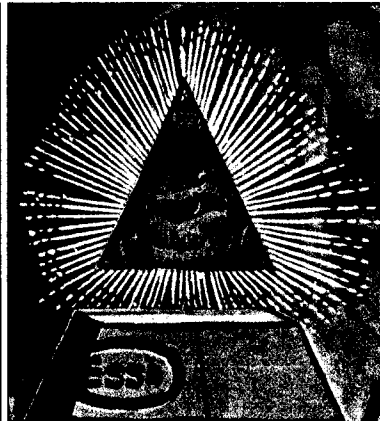


[Page 31] Bishop Pike



[Page 35] LBJ: Black Power



[Page 44] The Children



[Page 69] The Minutemen

# Ramparts

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 7 JANUARY 1967

[DOUBLE ISSUE]

MARGINALIA 5  
 SOREL'S BESTIARY: *Max Lerner* 2  
 (A separate Marginalia  
 Index on page 5)

## ESSAYS

THE BISHOP'S NOT FOR BURNING 31  
 by *Lester Kinsolving*  
 JOHNSON AND THE OIL MEN 35  
 by *Robert G. Sherrill*  
 THEOLOGY & SEX 37  
 by *Marc Oraison*  
 Translated by *Leslie Timan*  
 THE MINUTEMEN 69  
 by *Bill Turner*

## SPECIAL REPORTS

THE CHILDREN OF VIETNAM  
 Preface 44  
 by *Dr. Benjamin Spock*  
 Photographs and Text 45  
 by *William F. Pepper*  
 THE CASE FOR THREE ASSASSINS 77  
 by *David Welsh & David Lifton*

## Apologia:

THIS ISSUE is what is called in the magazine business a Double. That means roughly the same thing real people mean when they say it in bars. We have been moved to this excess not by the holiday spirit (humbug), but by the little man (Scrooge) who runs our computer. He reminded us that due to unavoidable circumstances like train wrecks we skipped an issue last fall, and this is by way of making things even. All 104 pages here might hardly suffice to print the share rentals listings in the Christmas Playboy, but we find such quantitative comparisons tedious.

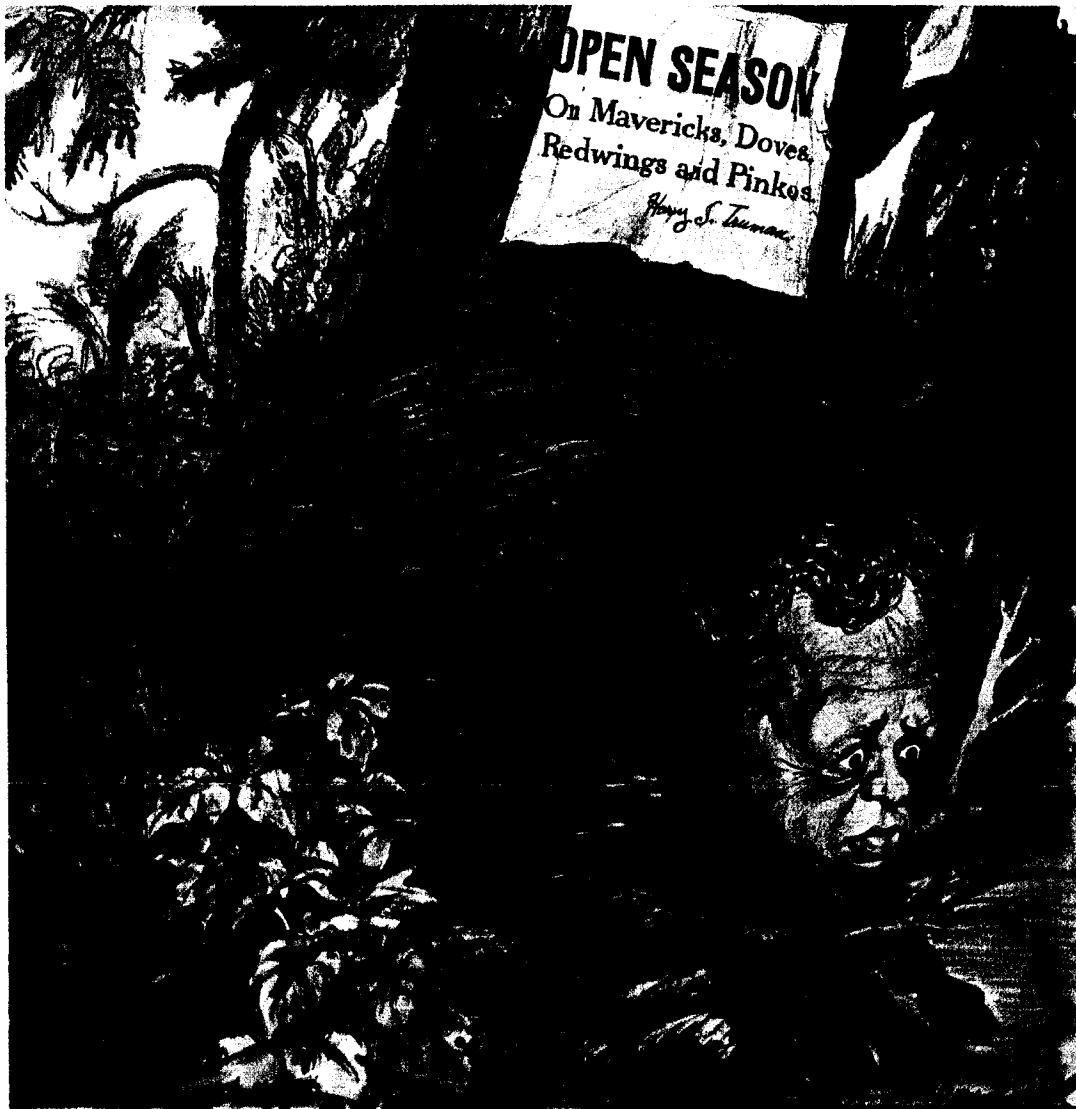
There is a best seller that isn't in print and that nobody can buy, and we suppose we are to blame: *Time of Assassins* by Ulov G. K. Leboeuf. Levittown, N.Y.: Ulov G. K. Leboeuf. 4 Vols.

I:495 pp., II:387 pp., III:691 pp., IV:460 pp. \$24. It is, in case you haven't guessed, a phony, reviewed in a satirical review of Warren Commission books in the November RAMPARTS. (See also Letters, p. 5). We thought the satire obvious, but we have been wrong before and booksellers across the country have been besieged with orders for Leboeuf. Although sorry about all that, we are restraining the market society urge to talk to a ghostwriter friend about whipping out something to fill the demand.

Though the Leboeuf caper gave RAMPARTS an embarrassed moment or two, things, ladies, were worse at the Boston Globe. Two Globe ace reporters went out of their way to dismiss many of the Warren Commission critics, including and especially RAMPARTS, as irresponsible and unbelievable. Then the authors postulated that the Commission should be reopened anyway, because despite

these crackpots, what they considered substantive questions had been raised in really serious works about the assassination, among which, the Globe reported, was the study of Ulov G. K. Leboeuf of Levittown.

Three years ago we sat with Broadway producer Herman Shumlin in his New York office as he explained why he was producing Rolf Hochhuth's "The Deputy," out of his own sense of frustration at not having realized what was happening in Germany before it was too late, and his conviction that we must not be allowed to forget what monstrous things man is capable of doing to his fellow man in the name of his country. What the United States is doing in Vietnam today, to children, is similarly monstrous. If we need a rationale for printing the article beginning on page 44 it is Mr. Shumlin's. We only hope, in this case, that it is not too late. W.H.



SOREL'S BESTIARY

## Common Boar

NUMBER 8

(*pontificus maximus*)

The Common Boar (or Slow Lerner as he is sometimes called) can be recognized by his short stature, unkempt appearance, and his small but sensitive snout, which enables him to tell exactly which way the wind is blowing. He is also known for swimming along with the tide, which may account for the fact that he once jumped headlong into the Bay of Pigs. Psychoanalytic naturalists attribute this behavior to intense Castro-ation anxiety. Although not a hunter by disposition, this pig once joined with lower species

to prey upon the Horned-Rimmed Rosenberg (*vita extincta*).

*Pontificus* is in great demand for cocktail parties, television panels, and Hadassah gatherings due to his ability to deal with the insignificant in a profound and condescending manner. While boars are quite common in the academic community, this one must feed alone at the academic trough due to his malodorous position on Vietnam. The young boar is colored with distinctive Marx, but the mature animal would rather be fed than red.



# Marginalia

EDITORIALS    OPINION    TRAVEL    ETCETERA    LETTERS



## Letters: L'Affaire Leboeuf



### Index:

LETTERS: L'Affaire Leboeuf	5
EDITORIALS:	
Mr. Orwell, Meet Mr. Wirtz	8
A War Against Children	10
EPIHEMERA	10
THE SOUTH:	
Election Night in Lowndes County by David Welsh	12
THE WAR: Bubble Gum Soldiers	16
SOCIETY: The Yellow Submarine by Paul Krassner	18
MANNERS AND MORALS: Hair by Ralph J. Gleason	20
AUTOBIOGRAPHY:	
Memoirs of a Southern Gentleman by Julian Bond	21
TRAVEL:	
Testing in Tahiti by G. M. Feigen	22
ISSUES AND ANSWERS:	
An Interview with Dick Gregory	24
BOOKS:	
The Emperor's Court by Adam Hochschild	25
The Masses Rise Again by Susan Griffin Levy	27
ART: Posters for Peripatetics by Dugald Stermer	28

SIRS:

Your editorial and cover story in the November issue are completely nullified by the cheap farce which appears in the book review section. That shoddy "spoof" betrays RAMPARTS' utter lack of commitment where the assassination and the Warren Report are concerned.

This travesty is not only a self-confession of foul taste, cynicism, and opportunism — it is a gratuitous and vicious attack on every researcher and critic of the Warren Report.

It is appalling that the same magazine that produced "Mississippi Eyewitness" could have degenerated to such self-satisfied depravity, such flippancy about serious issues, and such intellectual and moral gangrene.

For all your grandiose crusading against evil, the publication of that sordid lampoon places you in the same camp with the outright pornographers and other befouled merchants who are assassins of the human spirit.

SYLVIA MEAGHER  
New York City

SIRS:

RAMPARTS has become famous for its deadly serious critiques of our society's foibles but it is a healthy sign that you have not lost your sense of humor in the process. The Leboeuf spoof was delightfully fresh.

HERBERT WILLIAMSON  
San Francisco, California

SIRS:

What made you run that Brackman and Levine piece in the same issue that demands a re-opening of the Kennedy murder investigation? Not that Ephemera wasn't witty and a very polished professional bit of bright college years,

but did it do the rest of your issue any good?

Were Brackman and Levine so deucedly clever as to be making some sort of comment on the actual turgid governmentese of the Warren Report in a highly oblique but doubtless devastating way?

That Ephemera column makes me a little suspicious. Could the entire issue be a parody of Vladimir Nabokov's prose techniques? Or did the Powers That Be make you give Brackman and Levine, if not equal space, then their day in court, too?

TONY VELIE  
New York City

SIRS:

I have just read with disgust the extremely unfunny and totally stupid bit of drivel by Brackman and Levine. It is a serious discredit to RAMPARTS and at sharp variance with its usual standards that valuable space was given to such worthless and malicious trash.

RAYMOND MARCUS  
Los Angeles, California

SIRS:

After reading the Brackman-Levine "review" of Leboeuf's intriguing book on the Kennedy assassination, I came across the following passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which provides further evidence for Leboeuf's theory of the conspiracy:

*A.D. 617. This year was Ethelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, slain by Redwald, king of the East-Angles; and Edwin, the son of Ella, having succeeded to the kingdom, subdued all Britain, except the men of Kent alone, and drove out the Ethelings, the sons of Ethelfrith, namely, Enfrid, Oswald, Oswy, Os-lac, Oswood, Oslaf, and Offa.*

It appears that the assassination of

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

D. de Jersey Grut, G. M. Feigen, Daniel J. Bernstein, June Oppen Degnan, Robert Fraser, Carlton B. Goodlett, Howard Gossage, Warren Hinckle III, Louis Honig, Joseph Ippolito, Edward M. Keating, Frederick C. Mitchell, Martin Peretz, Eleanor Jackson Plel, Marcus Raskin, Richard Russell, Stanley Sheinbaum.

**Publisher**

Edward M. Keating

**Editor**

Warren Hinckle III

**Art Director**

Dugald Stermer

**Managing Editor**

Robert Scheer

**Assistant Managing Editor**

Sol Stern

**News Editors**

Gene Marine, David Welsh

**Consulting Editors**

Maxwell Geismar, Ralph J. Gleason, Paul Jacobs, Stanley Sheinbaum.

**Copy Editor**

Leslie Timan

**Military Editor**

Don Duncan

**Extra Pages Editor**

Stan Freberg

**Staff Writers**

Bob Avakian, Adam Hochschild, Judy Stone, William Turner.

**Production Director**

John Williams

**Contributing Editors**

G. M. Feigen, Travel; Howard Gossage, Media; James F. Colaianni, Religion; Paul Krassner, Society; Jean Lacouture, Southeast Asia; Sandra Levinson, New York; Thomas Bransten, Paris; Marcus Raskin, Arthur Waskow, Washington; Jessica Mitford, Oakland; Frederick C. Mitchell, Kansas; Monique Maurer, Munich.

**Editorial Assistants**

Erica Gander, Susan Griffin Levy, Deborah Sampson, Vampirra, Tuck Wellis.

**Assistant to the Editor**

Maureen Stock

**ADMINISTRATION**

Warren Hinckle III (Associate Publisher), James F. Colaianni (Assistant Publisher), Don Rothenberg (Assistant to the Publisher), Joseph Ippolito (Controller), Bert Garms (Circulation Consultant).

Contents Copyright ©1966  
by Ramparts Magazine, Inc.

301 Broadway  
San Francisco, California  
Telephone: YU 1-4070

Cable Address:  
RAMPARTS, San Francisco

RAMPARTS is published monthly by Ramparts Magazine, Inc. MAIN OFFICES: 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California, Telephone YU 1-4070; NEW YORK OFFICE: 10 Sheridan Square, New York 14, N.Y., Telephone WA 4-5525; PARIS OFFICE: 95 Rue de Lille, Paris; MUNICH OFFICE: Altmühlstrasse 1/11, 8 München 13. Subscription rates: \$7, one year; \$13, two years in U.S.A. and possessions. Foreign rate: \$8, one year; \$15, two years. Single issue, 75 cents. Copyright © 1966 by Ramparts Magazine, Inc. All rights reserved. MANUSCRIPTS: Unsolicited manuscripts submitted to RAMPARTS should be sent with return postage and self-addressed envelope. RAMPARTS editors assume no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts. Second copies should be retained by writer. EDITORIAL AND ADVERTISING CORRESPONDENCE: All editorial and advertising correspondence should be mailed to 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California. SUBSCRIPTION CORRESPONDENCE: All subscription correspondence, including address changes, should be mailed to RAMPARTS Subscription Dept., 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado 80502. For change of address, send both new and old address (enclose recent magazine address label, if possible). Please allow six weeks for change of address. Second-class postage paid at San Francisco, California, New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. Printed in the United States of America.

Kennedy is part of a continuing blood feud between the descendants of Edwin and of Ethelrith. Leboeuf is correct in distinguishing five Oswalds, and, in fact, it is quite possible that a 6th, a descendent of Offa, may have been involved. (It is a little too far-fetched to consider that the Enfrid family had anything to do with the conspiracy.)

Obviously, the scope of the Warren Commission's investigation was far too limited to have uncovered the historical basis for the assassination. Why were there no Anglo-Saxon scholars or genealogists hired by the Commission? Certainly "Warren is in trouble."

JONATHAN BECKWITH  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

**THE ASSASSINATION**

SIRS:

The November issue has left me breathless. Most of the reaction around here seems to hinge between nervous chagrin and restless anticipation at your disclosures of the incredible lapses in the Warren Report. While it is true that nearly all concerned Americans are aware that *something* went wrong in the official report, your magazine has nevertheless performed an excellent public service in reporting the efforts of Penn Jones, Jr., in printing the questions raised in David Welsh's article. I used to think that we would never in our lifetimes know the truth of the assassination. Now I feel there is a chance that we might. A word of caution: remember the fate of others probing into the tragic events, and take all necessary precautions . . .

MICHAEL H. AGRANOFF  
New York City

SIRS:

I read with great concern the article in your November 1966 issues "In the Shadow of Dallas." Like so many others, I had felt uneasy about the results of the Warren Commission's findings, but felt that "someone else" would protest about it.

I've read many articles on the subject since the Commission's report, but none have struck me with such a sense of urgency as yours did.

Now I feel that it is everyone's duty to see to it that there is some new type of investigation into this matter. I feel that we must do our best to have the

truth ready to present to our children when they are old enough to understand the impact of this act.

PATRICIA A. SCHNEIDER (MRS.)  
Los Angeles, California

SIRS:

I have been very much interested in the medical aspects of this case, and am surprised that no physicians have spoken up to question the veracity of events described.

For example, to expect a single bullet to have passed through the President, then through the governor's chest, smashing a rib, then through his arm shattering a bone, then penetrate the thigh, striking the femur and bouncing back out is preposterous.

Anyone having experience with bullet wounds knows that bullets do not bounce out of tissues. Once a bullet penetrates, the soft tissues close over the track, and it is not easy to find the track, or even extract the bullet, even when grasped firmly with an instrument.

You may be interested to know that in the Journal of the American Medical Association, Vol. 187 #1, p. 15 there is a brief report of the Kennedy autopsy findings; the following is a quotation from the same:

*The first bullet hit Kennedy in the upper part of the right shoulder. The bullet did not go through his body and was recovered during the autopsy.*

*The second bullet hit Texas Governor John B. Connally who was riding in the President's car.*

*The third bullet hit Kennedy in the back of the right side of the head, a small fragment of this bullet also angled down and passed out through Kennedy's throat, it was reported.*

We now have, admittedly, three bullets fired. It is not clear who gave this report to the American Medical Association, but the article states that the autopsy report was turned over to the Secret Service.

What is most implausible is the brief explanation of the neck wound having been caused by a fragment of the bullet striking the skull. This would require this fragment to traverse a fantastic course—traversing through the brain and the inferior portion of the skull, then performing a horizontal path out through the neck.

The doctors at the Parkland Hospital who first saw and treated the President described a large laceration of the pharynx and trachea which indicates a larger wound internally than the small one on the anterior surface of the neck. Therefore, I believe the path of this bullet traveled from front to back.

This then would seem to indicate four bullets. One in the President's right shoulder, one through the governor, one through the President's neck and one in the head.

NATHAN JACOBS, M.D.  
Sierra Madre, California

SIRS:

I'll make anybody a bet of a few dollars to a plugged nickel that nothing ever comes of Penn Jones' article on the Kennedy assassination. Simply because there is nothing more to tell.

Remember the Lindbergh kidnaping? There are still people who think that was a frame-up.

How kooky can you get?

FRANK CRUM  
White City, Oregon

SIRS:

Despite Time magazine's assessment of your articles on the Kennedy assassination I found the unanswered and otherwise uninvestigated questions enormously disturbing. I hope there will be more from Mr. Jones.

As a long-time reader of RAMPARTS I am convinced, with each issue, it's worth 75¢ if only to see Mr. Stermer's magnificent work.

RICHARD HENDEL  
Providence, Rhode Island

SIRS:

You, and others who publish information on the Kennedy assassination are doing the nation a good service and I hope you can flush the truth from the situation. The Warren Commission's report was and is an insult to the intelligence of the American people, and to their sense of decency.

Not to change the subject, but your use of the mystic filth of Allen Ginsberg was also an insult to your readers, be they clean or dirty. After four years of naval service and some Merchant Marine service, I am not easy to shock, but your November issue did shock me.

I do not question the "right" of Mr. (?) Ginsberg to masturbate if he wishes; but in public? And on a typewriter?

And in the pages of *your* magazine?

If you wish to help A. G. with this kind of "writing" that is your privilege, but to do it with both of you in the bathroom, with the door *shut* and the blinds pulled. Meanwhile I look forward to the remainder of your work on the Dallas affair.

REVEREND JOHN M. MYERS  
Oakland, California

#### COLOR CHICAGO WHITE

SIRS:

Not a Chicagoan, I can't comment on the accuracy of Gene Marine's "I've Got Nothing Against the Colored, Understand." [RAMPARTS, November 1966]. What I can believe, even feel, is the sense of frustration about which he writes. Gene Marine's article reveals a sense of anguish that is rooted in his honesty and sincerity. And they are qualities which urge me to believe and appreciate what he says.

What I cannot appreciate is his monumental gaffe of flippantly awarding Flatbush to Queens! Brooklynites are generous, but not that generous.

BERARD GUINNESSY  
Washington, D.C.

SIRS:

I'm writing to compliment you on your superb November issue. I can think of no issue of any magazine that held my interest in every article from cover to cover.

I was much impressed with Gene Marine's article on last summer's race riots in Chicago Lawn and Cicero. I also feel sick and angry and helpless when I meet one of the Rons or Father Foleys, some of whom are relatives.

ROBERT E. HOWDEN  
Bellewood, Illinois

SIRS:

Amen to the conclusion of Gene Marine's report on the white citizens of Cicero, Illinois: They must be told what the laws of this country are, and told to obey 'em. Especially the recent immigrants from Czechoslovakia, etc. They took an oath to support the Constitution. Show it to them in black and white. At present they don't seem to believe it exists.

PETER SEEGER  
Beacon, N. Y.

#### GOLLY GEE . . . AGAIN?

SIRS:

Re: Issue on California Politics [Oct.]:

Too much muck—not enough raking.

ALICE FISCHGRUND  
Menlo Park, California

SIRS:

Now that lust for sensationalism has cut all ties between RAMPARTS and responsible reporting, I would love to see you do an article on Senator Fulbright — along the same general lines as the one which so deliciously vivisectioned Pat Brown. So if you decide you must mention Fulbright's stand on Vietnam, do it in one well-concealed sentence. You know, like the one which so skillfully hid Brown's tireless and courageous fight against Proposition 14 in 1964.

Mostly, of course, I shall expect you to bear down on Fulbright's failure, as an Arkansas senator, to lead the fight for miscegenation and then to fill in with juicy morsels and goodies that make for witty writing and result in Fulbright's appearing like a dolt.

Please try to do this not just any time that constructive criticism might make a good story, but when the senator runs for re-election. And if he happens to run against a far-out right wing buffoon, remember to reassure your readers that there's no real difference between the two candidates.

I thought you did that beautifully in the Brown-Reagan job. Like emphasizing the 16-year appointments of University Regents and not mentioning a word about the State Board of Education. You know, of course, that the neanderthal Rafferty has been held in check by people like Tom Braden and Bill Norris, both of whose appointments expire next December. So what the hell; Reagan appoints more Rafferty-types and maybe our kids' books get redone a bit.

That leaves out (as it should) all possibility that political people in a pluralistic society might sometimes have to compromise with reality. And above all it gets the real message across: if we want to be saved from perdition, we'd better elect the Keatings and Scheers. For they are pure and messianic, and only they can turn this lousy, grubby earth into an Instant Paradise.

HAROLD WILLENS  
Los Angeles, California

SIRS:

Congratulations on your contribution to the election of our brave new chromium governor! Magnificent job!!

I wonder that you can look yourselves in the mirror in the morning. You have given us a new motto—when presented with two evils, by all means choose the worst.

MARJORIE C. BRUCE  
Berkeley, California

#### MISCELLANY

SIRS:

When you express an opinion—and it must only be an opinion—that “Mr. (Penn) Jones maintains the only extant collection of barbed wire we know of in the U.S. . . .” [Apologia, November 1966], then you have really flipped as informed men and women.

I give you:

The Panhandle-Plains Historical Society Museum, Canyon, Texas, which has a fine collection, all mounted and catalogued. Cited is C. Boone McClure's *History of the Manufacture of Barbed Wire*, P-P Historical Review, Vol. XXXI, 1958.

Also *Huaco Wire Sales Co.*, Waco, Texas . . . and there are many other large collections and men and women buying and selling it.

HARRY E. CHRISMAN  
Denver, Colorado

SIRS:

Great is not enough, but wait until a better piece of praise have I.

So simply let me urge you to sustain the lively great publication you now afford the reading audience. Success you richly deserve, readers you can always get.

JIM CUNNINGHAM  
New York Daily News  
New York City

SIRS:

Niki St. Phalle and Jean Tinguely may be artists but when they created “She” [RAMPARTS, November 1966] it made them sick, very sick artists. A healthy person does not require such bizarre spectacles for happiness.

FRANCES BORYS  
Chester, Montana

## Editorials: Mr. Orwell, Meet Mr. Wirtz



ALTHOUGH MR. WILLARD WIRTZ, the secretary of labor, has enjoyed a reasonably functional but undistinguished career in that post, he delivered a speech last month that automatically qualified him as Presidential timber for 1984.

The secretary suggested that every youth in the nation be allowed to register at the age of 18 with an “opportunity board” which would channel him, like through a carrot sorter, into some form of military service, education or employment.

Mr. Wirtz suggested that the program would be socially constructive and more popular than going to Nazareth to register for the census and that therefore there would be no need for compulsion against deviant and non-conforming 18-year-olds. On the other hand, he warned, “. . . the affording of this opportunity warrants the insistence on the obligation to use it.”

We would have thought Mr. Wirtz had merely blown his mind were it not for the fact that his Orwellian suggestion fits a pattern of recent pronouncements by aging New Frontiersmen.

Not the least of these is Secretary of Defense McNamara, a man who considers himself a liberal and who many Washington liberals consider a progressive. Mr. McNamara, who has already suggested the feasibility of some form of universal military training, but with options for the squeamish for a stint in the Job Corps or Forest Corps, recently announced that the Armed Services would begin lowering mental and physical standards for acceptance into that compulsory profession as part of a “humanitarian” salvage system for lower income and minority youth.

Mr. McNamara termed an “inequity” the prospect that these underprivileged kids might otherwise be denied the educational, moral and vocational opportunities that the Armed Forces could provide them.

If all this sounds to you suspiciously like the seeds of a movement to utilize the coercive military system to cope with burgeoning social problems and to head off social unrest, we suspect you are right.

What may be the official rationale for this trend among Kennedy-style liberals came, bang-bang after McNamara and Wirtz, in a pernicious article in the *New Republic* by the former New Frontier brain truster, Mr. Daniel Moynihan.

Mr. Moynihan believes that the day has passed for popular movements, the civil rights movement and anti-poverty movements among them, to force effective national reforms. Now the injured and oppressed of society should hand over their causes to the more sophisticated “professional reformer.”

Such a “professional reformer,” (and presumably Mr. Moynihan would, if pressed, include himself in that select group), would be quick to see, for instance, the opportunities that the Selective Service System affords for social change, he suggested.

One of the most effective ways for Negroes to make it in this society, Mr. Moynihan said, is the Army way. The sight of Negroes fighting in Vietnam, he said, “may be the single most important psychological event in race relations in the 1960’s,” since “acquiring a reputation for military valor is one of the oldest known routes to social equality.”

Mr. Moynihan is enough of a serious intellectual to openly admit the logical extension of his position: “Expectations of what can be done in America are receding. Very possibly our best hope is seriously to use the Armed Forces as a socializing experience for the poor.”

This is the new, tough, liberal pragmatism: Any political program, or even populist uprising, that might suggest any change in the social priorities of society is Utopian and hopeless. There can be no really equalizing legal opportunities for the Negro or the poor. The practical and close-at-hand solution is the military, which has the advantage of working. Isn't it working in Vietnam? Isn't the Defense Depart-