
Terre Haute, Indiana

Editors / There is an irony inherent in the stories of maltreatment by the returning POWs that you forgot to mention in your article. Even if one were to accept their stories at face value, one would still have to admit that the treatment they received was considerably better than one could expect at a typical American prison (not to mention the treatment of prisoners of the South Vietnamese, or for that matter, the Greek or Brazilian Governments). They were not subjected to homosexual rape by their fellow inmates, thrown into strip cells at the slightest provocation by sadistic guards or murdered outright. Compared to San Quentin or Soledad, "The Hanoi Hilton" was a country club.

Robert J. Yaes
St. Johns,
Newfoundland
Canada

[THE GURU GAME]

Editors / The religion of the Holy Subaru is indeed not a wax banana. It consists of an entirely different Substance, and that's with a capital 'S.'

Arthur Richards,
Madison, Wisc.

Editors / Concerning the latest avatar of the anti-Christ, the false guru Maharaj Ji—anyone familiar with the life of Marjoe Gortner should recognize the fraud being perpetrated. The basic Hindu pantheon, sexual sublimation from the RC's (among others), and the confusion and naivete of American youth—all are tools of the antagonist as is the child Balyogeshwar.

Paul R. Burnett
Washington, D.C.

Editors / In 1965 Sing Out Magazine devoted almost an entire issue to Bob Dylan's conversion to electric music, citing the Byrds as an example of unkosher folk eclecticism, & branding Dylan as a total sell-out. But no matter how pissed off & confused all his folkie friends were, it just didn't much matter. Dylan was truly what was happening. He wasn't false, he was just guilty of expanding his values.

Ken Kelley's Guru Maharaj Ji article smells a lot like Sing Out did. Especially the

Ramparts

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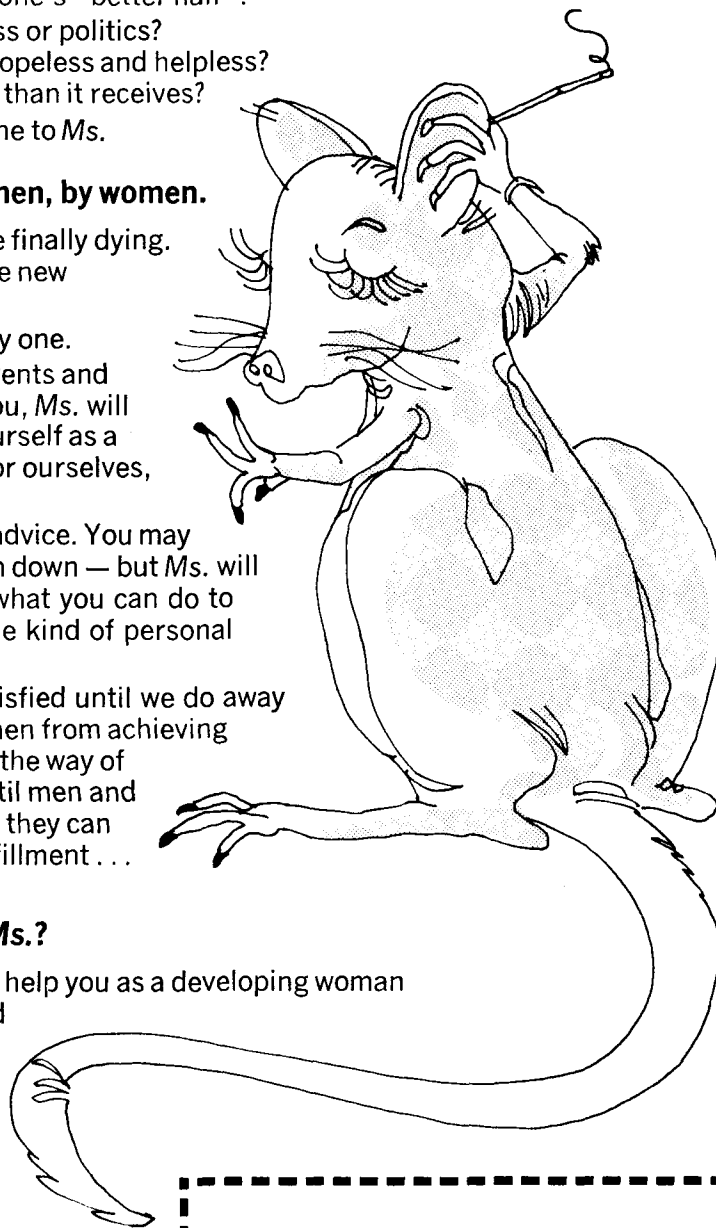
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way he's so smug about this knowledge Maharaj Ji's supposed to be giving (not selling). It's like fat city councilmen putting down acid. You lose your mind, walk in front of cars. Except that Ken accuses Premies of not digging sex & movies & rock festivals, as if they ever brought the Revolution. We only came down afterwards, man.

So what about this knowledge? Is it bullshit or is it not bullshit? I was waiting all through his article for some kind of Sincere opinion. Really, his writing sounded so much like some psychologist trying to explain peyote.

Jim Mahoney
Charlottesville, Va.

Editors / "A Reader's Guide to the New Mysticism" (July 1973) was verrry interesting. I could hardly imagine there were so many elaborate ways to lobotomize oneself.

Also interesting was Joan Apter's statement that the Knowledge is perfect communism, perfect fascism, perfect totalitarianism, etc. ("Blissed Out with the Perfect Master"). Too bad the Guru Maharaj Ji wasn't blowing around in the 1960's. Then we could have had perfect segregation, perfect racism, perfect lynchings, etc.

Jim McWilliams
Holly Ridge, Miss.

[REVOLUTION IN CHILE]

Editors / As a student for two years of Chile, and especially of the agrarian reform, and having spent six months studying in Chile, I was glad to see some coverage in the article by Jose Yglesias, "Revolution in the Countryside" (*Ramparts*, June 1973). However, I think that several additional points should be emphasized.

(1) The agrarian reform is a good example of the limits of trying to make a revolution within the existing legal system—specifically, within the limits of the agrarian reform law of the previous government.

(2) While it is true that land take-overs have been over-emphasized in the press, a more important phenomenon that receives little attention is the rapid growth of peasant unions, from 1,600 members in 1965 to well over 200,000 now, nearly one-third of Chile's peasants. Well over half of these are in pro-government unions, and strikes and take-overs *have* continued to increase.

(3) The present structure of the countryside exemplifies the limits of the bourgeois-reformist law. As Yglesias points out, expropriations under the law are nearly completed, yet only 36% of agricultural land is in the public sector. Worse, only 18% of Chile's peasants have benefited, and they are becoming a privileged sector. Sixty percent of the 700,000-plus peasants are subsistence farmers (*minifundistas*) and have not benefited from the reform. In addition, the most productive sector is still in the hands of the capitalists: medium-sized farms (those exempt from expropriation under the law, plus the reserves left to owners) occupy 42% of the land and 56% of marketed production.

(4) The final point concerns the "sure conclusion that the changes are irreversible." It is true that the peasants would fight rather than let the big landowners take back their land. However, the opposition is not so naive as to even propose this. The capitalists are doing quite well on the medium-sized farms, with the capital and equipment that the law allowed them to remove from their old farms. The opposition is pushing instead for the expropriated farms to be split up among the peasants instead of forming cooperatives or state farms. Because of peasants' desire for security in their possession of the land and also because of some of the problems of cooperatives, the proposal has the support of some peasants. However, parceling out the land would be disastrous for the U.P. and for agricultural production, for it would in effect create even more *minifundia* (subsistence farms). Thus, while farms will not revert to the old system of huge holdings, there is no guarantee that the expropriated sector will remain under public control.

Van R. Whiting, Jr.
New Haven, Conn.

[IMAGE TO THE EDITOR]



Carl Muecke San Francisco, Calif.

[PRISONS]

Editors / I haven't seen *Ramparts* in a couple of years and fine it a much more exciting magazine than I had remembered. The article in the June issue on Ruchell Magee is fascinating and the subject of much discussion among the politicals here at San Francisco County Jail. For myself, articles such as this point up many of the contradictions which I had not been cognizant of despite the recent completion of a degree in criminology—I am, so to speak, currently involved in post-graduate study of the most intimate and intensive nature and consider articles such as this and Yee's article on Soledad to be among the most valuable texts which I have read on how American justice really works.

Do keep up the good work. I know only too well how easy it is for the student, the white liberal, all of us, to deny that these injustices are real and to write the Ruchell Magees off as "nuts." Articles that expose the realities of the so-called adversary system are desperately needed and hopefully, in time, will bring about public awareness and eventual change to a system which currently places procedural niceties before justice.

Name withheld
San Francisco County Jail
San Bruno, Calif.

[PRAISE, THIS TIME]

Editors / After a two-year absence from the radical-lib scene and having nurtured an impassive infliction of apathy toward all governmental activities, I nevertheless persuaded myself to purchase the June issue of *Ramparts* magazine.

I never felt better. It was cathartic and refreshingly demonstrative that, although I have cleansed my mind of skepticism, there are still people living in America who are bringing to public awareness governmental corruption with the vigor and drive prevalent during the late '60s.

And with the Watergate scandal, it only goes to prove one thing: who's been right all along.

J. G. Gosciak
Philadelphia, Pa.

Editors / I'm disturbed by the narrow sectarianism voiced by a portion of your readers. If this magazine is to remain true to its title, it must increase its perspective to include radical surveys of all of society. There are other journals dedicated to the analysis of specific facets of life and their importance cannot be denied. But *Ramparts*, as a general magazine of The Revolution, must remain inclusive, and even broaden its scope.

The recent blissing out of Rennie Davis helps clarify the issues involved. Rennie's turn to what may be a spurious form of spiritualism indicates the failure of the New Left to address the full needs of the individual—the psycho-spiritual needs and the operational techniques for transcending the old self, without which all our actions are doomed to be a repetition of past error. The record of past revolutions speaks ominously of this. Just being right about what's wrong is not enough. The complete revolution will bring a new way of living—with one's self, one's fellow humans, and the entire created world.

The Nixon years have not only given this country an insight into the underlying corruption of the capitalist system; it has also given us a breathing space to regroup and grow for the next stage of the revolution. During these grey days many of us have taken a second look at the Eastern philosophies we had flirted with earlier. We have been discovering a framework within which to create a truly revolutionary society that can avoid the dogmatism of abstract theories and the copping-out of the Nirvana freaks.

I'm glad to see *Ramparts* broadening its

horizons and beginning to take cognizance of previously ignored aspects of the Revolution. I hope you continue to grow in this way.

Ron Herzog
New York, N.Y.

[ELECTION SPECIAL]

Editors / For one reason or another I have been a sporadic reader of *Ramparts* for about three years. After devouring July's issue from cover to cover I plan on changing my relationship with your magazine.

I guess what started my enjoyment of July's issue was the story on Paul Soglin. I was up in Madison right after the Presidential election/farce and I got the chance to talk with Soglin fans. Schwartz's story was damn fine.

Then I had the pleasure of turning the page and seeing a story on HRP. Ann Arbor has taken a few political setbacks as of late but my encounter with their spokespeople led me to believe these were only temporal things.

What bothered me, as I read on and saw Goldberg's Berkeley story, was why *Ramparts* hasn't done a story on a university community that remains entrenched in reactionary politics and student apathy. Balance, you know. Send one of your people to West Lafayette and I'll be glad to show him around. The silence is deafening.

D. W. Moreau, Jr.
Purdue Exponent
West Lafayette, Ind.

Editors / I want to disassociate myself from the article on the Berkeley city elections, which appears in your June issue under my byline.

The article was apparently rewritten to conform in style to the three other articles on local electoral politics, and in the rewriting, several things got jumbled.

I stated that after a certain point, Mayor Warren Widener would "occasionally vote with the radicals on non-substantive issues to keep up his liberal image, but still allow conservative-moderate positions to prevail."

Somehow this was changed to: "Thereafter, although Widener repeatedly voted with the radicals, their four votes had become a minority." This is plain untrue.

Later on it is implied that Widener's break with the radicals occurred fairly recently. I, however, made it quite clear that the Mayor was never part of the April Coalition, and that the real break occurred in the summer of 1971 over the budget.

Also, it should be noted that several passages in which I attempted to show how the "liberals" had allied themselves with the downtown business interests (such as on the Rent Control charter amendment), were just plain omitted in the rewrite.

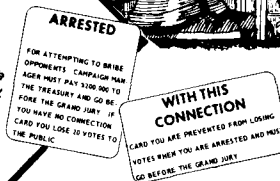
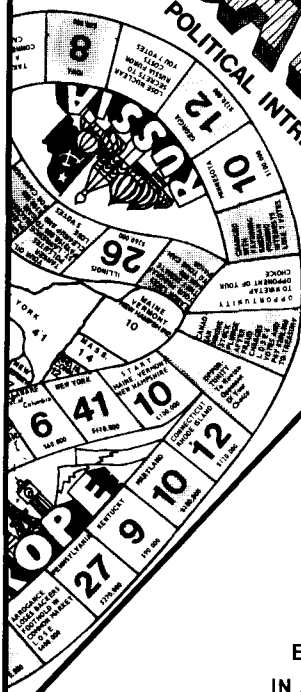
Naturally, these changes, plus the turgid style of the rewrite, do not make me feel particularly close to the piece. Once again, please allow me to disassociate myself from it.

Art Goldberg
Berkeley, Calif.

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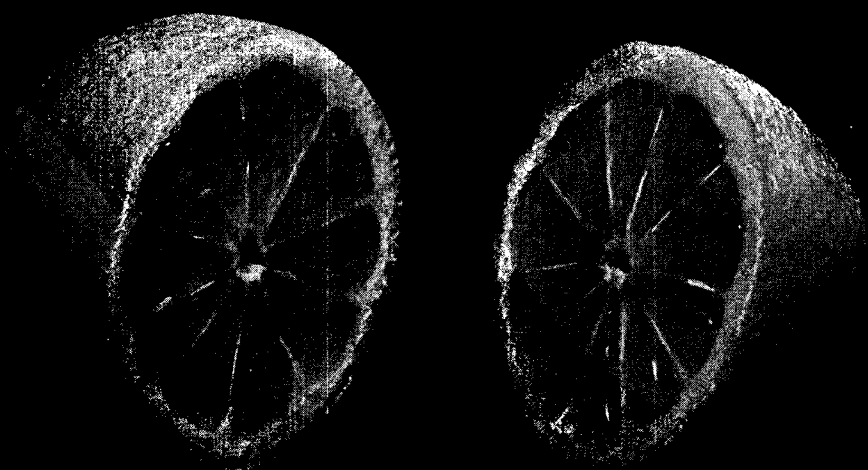
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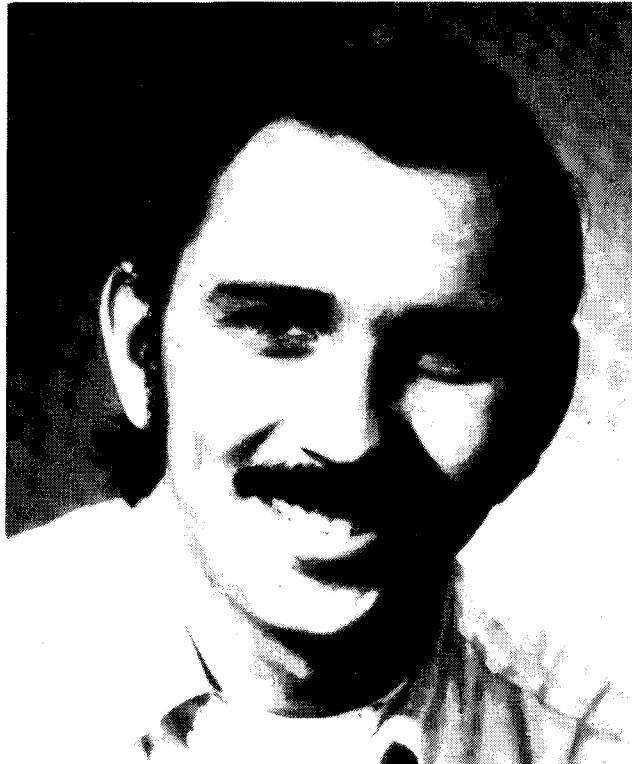
"What ever happened to Charley Rougle when he got out of the Army?" He didn't.

In March, 1969, Charley was faced with the most difficult decision of his young life; either be shipped to Vietnam or to refuse further military service. At Ft. Lewis, he heard about Vietnam from combat veterans; body-counting, the smack epidemic, and the rest. Also, he heard the protests of the anti-war Congressmen and saw peace demonstrations on TV.

Charley made his choice—rather than participate in the destructions of Vietnam, he went to Sweden. He's been there for four long years now, isolated from family, home, and friends. There are a million Americans who, like Charley, need amnesty. Nearly one out of four enlisted men have deserted from the military for varying periods since 1966. Over 560,000 service people (half of whom are Third World) have received bad discharges since 1965. Tens of thousands of others refused registration or induction. Thousands more are subject to prosecution for acts directly related to their opposition to the war.

Today, these hundreds of thousands witness a cruel paradox. Even the architects of the war (McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, et al—remember them?) rush to denounce the war as a "mistake". Yet, these vets are denied what they need—an amnesty for their "crimes" of resistance!

The SAFE RETURN Amnesty Committee is a national organization committed to winning a universal, unconditional amnesty for *all* categories of war resisters. SAFE RETURN is also assisting the formation of FORA, Families of Resisters for Amnesty—a locally-based network of committees, composed solely of resisters' family members. In the coming months, both committees will launch a national campaign to dramatize the demand and need for amnesty.



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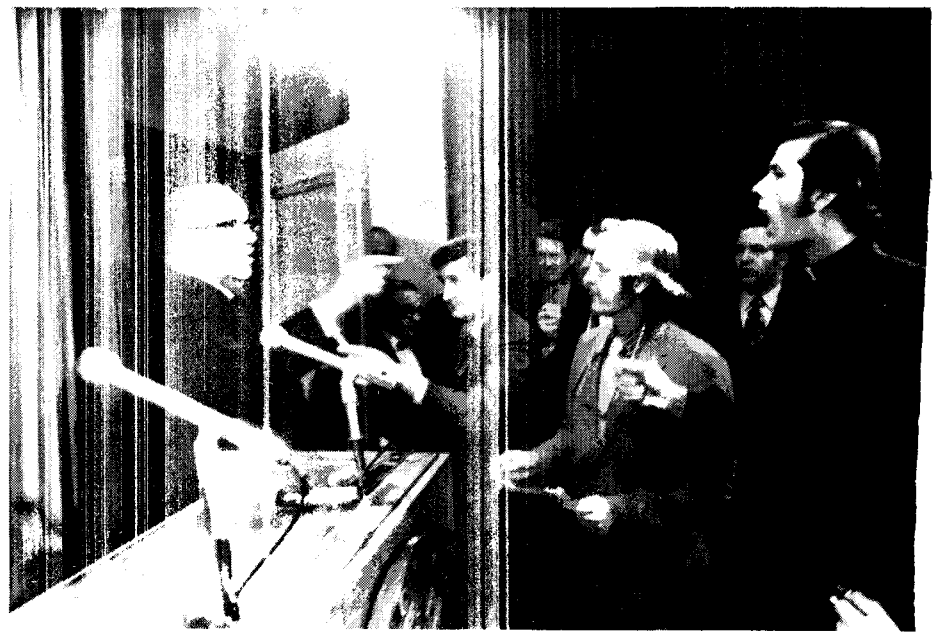
CAP: NEW BREEZE IN THE WINDY CITY

by Derek Shearer

In November 1969, Chicago suffered a temperature inversion. For almost a week a deadly cloud of polluted air hung over the city. According to newspaper accounts, Commonwealth Edison was one of the major contributors to air pollution, and the company became the focus of some public attention. At about this time, Saul Alinsky—the nationally known radical organizer—was walking through Chicago's O'Hare airport and he bumped into Mike Royko—the nationally-known popular columnist. Royko asked Alinsky what he was going to do about the air pollution, and Alinsky is said to have replied, "You write a column Mike, and if you get a response I'll do something." Royko wrote a stinging column and received over 300 letters from angry citizens, which he turned over to Alinsky.

It was an important moment in the history of the Windy City, for it marked the inception of a grass-roots organization that would pose one of the most serious challenges that Mayor Richard Daley would face in his long tenure as America's prototypical Boss. CAP would become a household word in Chicago, and radical populism would become a force with which one of the most powerful political machines in American history would have to contend.

Alinsky gave the letters to trainees who were studying organizing in Chicago at his Industrial Areas Foundation Institute. The students contacted 30 or so of the more promising letter-writers and formed a group of con-



CAP Confronts Mayor Daley

Daley angrily gestures at the Rev. Leonard Dubi, co-chairman of the Citizens' Action Program, when the citizens group demanded public hearings on any issuance of city bonds. Daley said: "I'm shocked at you. What kind of priest are you..."

cerned citizens. This nucleus, using informal contacts with civic associations, the church and Chicago universities, rounded up almost 200 people to attend a public hearing of the Illinois Commerce Commission to protest Edison's request for a rate increase.

It was a heterogeneous group which attended the hearing: white collar people, blue collar workers, scientists, upper class ecology folks, and a few young radicals. They were not received warmly. First, they were told that the elevators were out of order and so they had to trudge up 19 flights of stairs. When they reached the hearing room, most of the group were prevented from entering the meeting. They got angry, and out of their anger grew CAP, the Campaign Against Pollution, and later the Citizens' Action Program.

On January 15, 1970, the veterans of the Edison hearing held a meeting, decided to form an organization, and adopted three demands: 1) Edison must use low sulfur fuel, 2) the ICC must reduce Edison's rate increase, 3) the City Council must pass an air pollution ordinance. The Alinsky trainees proposed that CAP be organized around local, neighborhood chapters with a representative steering committee empowered to make decisions and call for direct action. At this stage, the key organizers were Peter Martinez, from a working class neighborhood in Chicago, and Jack Mack, a

Jesuit priest; they were clear in their own minds that a city-wide organization was needed to compete for power with the Daley machine. The guts of the operation had to be good, local neighborhood organizations," explains Martinez, "but to be successful they had to be tied to struggle at the metropolitan level."

Of course, a good organizational structure is never enough to guarantee political success. One basic tenet of Alinsky-style organizing is that organizers do not become leaders: they find, develop and support indigenous leadership. In this case, they had good material to work with.

[THE RADICAL AND THE PRIEST]

Had central casting been asked to produce two male leads for a movie called "You Can Fight City Hall" they could not have come up with better candidates than Paul Booth and Rev. Leonard Dubi—the two people who served as CAP's co-chairpersons from 1970 to 1973.

Booth had attended the ICC hearing as an interested observer. At the follow-up meeting in January his organizational skills became apparent and he was chosen as temporary chairperson. At 29, Booth is a veteran of SDS and the labor movement. While still an undergraduate at Swarthmore, he helped to draft the famous Port Huron statement. Along with Tom