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FRONTER

Shifting Roles in the Conspiracies

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THERE ARE three conspiracies operating in the United States today: the standard left-wing conspiracy as viewed from the right, the right-wing conspiracy as seen from the left, and the Warren Commission conspiracy as perceived from the left and right.

In our publicity-conscious culture, the old reliable left- and right-wing conspiracies are losing public attention and confidence at an alarming rate in competition with the Warren Commission. The oldtime conspirators, on the orthodox right and left, who earned their status over the long years by hard work and patient application to detail, have suddenly found themselves the center of a whirlwind of indifference.

This is unfair, as one of our chief political theoreticians, Ronald Reagan, probably would have pointed out before this, if he had not been so preoccupied upgrading California's educational system. The government heavily subsidized the Warren Commission; the left-right conspiracies have had to depend upon private initiative. And, unfortunately, both left and right have been feinted out of position and duped into attacking the Commission to the neglect of their historical roles as irreconcilable blood enemies. Thus, Bill Buckley can give a couple of thousand dollars to the celebrated assassination guru Mark Lane to help continue his good work. Left-leaning Lane can report that the fairest review of his best-selling thriller, Rush to Judgment, is to be found in the pages of the National Review, while such liberal editors as Carey McWilliams and I. F. Stone will scarcely give him the time of day.

But if Lane failed to convert them, he succeeded brilliantly with Mort Sahl, a less difficult subject, it is true, but a swinger and a valuable ally because of his Los Angeles television program. Through Lane and Sahl and the miracle of electronics, Los Angeles has become the focal point of the counter-Warren-conspiracy forces. New York had been their operating base, but as word filtered around of the big happening on KTTV in Los Angeles, the critics drifted west-much like New York TV production attracted here by Hollywood's superior technical facilities. (There is also a rapidly developing pool of local talent looking into the Warren conspiracy.) Perspiring and beaming under the hot klieg lights in a KTTV studio one recent evening was a singular collection of formidable personalities: two out-of-town male editors, a female free-lance New York assassination buff (done up in pearls, leopard skin and dark glasses), a

beefy TV screenwriter and whining authority on women—and Mort. Certain code signals—"Zapruder 313," "the Grassy Knoll," "Exhibit 399"—came through, but a rollicking sort of confusion prevailed. That hardly mattered, for, as Marshall McLuhan has instructed us, "the medium is the message."

A Perplexing Situation

One of the problems in penetrating the Warren underground is the confusion of roles among participants in the new and the old conspiracies. (It used to be so simple with only two standard sets of stereotyped plotters: Wall Street, right, and Communist, left.) Earl Warren, once thoroughly tagged as a promoter of the Communist conspiracy, is now in the conspiracy to protect "The Establishment." Sen. Richard B. Russell, of all things, from Georgia, and a mainstay of "The Establishment," says he is not at all satisfied with parts of the Warren Report, thereby getting his roles mixed and betraying his own gang. Norman Redlich, the New York law professor attacked by the right as a dangerous leftist at the time of his appointment to the Commission staff, is now denounced by the left for upholding "The Establishment." He thinks the Report is a pretty good one. Life magazine, denounced by the pro-Peking National Guardian as the mouthpiece of reaction, joins the Guardian and the pro-Franco National Review, in plumping for a new investigation. Harrison Salisbury. who first regarded the Report as sacred as the Ten Commandments, and was berated by the left and praised by "The Establishment," now opts for a new inquiry. He writes for a newspaper that is considered by the left as nothing more than a front for "The Establishment," and regarded by the right as nothing less than a front for

am not quite sure what the advantage is in having a few more dollars to spend if the air is too dirty to breathe, the water is too polluted to drink, the commuters are losing out on the struggle to get in and out of the cities, the streets are filthy and the schools so bad that the young, perhaps wisely, stay away, and hoodlums roll citizens for some of the dollars they saved in taxes."

Life is not that grim in California, nor is it likely to be. But we have no written guarantee of that. We can prevent such an erosion of our daily lives only if we face the challenges and make the investment needed to meet them.