

Ramparts! Slick, Muckraking Magazine Aims at Liberal, Hippie Set

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By Julius Duscha

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SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 18—The editor sits at a second-hand roll-top desk. A huge picture of W. C. Fields covers his office door. But as Washington discovered this week, all is not fun and games at Ramparts magazine.

The slick, muckraking magazine, written and edited by a bunch of brash young San Franciscans, stood Washington on its ear by revealing that the CIA had been helping to finance the National Student Association.

It was the second time in less than a year that Ramparts had penetrated CIA secrecy to raise disturbing questions about the Agency's operations.

Last spring the magazine documented the way Michigan State University was used as a cover by the CIA in the building up of a political force in South Vietnam from 1955 to 1959.

"We're a cross between traditional and radical publishing and between professional and muckraking journalism," said Ramparts' editor Warren Hinckle III, 28, who affects vests and an ancient typewriter.

Hinckle, a graduate of the University of San Francisco and a former reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, is largely responsible for turning Ramparts into the most talked-about new American magazine in many years.

But he could not have done it without the real-estate fortune of Edward



Hinckle

Keating

Ramparts editor and publisher

M. Keating, the 42-year-old publisher of the magazine.

Keating, who lives in the stylish San Francisco suburb of Atherton, ran unsuccessfully for Congress last year. He started Ramparts in 1962 as a Catholic laymen's quarterly, heavy with literary articles.

"But there weren't enough Catholic laymen to write for," said Hinckle, who was then working for Ramparts part time, "and we got bored attacking the bishops."

So in 1964 the magazine became a monthly and, as Hinckle put it, "we stumbled around and tried to find a formula."

Hinckle seems to have found it. Ramparts is as handsome as a home furnishing magazine but as controversial as Collier's was 50 years ago. Each issue offers a sophisticated blend of articles

appealing to the hippie set and hard-hitting exposes.

As Hinckle and other staff members have attacked the CIA, slum conditions, the Warren Commission report and California politics, the magazine's circulation has increased from 2500 in the fall of 1964 to more than 160,000 today.

But Ramparts is still losing money. Its budget for this year is \$1.2 million and its deficit is projected at from \$350,000 to \$400,000.

So far Keating has poured more than half a million dollars into the magazine. During the last year, others—such as San Francisco advertising man Louis Honig and Santa Barbara businessman Irving Lauks—have also helped to finance Ramparts.

Hinckle and Keating believe the magazine will start to make money when its circulation reaches 250,000.

"Ramparts is attracting the frustrated liberals," Hinckle said. "Our average subscriber is a 33½-year-old Jew who drinks like a fish, drives a Volkswagen, is a teacher, doctor or lawyer and makes more than the average Time subscriber."

Hinckle does not look on Ramparts as a spokesman for the new left, as it has been characterized by many persons.

Assisting managing editor Sol Stern, who wrote the CIA-NSA expose, pointed out that the new left has been critical of Ramparts lately because it considers the magazine "too superficial."