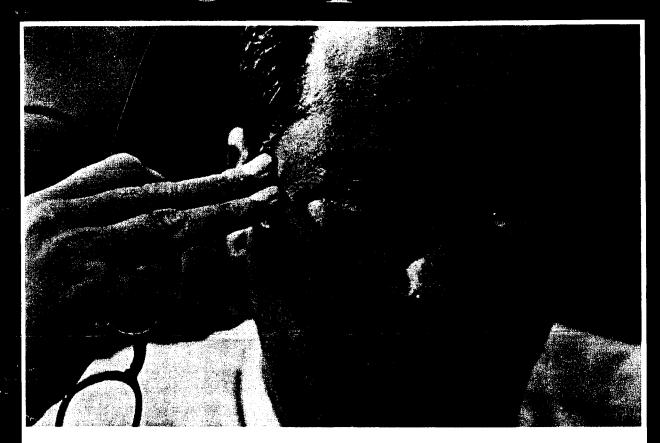
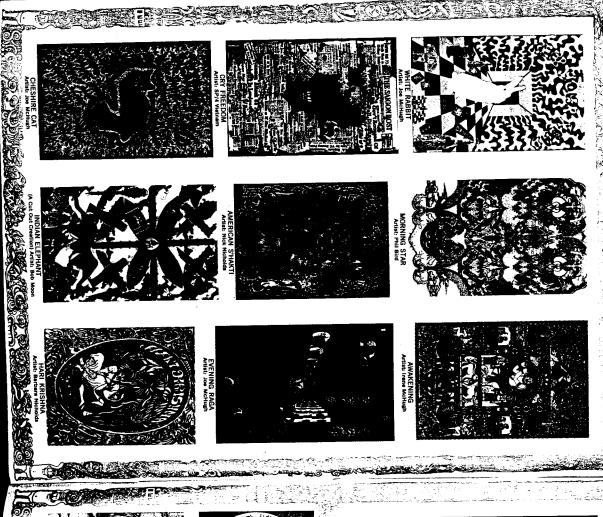
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### Apologia:

[Page 26] Che's Memoirs

even unusually, rotten in Washington. Turner has had full access to Garrison's files, and has logged 80,000 miles double-checking every factual assertion in Garrison's astonishing reconstruction of President Kennedy's murder, told for the first time in this issue (p. 43). It fulfills, sadly, many of our most paranoid niebrosses. men, Dallas fascists and the American Nazis. It also raises ultimately serious New Orleans DA Jim Garrison has con-vinced us that something is terribly, and nine-month investigation into the case of ightmares about the CIA, the Minute-Sorry About GLOOM, gloom, gloom, so early in the year, but staff writer William Turner's

deranding that Johnson release the 200 so-called "classified" documents pertaining to the assassination that are secreted away on vague grounds of "national security"—documents which include evidence of Oswald's right-wing ties and his role as a CJA "double agent." If Johnson's administration has nothing to hide, it should release these records. To refuse would be the ultimate government and the honesty of our cur-rent President. After reading Turner's article, we hope you will join with us in

can happen, the right-wing populace has taken to petitioning against the use of the mails for the current catalogue of the inventive Princeton children's house, Creative Playthings, because it pictures In Orange County, where these things

act of cowardice.

a boy doll with genitals just where they'd be in the Platonic form for boy. We would quote the language of their objection, but it has no place in a family

the way most of us at RAMPARTS turn out articles (you are justified in asking why we are hiring such a laggard) leaves Lord Russell's London Institute next month to join our growing bureaucracy as head of RAMPARTS' brand-new book David Horowitz, who writes books

Emmet Grogan, the real life Frodo Emmet Grogan, the hippie Baggins of the Diggers, the hippie purists who life to give things away, free, has given us, free, a list of suggestions for future essays including, one entitled, "There are Many Things to Be Silent About." Happy New Year. W.H.

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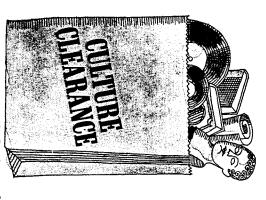
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# Correspondence

### Letters:

### THE BLACK CAUCUS

tion in each person that his position has a monopoly of the truth, scorn toward those in the movement holding other views, glee that no real gain was made Symposium on the Chicago New Politics Convention. They are attitudes that regexpressed by a majority of the commen-tators in the RAMPARTS' November by the convention. Sirs: I was discouraged by the attitudes ularly keep the left splintered: a convic-

what is the best course. This is how the truth is winnowed and recruits gained. But that is quite different from attacks on the motives and intellectual compe-I think it is proper and constructive for spokesmen of different points of view to analyze the issues sharply and to tence of others. advocate their own particular view of

New York City Dr. Benjamin Spock

the Conference for Power and Politics in 1986 (the forerunner to the big Chicago convention), and who is engaged in the local structure of the New Left, let me thank you for the masterful "Symposium: Chicago's 'Black Caucus." "It was Sirs: As a young radical who attended

an excellent cross-section of opinion which proves to the Establishment that we radicals are here to say and work. However, a few of the opinions expressed irk the hell out of me. Carlos Russell, for example, is what C. Wright Mills would call the "grand theorist." He presents some contestable, though interesting theories, and then drowns them out in a fit of pedantic diarrhea. For example: there were no "pseudoradicules" at the Chicago convention, and no radical journalist has said the con-vention was a "fraud." Otherwise, his was a pretty bad emotional summary of black feelings. Also, Maurice Zeitlin

from those he so smugly says are suffering from incapacity?

On the whole, the section was well-handled. I, for one, think that the Chicago convention represents the first of many such conventions. The black and white radicals must join together, regardless of psychological hang-ups con-cerning "identity." The blacks must

realize that we radicals are not going to monopolize their efforts, so they needn't get hot and bothered. Likewise, the white radicals must expunge the Establishment liberals from their midst. That is what the Black Caucus did. And this is its most important contribution.

for their almost child-like candor in ex-pressing themselves about the NCNP convention in Chicago this year. On the whole, I should say that a reexamination of conscience and of the psychological springs of their attitudes would seem to

power-seekers to reverse the cliché, so that with a like cynical honesty, it ought to read: On fait la gauche avec la droite. JULE BROUSSEAU

CATHOLIC CONFESSIONS

STEPHEN E. PICKERING

Former Vice-Chairman, CORE of Bakersfield, California

Sras: Thank you for printing the "Symposium" in the November RAMPARTS, and thanks to the contributors as well,

sometimes found themselves in situa-tions where, as the expression cynically put it: On a fait la droite avec la gauche. It has remained for the 20th century In 19th century France politicians

Stamford, Connecticut

Sirs: Mr. Hinckle's article on the New Left Catholics [Ramparts, November

missed the boat completely on many of his own impressions. I refuse to believe that the New Left suffers from political timespacity." Can be bonestly refuse to being a question of biology, since he read and think about the estensibly significant literature which has emanated education behind him. I think if he mentioned having 16 years of Catholic education behind him. I think if he checks, he will find that the biological thought by all to be quite standard.

Washington, D.C. P. J. MACKIN

Sizs: Ah, come on now, Warren baby!
Go to confession and get rid of all that
hostility and aggression.

Garden Grove, California

resembled a Nazi youth group. The nun tions." Upon arriving, I made a rancid comment on how much the instruction fore I went to my Catholic "instruc-Sirs: I read "Left Wing Catholics" be

time class adjourned, I was being treated with awe and respect. My source—a good Catholic magazine—RAMPARTS.
GRIBALY BRYANT
Streator, Illinois gaggedon it.

Then I began a discussion of Fr.
Groppi. For good measure, I threw in
names like Hafner and Dubay. By the

Sirs: I guess Jesus Christ really was a left wing Catholic. He was so left wing, in fact, that he must have been Jewish. DOUGLAS GREENER

New York City

is a good one. I was particularly taken by the cover. You must have saved one of those holy cards which the nuns used to give as a reward for ransoming those pagan babies. Surely they don't make Sirs: The article on New Left Catholics pictures like that any more.

I doubt that you would have treated Bishop Sheen so kindly, if the rhetoric of your article did not require it. When I read that Sheen was the leader of the liberals. I wondered if that man had liberals, I wondered if that

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conned even RAMPARTS. However, except for that brief aberration, I thought that the section on him clearly showed the man's ambiguity. Herman J. Walz

Sins: Regarding Mr. Hinckle's article, I find your left-leaning typical of your Rochester, New York

for us Catholics but is in very poor taste. God's picture among such con-Placing God's picture on the bottom and to the right is not only degrading find your left-leaning typical of biased and bigoted presentations. temporaries is really outrageous.

Vineland, New Jersey P J D'Amica

Assistant Managing Editor Sol Stern

### BETTER READ THAN DEAD

in Vietnam" in your October issue, and "What the Hell is Happening in the Catholic Church" in November's publication. If you don't have enough intelligent or interesting material to fill 100 pages, for God's sake print 50; don't fill Sirs: It is but an insult to yourselves that you publish "The Man Who Cried I Am" [RAMPARTS, November 1967] with superior reports like "The Framing of Andreas Papandreou" and "Pacification

as an art form and an effective mode of communication, and that I became oriented mag and its subscribers deserve something far removed from Mr. Wil-liams' tiresome babblings. RALPH CATO half the mag with pulpish trash.
Suffice it to say that the novel is dead RAMPARTS is a first-class politicallybored by one "motherfucker" too many!

Montclair, New Jersey

standard. Every collured, educated, decent student will be stimulated by reading it. But why must you then inflict on us the filthy excerpts from Ken Kesey's Jail Diary and John A. Williams. 'The Mam Who Creled I and'l 1 appreciate that these authors are protesting injustice, and this is their right, but must they be allowed to use filthy, indecent language and to describe offbeat, immoral sexual I can no longer refrain from protesting your apparent policy of allowing absolute, unainhibited freedom of expression. The article on "Left Wing Catholics" is indeed excellent, modern, thought-provoking and of high moral Sirs: After reading the November issue,

behavior in such lurid detail? Is there no S. F. HERRMANN

### Tacoma, Washington

MIDDLE EAST MISGIVINGS

who, like myself, have come to depend on RAMPARTS as a citadel of toughment of a fictional saber-rattling Israel, Stone's projected "minuscule Prussia" preciation of the big-hearted Socialist, Nasser, along with a thinly-veiled indict-Stone, Robert Scheer, Paul Jacobs and Sirs: Collectively, the articles by I. F. with the private emotional gymnastics behind this luridly cockeyed appraisal, of the Middle East. I am not concerned Jean Lacouture add up to a warm apbut only with its impact on your readers minded devotion to facts.

of aggression" as a bargaining card. Mr. Stone knows better: a page earlier in his article, he makes a vivid case for the Israeli need to depend on blitzkrieg as permits Israel, "the country which launched the war," to retain "the fruits talk of Mr. Stone [RAMPARTS, July 1967]: he bewails the U.N. cease-fire because it its only possible military response when faced with the threat of extermination. To begin with the anguished double

Mr. Stone is unhappy with Moshe Dayan. That is his privilege. But to equate the Israeli nation with Dayan, and Dayan in effect with Bismarck, is slippery demagoguery of the most incenduary order

a strange way to characterize the wanton sacrifice of thousands of peasants' sons, forced into Army service, to Nasser's dreams of a 20th century caliphate. Who does Mr. Stone think did the dying in the Sinai desert? Not Nasser and his ings about Israeli "chauvinism and militarism," Mr. Stone gives us Nasser, "the first Egyptian ruler to give Egypt's" downtrodden fellahin a break." This is By contrast with his ominous mutter-

yarts, November 1967] to fit Nasser with a halo: it requires enormous naiveté, in the context of Middle Last politics and especially of Nasser's established talent for manipulating the Cairo lished talent for manipulating the Cairo cere" in resigning; yet Mr. Scheer rises to the occasion. If Nasser was indeed astonished by the public response to his gesture, he knew less about his own tennis-club, swagger-stick generals.
As for Mr. Scheer's attempt [RAMmasses, to believe the dictator was "sin-

PORTRAIT OF OUR EDITOR

Information overloads as every month.
Manuscripts, galleys, proofs, chapters, even
whispered calls.
Formaniely, Our Editor has the eye of a
from

- frog.

(Toss a bundered objects at a frog allatonoc force as the force and instantily which are escasing that he can sell instantily which are escasing that he can sell instantily which are escasing that the property of the sealingful—the books that are worthy the meaningful—the books that are worthy the meaningful—the books that are worthy the meaningful—the books that are worthy the property of the property

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RANDOM HOUSE

people than did Israeli Chief of Staff be back in the saddle in a matter of hours New York City Edward O. (Ted) Berkman

The first order of business is finding an answer to war ...nothing that anyone is doing really makes sense unless it contributes in some way to the making of a rational peace. Big institutions, public or private, can become big rubble in the absence of a transcendent

From an editorial by Norman Cousins
Editor, Saturday Review

The same gentlemen, however, always fail to tell their readers how much love the *Israelis* have for the Arabs. Perhaps the distinguished writers are of the urally, the writings of such journalists newspapers and magazines are rabidly anti-Arab and disgustingly pro-Israel. erent Arabs are unworthy of the love of The Chosen People. We have experienced opinion that the backward and belligmawkish stories and nefarious lies about who then fall back on their standard enrage American Zionists and "civilian From time to time, however, one encounters a journalist with a clear conscience who tries to be objective. Nat-Sirs: It is a fact that most American such pictures for any person who wishes to see for himself just one example of to see pictures of napalm-burnt Arabs in bombs falling on hospitals and refugee their love in its most wanton and mali-cious form, in the form of napalm Arab brutality and hatred for Israel volunteers" just returning from Israel American papers, but I have a stock of amps. It would be too much to expect srael's many acts of love!

MUHAMMAD H. IBRAHIM

Princeton, New Jersey

### TONGUE IN CHIC

read Women's Wear Daily even before "Peanuts." We read Ramparts before Krazy Kat" whenever we can.

October 23 coverage of the Washington ecople and the issues and quoted at on. We also wrote a good bit about the seace march we wrote about dove fashength from participants. You are certainly correct that in our

We had two reporters and a photographer on the story all that weekend. Did RAMPARTS cover the march? Or was our Washington stringer (Scottish oirth, patrician in manner) occupied that

JAMES W. BRADY, Vice President and Publisher

New York City

\*\*The Scotiay of Magazine Writers presented its sith Richard L. Nei-beiger, where to Studiedy Reniew on "1ts courage and persistence in presenting the issue of peace."

\*\*Presenting the issue of peace."

\*\*Mear exemity, Theodor C. Sonneen's widely-halled Saturday Reniew article, "The War in Virtanam—low We Can fed II," made front page news all ower America... and in London, Rome and other foreign open ratio as well, It was halled everywhere for, its fresh, constructive ap-proach" to the making of a rational pasce." Today's expanded Saturday Review is a vital force in the search for world peace. in addition to articles of interest and distinction, you will also enjoy editorials that spark thinking and influence policy...regular columns that will make you laugh, think, and understand the world a little batter. TWELVE MAGAZINES FOR THE PRICE OF ONE

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• THE THREE R'S IN CALIFORNIA. REAGAN,
• THE REGENTS AND THE RIGHT by William Trombley
• THE SCHOOLS AND THE PRECNANT TEENAGER
by Suan Strom

380 Madison Avenue . New York, N.Y. 10017

Sirs: It was nice to learn from the De-cember issue of your magazine that you

Women's Wear Daily



drama; that, above all else, impressed D. H. Lawrence when he Mountain. There is majesty in the scenery, and also melo AOS IS A FINE MOUNTAIN TOWN, about an hour's drive tumbled down from the peaks of the sacred Taos is rugged, the volcanic landscape seemingly having from Santa Fe, New Mexico. The whole countryside

its way into his writing, offering a partial alternative to Taos area offered him sanctuary from the carping, small ascinating glimpses of the primitive life-style which later made here was also an active Indian pueblo in which Lawrence saw minded world of letters which rejected him as subversive. And However, he found other attractions besides the view. The

and un-Lawrencean of all.

Brett, whose relationship with Lawrence was the most peculiar

and renewed.

as crucial to its identity as the thin, mentholated air, the violent his legend has permanently embraced the town; it has become by making it the focus of his American adventures. Although pastel sunsets and the Indians. before Lawrence conferred instant immortality upon the area lead now for more than 35 years, one immediately senses that awrence stayed in Taos only intermittently and has been Taos had all the lively ingredients of an artists' colony long

Luhan, a wealthy immigrant from Park Avenue and lioness of Taos culture in the '20s. Mrs. Luhan was one of countless gripped, iron, benevolent will, which in the end is diabolic." against all spontaneous life—there seems to be no feeling at all in America goes by will. A great negative will seems to be turned nation of sex and transcendentalism. He was, however, too lifetime; relationships which were usually based on a combiinvitations and guarantees of security from Mabel Dodge after arriving in Taos, he wrote back to Europe: "Everything seasoned a sufferer to bring many illusions with him. Shortly -no genuine bowels of compassion and sympathy: all this vomen magnetically attracted to Lawrence throughout his Lawrence came to America grudgingly, only after insistent

wearily accepted America as a temporary but not an especially congenial refuge from the repressions and harassment that of Lawrence's friends called his "savage pilgrimage." apocalyptic language Lawrence adopted in his novels to preach stalked his artistic life. Taos was a brief stopover on what one vital juices he envisioned as drying up at the source. He to an age which he saw as rationally mad, a civilization whose These are, of course, familiar figures of speech from the

of all, however, is the way that Lawrence was enshrined in Taos, reigning as the town's favorite poliergeist. In 1935, Frieda, his after his works, not the message in them. But he would probably have been amused that Mrs. Luhan used the manutween competing university libraries for the remaining relics of his literary remains. Lawrence would have found this is, for instance, the cloak and dagger work that goes on befactor in Taos' life like, Lawrence has arisen from the ashes to become a major wife, had his body exhumed from its grave in France and then script of Sons and Lovers—which she was given in exchange activity sadly irrelevant, especially because the bibliophiles are who migrate to Taos as if it were Mecca, the Lawrence legend remated. The ashes were placed in the shrine erected to or her Taos ranch—to pay her psychiatrist's bill. Most ironic has accumulated some interesting ironies over the years. There awrence's memory on the grounds of the ranch. Phoenix-Aside from the legions of dissertation writers and scholars

izing their messiah. They are all gone now-all except Dorothy innumerable other women, like Mrs. Luhan, insisted on idolthem busy; in Lawrence's own favorite symbolic terms, the to have been intense and demanding enough to keep both of Frieda was the only woman in his life. Their marriage seems plosive, but Lawrence was no Frank Harris. By and large, ART OF THE LAWRENCE LIGHNO is what the Grove Press biography—reissued with a flashy cover during the halcyon days of Lady Conterley's Lover—calls his "volcanic life and loves." His life was indeed exsimultaneously devoured

family was part of the landless aristocracy which insisted upon carrying on as if the First World War hadn't permanently daughter of Viscount Esher. From her stock of aristocratic entourage in the '20s. she became a member of Lawrence's informal bohemian Brett decided to go to art school. They were dismayed when severed relations with Victorianism. They were shocked when Victoria's grandchildren, a presentation at court before she was 20, and attendance at the coronation of Edward VII. Her memories she can look back on dancing lessons with Queen Brett, as she prefers to be called, was born in 1883, the

1926, she has remained there ever since Mexico, England and Italy, where she last saw Lawrence in accompanied him and Frieda. And, except for brief trips to When Lawrence returned to New Mexico in 1924, Brett

my lack of femaleness.... It was not 'love' or 'being in love' that was paramount in our friendship. It was this other, us through everything. enraged Frieda.... Frieda's colossal femaleness bitterly her relationship with Lawrence: "Intuitively, I understood him. I never encroached on his life, or Frieda's with him. Yet deeper, more subtle thing that flashed up and gleamed between instinctively, intuitively, I was close to him. This is what In the memoirs she is putting into book form, Brett says of hated

out one of his old finations by involving herself artistically in Indian culture. She is almost Faulknerian in that she start centured." That lack of "femaleness," one senses, may have allowed her to outlast all the others, Today, her paintings are beginning to be collector's items, primarily, one suspects, because of her intimate connection with the Lawrence saga. After Lawrence's death, Brett remained in Taos, carrying

trivance. He mentions her near-deafness in exasperation, along with her ubiquitous ear trumpet called "Toby." Toby is gone now, having long ago been replaced by a less flamboyant old face is softened by a sort of implacable goodwill. When I talked to Breit recently, it struck me that, like most people and his obvious admiration for the fact that she made few demands on his already stretched spirit, Lawrence sometimes became irritated by Brett. He often refers to her in his Stokowski and a host of others-and the historical currents stored up much privileged information. The people she had who have lived history as opposed to analyzing it, she hadn't reason, toward this charming woman, whose lined, 85-yearspecified irritation, although probably for a much different hearing-aid. But one feels something like Lawrence's unletters as "the Brett," almost as if she were an annoying con-Despite his basic fondness for Brett as a loyal companion including Pound, Yeats, Robinson Jeffers, Stieglitz

Portrait of Hon. Dorothy Brett by Baron Wolma

by Peter Collier

she was caught up in failed to make a lasting impression. She seems to have accepted the milieu she moved in during the '20s as passively as the weather.

The Lawrence Brett remembers was no existential hero doing epic battle with the rules. "You know," she says nosthat he was so charming. That's what has stayed with me all algically, "the thing I remember most about Lawrence was

D. H. Lawrence. It is a fairly innocuous study of a family, all nude, and is modestly priced at \$2000. Three miles away, in the center of Taos, are six more of Lawrence's paintings, each ASUALLY MIXED IN among Brett's paintings at the Manchester Galleries—of which she is co-owner Manchester-is a carelessly framed painting by along with her friend and next-door neighbor, John

cated by Scotland Yard in 1929 when the Warren Galleries tried to stage a showing of them in London. Visitors pay one dollar to enter Karavas' private office and view the "erotica." Saki Karavas, an engaging Greek, owns Taos' La Fonda Hotel, as well as the Lawrence canvases. On the entrance to his building, there is a lettered placard notifying the public that and that they are the same notorious works that were confisthe largest single collection of Lawrence's painti ings is inside

nudes aren't nearly as "erotic" as most bus terminal graffiti Brett commented, "Neither Lawrence's painting nor his writing was really erotic in the usual sense of the word. He wasn't so much for the erotic as he was against shabbiness. Respect for the self and the body was what he was preaching. Probably for many people, the experience is a let-down. The ides aren't nearly as "erotic" as most bus terminal graffiti

> that the Lawrences don't do much for him.
>
> Brett insisted that Lawrence "painted for relaxation, He was against the sort of shabbiness that wanted to burn his paintings and his books." Even their present owner admits

purely a hobby; the remembers how he would dabble in her own uncompleted canvases. "He didn't have much technical skill as a painter," she says, "and hardly any pretensions."

One suspects that I surveyed."

philistinism to triumph over him than to any intense investment he had in his art. "No more crucificions, no more martyrdoms, no more auto-da-fe as long as time lests, if I can help it," he wrote from the Continent during the crisis.

The paintings were eventually saved when Frieda promised to take them out of England. After her death they became the to the torch, was due more to his inability to allow English when the London magistrates were considering putting them One suspects that Lawrence's desire to rescue his paintings.

probably will: the Lawrence market in Taos is always bull collection of Lawrence memorabilia in the world. There are literary world. The University of Nottingham, near Lawrence's birthplace, would like to have the paintings, as would the property of Angelo Ravagli, her last husband. He, in turn, sold them to Karavas, it is rumored, at a reasonably low price. Saki Karavas has files of correspondence about his art. He feels that all he has to do is wait and he'll get his price. He cagily, "because Aga Khan was once interested in them." He features of the paintings. "I know they're valuable," Saki says also letters from Playboy and Eros regarding the photographic University of Texas, which prides itself on having the largest has temporarily enfranchised him as an Important Man in the seems to realize that the possession of a fragment of Lawrence

# [Rise In Flame, Cried The Phoenix by Tennessee Williams

With a note by Frieda Lawrence A play about D. H. Lawrence

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Riviera where D. H. Lawrence died. PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR: The action of this play, which is imaginary, takes place on the French

Not long before Lawrence's death an exhibition of his paintings was held in London. Primitive in technique and

boldly sensual in matter, this exhibition created a little tempest. The pictures were seized by the police and would have been burned if the authorities had not time Lawrence's great study of sexual passion, Lady Chatterley's Lover, was likewise under the censor's ban, as much of his work had been in the past. restrained by an injunction. At this

in the cellars of prudery. Much of his work is chaotic and distorted by tangent obsessions, such as his insistence upon the woman's subservience to the male, but all in all, his work is probably the Lawrence felt the mystery and power of sex as the primal life urge, and was the lifelong adversary of those who greatest modern monument to the dark wanted to keep the subject locked away

-Tennessee Williams

reality was something else. I wish I could say in convincing words what it was—it is difficult. What was it? It was so difficult. What was it? It was so difficult from the ordinary everyday being-ferent from the sits limits so very soon. It in-love, that has its limits so very soon. It NOTE BY FRIEDA LAWRENCE: This book has a beautiful title. When I read this short play, I forgot that it was supposed to be Lawrence and me; of the background of death, every happennot only existing day by day. All that happened was a new experience. Because poverty the whole world with everything in it was ours. It was living every moment, was life in its freedom, its limitless possi-bilities, that bound us together. In our tion takes place. The theme of it is the eternal antagonism and attraction be-Lawrence and me too. But the greater tween man and woman. This was between it happens in that other world where crea-

ing was more vivid. Die we must, and no "Forest Lawn" can wipe death out.

in him. He was dead, but he had died with surface. We have had a lot of surface. We have become bored. Lawrence faced his honesty and the pride of a man. an unbroken spirit, he had lived in superb and he lay dead on his bed, I felt a triumph through. When finally it was over for him dying with clear courage, he lived it right Lawrence infused new meaning into the ritten word, by going deeper than the

years, it is as if a kind wind blew on my flame of life to make it burn brighter. He will do the same for others, if they give him a chance.—Frieda Lawrence When I think of him now after all these

The characters in this play are Law-

rence, Frieda and Bertha.
The scene is at Vence, France, in the It is late afternoon.

woven in silver and scarlet and gold, is a large banner that bears the design of the Phoenix in a nest of flames—Lawrence's surf can be heard. Lawrence looks out that way. Behind him, on the left wall, Lawrence is seated on a sunporch, the right wall of which is a window that faces the sun. A door in this wall opens out on the high seacliff. It is windy: the

the earth, are knotted together with a tightness that betrays the inner lack of repose. His slightly distended nostrils him is trapped, but not destroyed wrapped in a checkered blanket and lavender wool shawl.... The Tiger in He has to control his fury. And so he is seated motionless in the sunlightan invalid's blanket. The long fingers of the Welsh coal miners, with their fine blond hairs and their knobby knuckles, made for rending the black heart out of of baked clay with tints of purple in it.
The hands that gripped the terrible stuff
of life and made it plastic are folded on as if it were an invisible silk thread that draw the breath in and out as tenderly red and his face is immobile, the color favorite symbol. Born for contention, he is contending any unusual tension might snap in two. the black and white checked surface of vith something he can't get his hands on. He sits quite still. His beard is fiercely

Frieda comes in, a large, handsome woman of fifty, rather like a Valkyrie.

turning his

FRIEDA: Something left on the door-

FRIEDA: The donor is anonymous. I only caught a glimpse of her through the LAWRENCE: Give it here

FRIEDA: Yes... Lawrence: A woman?

in a blue pea-jacket. She stuck it on the porch and scuttled back down the hill before I could answer the doorbell. LAWRENCE: (his voice rising, queru-FRIEDA: Some breathless little spinster LAWRENCE: Yes. . .

lously shrill) It's for me, isn't it? LAWRENCE: Well, give it here, damr FRIEDA: Ja, es ist für dich

out of the hands of the adversary. And if he can't get it, if he can't tear it away, then he should let it go and give up and be contented with nothing. Look. (He of orange marmalade. (He smiles with childish pleasure.) This is the month of of orange marmalade. (He smiles very much. A man shouldn't beg. A man should seize what he wants and tear it her. I never did care for beggars myself each other the whole afternoon. I say to the sun, Make me well, you old bitch, had put you in a good humor. LAWRENCE: It's put me i has unwrapped the package.) A little jar hear me begging. Ah, well, I don't blame sweeping the steps and pretends not to sun is a stingy Hausfrau. She goes about give me strength, take hold of my hands and pull me up out of this chair! But the humor. We've sat here making faces at in a vile

it for breakfast. FRIEDA: Ja! Sehr gut. You can have

breakfast as long as I live, huh, Frieda? fine gold thread) Uh-huh. I can have it for

FRIEDA: Shut up. (She starts to take the jar from him. Quick as a cat, he

still are strong!

LAWRENCE: You didn't think so?
FRIEDA: I had forgotten. You've been

better. I should have suspected so gentle lately. LAWRENCE: Thought you'd tamed me?

you, you—!
FRIEDA: Tch! I thought that the sun

August put in a bottle.

It's just the right size for that. LAWRENCE: (drawing tenderly on the

snatches her wrist in a steel grip.) Lawrence: Leave go of it, damn you! Frieda: (laughing) My God, but you

you've been doing inside you, lapping that yellow cream up, you sly old fox, sucking the fierce red sun in your body

all day and turning it into venom to spew LAWRENCE: No . . . I've been making

break away if you can! trap to catch you in, you vixen! Now a trap. I've been making a shiny

FRIEDA: (grinning and wincing) Oh God, how you hurt!

and snap it like a dry stick. you ... Why did God give you so much and me so little? You could take my arm Don't lie ... You with that great FRIEDA: No LAWRENCE: (slowly releasing her)

beat you, could I? stronger one. Big as I am, I never could LAWRENCE: (with satisfaction) ... You were always the

I know that only a god could know so much about Life!" "I worship you, Mr. Lawrence, because stuck on it. "From one of your devoted readers." And on the other side it says: You couldn't. (His breath rasps hoarsely.)
Put the jar down on the sill. FRIEDA: (complying) Ah, there's a card

marmalade! What a cynical little woman she is! Only the little ones of the earth, who scuttle downhill like pebbles disand burn it before him. mine, I'd tear the heart out of my body their god and they give him marmalade. If I find mine . . . ever . . . If I found such monumental disbelief. They find lodged by the rain, are really capable of pea-jacket. Upon the altar of her pagan deity she places a dainty jar of orange for an anonymous spinster in a blue have accidentally managed to create one so unsuccessfully myself, it seems that LAWRENCE: (dryly) In looking for God

LAWRENCE: What makes you think FRIEDA: Your health is returning.

tal about yourself and so unappreciated and so misunderstood. . . You can't to it. Oh, how you would have loved to suffer the original crucifixion! stand Jesus Christ because he beat you FRIEDA: You are getting so sentimen-

TO THE PARTY OF TH

between my fingers LAWRENCE: If only I had your throat

is my throat . . . Now choke me. FRIEDA: (crouching beside him) Here

Mexico? you think I will ever get with the tips of his fingers) Frieda . Lawrence: (gently touching her throat ith the tips of his fingers) Frieds...do ou think I will ever get back to New

any kind of resistance you couldn't jump over or crawl under or squeeze through. FRIEDA: You will do what you to do, Lawrence. There has never

get back on a strong white horse and go off like the wind across the glittering joke it is that a life like mine should only desert? I'm not a literary man, I'm tired LAWRENCE: Do you think I will ever

FRIEDA: What else should it come out

eted legion of marching giants. that's what I'm going to do, damn to become a savage. I want to stand up on the Lobos and watch a rainstorm wouldn't? back on the desert and try all over again breathless little spinster who scuttles back down the hill before God can anprudery, with intellectuality, with all geois conceptions action. But all that I ever do is go packcoming ten miles off like a silver-helmswer the doorbell. Now I want to really's the little old maid in myself, the ternal at all. What I'm fighting with pretend to be waging a war manuscripts and a vile disposition. ing around the world with women and cinds of external forces that aren't ex-LAWRENCE: You! . . . You know that FRIEDA: Whoever of morality, that damn you! with bour-And get.

in. They whisper and beckon and slip it the dark latchkey from under their have such a fine intuition of death. They smell it coming before it's started even. I think it's women that actually let death I won't. You know that the male savage part of me's dead and all that's left is the old pusillanimous squaw. Women Don't they?

FRIEDA: No . . . It's women that pay the price of admission for life. And all of their lives they make of their arms a and women stop the bleeding ton't. Men cut wounds in each other come in by. Men love death . . . Women crossbar at the door that death wants to AWRENCE: Yes. By drinking

make me feel weaker, they releases his fingers.) Your fingers, they make me feel weaker, they drain the blood. Don't touch me so much! (She

sack in, mein Liebchen. FRIEDA: Oh, no, no, they put it

LAWRENCE: I want you to promise me something. If I should die, Frieda...the while I'm dying I'll be surrounded our hands on me, and don't let anyone noment I'm dying, please to leave me . Don't touch me, don't put

LAWRENCE: In some kind of violent now, I won't be put into bed and huddled over by women. I won't stay in the house, Frieda. I'll open this door and go outside on the cliff. And I don't wish in me and that's the part that I'm going to meet death with. When the last bleeding comes, and it will in a little while With the rocks and the water. Sunlight . . . starlight on me. No hands, no lips, point, Frieda. I'm going to do it alone. to be followed. That's the important and other hard things like that to deal with at the finish. You understand, Frieda? I've still got a bit of the male left cleanly with nothing but anger and fear messed-up libidos—they'll all return with their suffocating devotion. I don't want that. I want to die as a lonely old animal does. I want to die fiercely and known, who think me the oracle of their maniac and the virginal Bertha—all of the under- and over-sexed women I've little trickling tears. Alma the nymphothey'll flutter windows the moment I lose the strength women. They'll burst in the door and the no women! Nothing but . . . face and my hands with filmy kisses Phoenix. They'll cover like doves around pitiless

nature" when they're . . think people want nothing but "pitiless FRIEDA: I don't believe you. I don't

Lawrence: Frieda! You mean you FRIEDA: No. I consent absolutely.

keit! Now think about something FRIEDA: Ja doch! Ganz durch die Ewig-LAWRENCE: You give me your prom-

LAWRENCE: (suddenly noticing some-thing) Ah, my God. ['ll go fix tea. (She starts to go out.)

#indowsill. LAWRENCE: Put the aquarium on the FRIEDA: What's the matter?

goldfish again. LAWRENCE: So I can keep an eye on it.
That detestable cat has attacked the FRIEDA: Why?

used to be four, now there's three! LAWRENCE: How do I know? There sed to be four, now there's three! Beau FRIEDA: How do you know?

LAWRENCE: To lick her chops, God damn her! Set the goldfish bowl on the FRIEDA: She's gone outside.

the sun. The sun will kill them. You can't keep them there in

me back, put 'em there!

to do such a thing. You're both so fat, so rapacious, so viciously healthy and think you fed her the fish. It's like you

LAWRENCE: It isn't just a goldfish. FRIEDA: What is it then? FRIEDA: Such a fuss over a goldfish!

LAWRENCE: What are you doing? Crying? Stop it. I can't stand crying. It

FRIEDA: I think you hate me, Law-

(After a moment he shyly touches her

you would go back to bed.

LAWRINCE: The bed's an old tarbaby.
I'd get sluck. How do I know that I'd
get loose again? Is my forehead hot?
(He recites in a childash reble.) "Ladybug, ladybug, fly away home, thine
house is on fire, thy children will burn!"

nest of flames! I think you are just a little bit sentimental. FRIEDA: (She starts out, then pauses before the banner.) Ah, you old Phoenix ... you brave and angry old bird in your

FRIEDA: Who is it?

pulls himself out of the chair.) ondon with news of the exhibition. LAWRENCE: Bertha! . . Back from nibition. (He

her. And don't you dare to ask her to stay in this house. . . . If you do, I'll leave! (She goes out.)

LAWRENCE: Cluck-cluck-cluck-cluck!

LAWRENCE: (furiously) Don't answer

place the aquarium on the sill.) LAWRENCE: You know what I think? FRIEDA: Wie du willst! (She hastens to

used up I can't help thinking how much of it's been thrown away in squabbling with you LAWRENCE: Now that my strength's

Oh, Lawrence. FRIEDA: (suddenly covering her face)

makes me worse.

LAWRENCE: Don't believe me . . . I

love you. Ich liebe dich, Frieda. Put some rum in the tea. I'm getting much rum in the tea. I'm getting much stronger, so why should I feel so weak? FRIEDA: (touching his forehead) I wish

(He smiles slightly.) My mother used to sing that whenever she saw one...
Simple... Most people are so damned complicated and yet there is nothing much to them.

Tea for three! LAWRENCE: (leaning suddenly forward)

LAWRENCE: I'm going outside to meet FRIEDA: What are you doing?

FRIEDA: Sit down, you fool! I'll meet

You think I'm anxious to have more hens around me? (He wriggles freifully in the chair for a moment, then throws off of the porch. He reaches it and pauses with a fit of coughing. He looks anxiously back toward the chair.) No, no, damn you ... I won't! (He looks up at the Stumbling with dizziness and breathing heavily, he moves to the inside rear door rnoenix, straigniens the blanket and pushes himself to his feet. himself heroically

(After a few moments Frieda returns with Bertha, a small, sprightly person, an English gentlewoman with the quick voice FRIEDA: My God, he's got up!

one on. Lorenzo, where are you? him. The least exertion is likely to bring FRIEDA: Another hemorrhage will kill Bertha: He shouldn't?

ing, you old wet hen. I'm fetching the LAWRENCE: (from the rear) Quit cluck-

BERTHA: Go back to him, make him FRIEDA : He wouldn't.

FRIEDA: Oh, no, no, no! He has no lungs and yet he goes on breathing. The heart's worn out and yet the heart keeps beating. It's awful to watch, this struggle. I wish he would stop, I wish that he'd give it up and just let go! BERTHA: Does he want to die?

fire. The walls are transparent, they're all lit up with the flame! When people made out of tissuepaper and caught on fire. The walls are transparent, they're brightly consuming the walls that give it are dying the spirit ought to go out, it You shouldn't be able to see it so terribly ought to die out slowly before the flesh. FRIEDA: His body's a house that's

BERTHA: I never have believed that Lorenzo could die. I don't think he will place to inhabit! FRIEDA: But can he do it? Live with-

out a body, I mean, be just a flame with nothing to feed itself on? FRIEDA: The Phoenix was legendary. BERTHA: The Phoenix could do it.

.orenzo's a man. FRIEDA: I know you always thought Bertha: He's more than a man.

Bertha: You'd never admit that Lo-

FRIEDA: Having slept with him ... No,

BERTHA: There's more to be known

of a person than carnal knowledge.

Bertha: I disagree with you.

with him if ever you got your claws on him? Bertha: Claws? . . . Frieda!

and my stupidity always!

meaning of Lawrence escapes you. In all of his work he celebrates the body. How he despises the prudery of people that ant to hide it!

BERTHA: Oh, Frieda, the same old

of Lorenzo, let's not try to divide it!
BERTHA: What's left of Lorenzo, is

BERTHA: (advancing a few steps to the

speaks.) "Pussycat, pussycat, where have you been?" LAWRENCE: (He is out of sight as he

LAWRENCE: (coming nearer) "Pussy-cat, pussycat, what did you there?"

(Laughing, Lawrence appears in the doorway, pushing a small tea-cart. Bertha

I look an amateur's job of embalming, LAWRENCE: Yes, I know . . . I know . . .

FRIEDA: But carnal knowledge comes

FRIEDA: And also with Lawrence, then. He always insisted you couldn't tnow women until you had known their

BERTHA: Frieda, I think it is you who kept him so much in his body!
FRIEDA: Well, if I did he's got that to thank me for

BERTHA: I'm not so sure it's some-

thing to be thankful for.
FRIEDA: What would you have done

out of his body. Where would he be? In the air? Ah, your deep understanding FRIEDA: You would have plucked him

You just don't know.

quarrel!

something that can't be divided! FRIEDA: Yes, let's stop it. What's left

toor) Lorenzo! FRIEDA: Sh! . . . He's coming.

BERTHA: (gaily) "I've been to London to look at the Queen!"

"I chased a little mouse . . . BERTHA (her voice catching slightly) I chased a little mouse . . . under a

BERTHA: (bravely) Lorenzo, you look

LAWRENCE: It isn't rouge, it's the fever! I'm burning, burning, and still I never burn out. The doctors are all astonished. And disappointed. As for almost given up hope. (Bertha moves to that expectant widow of mine, she's



The D.H.Lawrence Shrine in Taos, New Mexico Hon. Portraits of Lawrence by Dorothy Brett. A-12 PM









erotic series by D.H.Lawrence.

assist him with the table.) Don't bother

FRIEDA: He won't be still, he won't

old wet hen! You better watch out for the rooster, you LAWRENCE: Cluck-cluck-cluck!

make in that lavender shaw!! LAWRENCE: Who put it on me? You FRIEDA: A wonderful Chanticleer you

never any good for me, Brett.
Bertha: Rest for a little while. Then you bitch! (He flings it off.) Rest was

we go sailing again!

The Brett, the Frieda, the old Fire-eater!" LAWRENCE: We three go sailing again! "Rub-a-dub-dub! Three fools in a tub! LAWRENCE: Watch out! Now I'll have BERTHA (sugging at his beard) The old

to comb it. (He takes out a little mirror

whiskers! FRIEDA: So vain of his awful red

Brett, that distinguishes whiskers. They can't stand anything, my beard. All women LAWRENCE: (combing) She envies me resent men from

the tea.) FRIEDA: Quite the contrary. (She pours

out again, that he'll be captured for good. FRIEDA: What kind of talk for a their bodies . . . but only because they secretly hope that he won't be able to get LAWRENCE: They take the male in

over your celibacy! Brett . . . obscene old creature! Gloating maiden lady to hear! LAWRENCE: There she goes again,

FRIEDA: Gloating over it? Never! I think how lucky she is that she doesn't have to be told a hundred times every just a passive hunk of protoplasm day that a man is life and that woman is

the devil to look at? away and stares in the mirror.) Ain't I Frieda: I tell you, Brett, his ideas of are becoming downright cosmic!

ways said malignant. (He puts the comb

LAWRENCE: I never said passive. I al-

repeat it! When the sun comes up in the morning ... you know what he says? No, I won't it! And when the sun's going
... Oh, well, you will hear him

LAWRENCE: (chuckling) Yes, I always make the same remark. You'll hear me (He puts the mirror away.) Well, Brett! yourself in just a few more minutes . . .

> Lawrence: You haven't said anything BERTHA: Well, Lorenzo?

sent you to London for? Lawrence: What do you think that I BERTHA: Anything? About what?

like my pictures? damn you! The show! How did they LAWRENCE: BERTHA: To get me out of the way! What else?

FRIEDA: Go on, Brett, tell him the truth. The monster will not be satisfied ill he hears it! BERTHA: Well...

FRIEDA: The exhibition was a com-plete fiasco! Just as I said it would be! Well :

my pictures? FRIEDA: Liked your pictures? They Lawrence: You mean that they liked

called your pictures disgusting!

LAWRENCE: Ah! . . . Success! They grotesque? Lumpy, obscene, misshapen, said that I couldn't paint? That I draw like a child? They called my figures

LAWRENCE: Why? Am I quoting exactly? views, you've read them yourself BERTHA: You must have seen the re-

FRIEDA: Yes, you are quoting exactly!
LAWRENCE: And what did the public

hink? And what of the people? FRIEDA: The people laughed! LAWRENCE: They laughed?

renzo, you're not a painter, you're writer! Why, you can't even draw straight line! LAWRENCE: No! But I can draw a FRIEDA: Of course they laughed! Lo-

entrance had to be roped off to hold came to look? reason that I can put life in my pictures! How was the attendance? How many crooked line, Frieda. And that is the Bertha: After the disturbance,

exulting! turbance? back the crowds. LAWRENCE: Go on, tell me what FRIEDA: Just look. The LAWRENCE: Disturbance? What dismonster's

happened! Adam and Eve. bers attempted to slash the picture of BERTHA: A group of ladies' club mem-

ention of the police. LAWRENCE: The Bertha: That was what called the at-(Lawrence shakes with laughter.) FRIEDA: Lorenzo! Stop that police? (He rises.)

to keep them from burning the pictures. Lawrence: The pictures are safe?

push him down. He slaps her fiercely.) have to put you to bed! (She tries to BERTHA: Lorenzo!

bed? Just try it . . . I dare you to touch doating over my weakness! Put me to LAWRENCE: Vaunting her

chair or you'll start the bleeding again.
(He stares at her for a moment and then FRIEDA: Lawrence, sit down in that

obeys slowly.) Lawrence: (weakly) Give me back the

classic remarks on the sunset. (She puts the shawl about him.) FRIEDA: Now he's going to make his

hey weren't LAWRENCE: Yes . . the pictures

her and has to strike out with his fist as l Because I'm an artist . . ginning to dim.) Oh, Brett, oh, Frieda . . . BERTHA: They had you in them.

They banned my books and they wanted to burn my pictures! That's how it is ... shame! This is life, I told them, life is like this! Wonderful! Dark! Terrific! I wanted to stretch out the long, sweet arms of my art and embrace the whole artist?... A man who lowes life too in-tensely, a man who loves life till he hates stirs and leans forward.) The sun's you blind.Life's . . . When first you look at the sun it strikes way that I wrote! Fiercely, without any too. I took to paint and I painted the weren't enough . . . I had to have color, my fist and I struck and I struck. Words the world with love. And so I doubled world! But it isn't enough to go out to struck out at Frieda . . . To show her he What is an (He

going down. He's seduced by the harlot

they're copulating together! The Stop up your ears! FRIEDA: Now he is going to say it . . . LAWRENCE: Now she has got sun is

tess) Ich

Ich komm',

mein

them? Destroy them? What did they do to my pictures? Burn BERTHA: No. We got out an injunction

BERTHA: The pictures are safe,

FRIEDA: Sit down in that chair or I'll

power,

shawl. The sun's getting weaker. The young blond god is beginning to be seduced by the harlot of darkness...

very good but they had a

why did you want to pain, Lorenzo?

LAWRENCE: Why did I want to write? fierce life in them.

knows her tricks, and he's still the master! (The smoky yellow light is be-

faintly, as if from a distance, Lawrence':

the terrace like a great winged bird.) FRIEDA: (Wildly, with

exhausted, the harlot has taken his strength and now she will start to destroy him. She's eating him up . . . Oh, but he won't stay down. He'll climb back out of her belly and there will be light. In the end there will always be light . . . And I am the prophet of it! (He rises

with difficulty.) BERTHA: Lorenzo!

LAWRENCE: Shut up! Don't touch me! (He staggers to the great window.) In the end there is going to be light . . . light, light! (His voice rises and he stretches his arms out like a Biblical prophet.) Great FRIEDA: Lawrence, be careful!

light! . . . Great, blinding, universe light! And I . . . I'm the prophet of it (He staggers and clutches his mouth.) BERTHA: (terrified) What is it? FRIEDA: Lawrence!

BERTHA: Lorenzo! (She tries to rush to him but Frieda clutches her arm.) FRIEDA: The bleeding

it, gasping for breath, until he has reached the door. He opens the door.) Don't move till it's finished. (Gradually, as though forced down to the earth by invisible arms, he begins to collapse, but follow. (He goes out.) still he clings to the wall and shuffles along women. I want to do it alone . . . Don't LAWRENCE: Don't touch me, you

FRIEDA: I promised "no women"! BERTHA: (struggling fiercely with Frie-Let me go, let me go, I want to go

him. Not you, not me, no woman. FRIEDA: Nobody, nobody goes to BERTHA: You go!

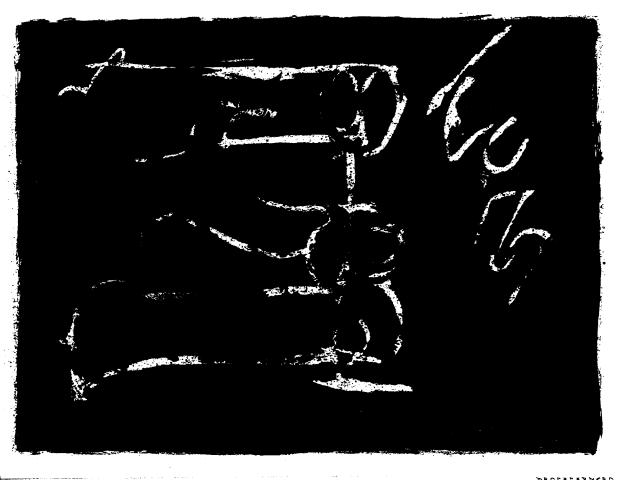
door to the terrace. There is the sound of waves breaking. The silk banner of the Phoenix billows out from the wall. Bertha almost breaks away, but Frieda violently restrains her again. In the struggle the lamp is upset and goes out. Bertha cries Monster! and collapses sobbing to the floor. For a few moments, stillness: then FRIEDA: (agonized) I will, I promised, I'll let him! (The wind blows open the let him! No human being would let him BERTHA: He can't die alone, I won't

lently away from her and sweeps out upon Frieda thrusts the sobbing woman LAWRENCE: Frieda! (All in one instant rieda thrusts the sobbing woman vio-









Original lithograph by Marx Chasall: This and labase an page 23 and 3 as at from Vitaxay, your Jerusalam, a limited edition of 230 copies, igned by Chagall: It was published by Andel Sauer in collaboration with the artist in Frances, 1923. The lithographs shown are studies inappled by Chagall: a massive series of vitanded glass windows now in the Synagegue of the Hadainash Medical Center in Aerusalam. We gradisally carbon delay: the Balanca Back and Art Shap for permission to publish them.

# The Post-War Israeli Left

tools?' Our people have the right to live like any people!" I spoke to: "I want to keep my people safe. . . . Shouldn't I faght for the safety of my people? Didn't Russia fight together with America against Hitler? Did that make them 'imperialist N HIS HOME IN KIBBUTZ SDEH BOKER, in the middle of the vast wasteland of southern Israel, David Ben-Gurion, had already heard wherever I went and from everyone the 81-year-old former prime minister, told me what I

my interview with Ben-Gurion.

Maki, and became a leading member of its Central Committee and its major national spokesman in the Knesset (Parliament). In Tel Aviv, I heard the same from Moshe Sneh, a very different sort of political man who, some ten years earlier, had aspirations. He soon joined the Communist Party of Israel, ailure to be sufficiently pro-Soviet and sympathetic to Arab Workers Party), and had split with it, denouncing its alleged been a leader of the left socialist Zionist party, Mapam (United

do not accept the nonsense of its being an imperialist war. The policy of Israel's government is full of mistakes—but we six-day war. Based on recent extensive interviews, this article negotiations—that had been forged between Israelis as politically polar as Ben-Gurion and Sneh by the realities of the on this issue-and other issues, such as the need for direct travels throughout Israel, I was impressed by the consensus equivocally: "The June war was a war of national defense. We will discuss the view that the left now has of the options and to choose their own social system, is a new form of anti-Semitism, even if it comes in a 'progressive' guise." In my Franco? To question the rights of the Israeli people to exist, question the rights of the Spanish people to live because of are now speaking of the rights of a state to exist. Did anyone Speaking authoritatively for the Party, he told me un-

Israel is also an egalitarian and democratic society in which there is a palpable unity between government and people a unity which is only in part explained by the sense of common made up of ordinary people, most of whom happen to be Jews That of no other country, by polemics and abstractions Israel is a new country and it is in many ways unique: but you discover that it is also an ordinary country

danger shared by all Itraelis. It is a country whose leaders, for all their failings, participated fully in its very creation and retain a special commitment to the ideals for which it was created. Much of this impression of Israel was summed up in

He lives some 30 miles south of Beersheba, in the middle of the Negev. Several years ago, 18 young people decided to establish a settlement there—in part because of their commutment to the reclamation of the desert by their own labor. When Ben-Gurion retired from the government several years ago, he joined the settlement, living his belief that theory and practice

Zionism was not yet a movement, and if you had counted everyone who spoke Hebrew in Palestine when I first came "Lovers of Zion," one of the original non-political precursors of the Zionist movement] was here. The question of Jewish brother walked out. Next time, they stayed. I remember," Ben-Gurion continued, "that in 1912, Ahad Haam [a leader of whose mother tongue is Hebrew—everything is being done by Jews—and Arabs, too, of course. So if you ask me about the be the workers—that there could not be a Jewish working class. And he was wrong! We have 800,000 children in Israel labor in the settlements-they used to call them 'colonies'-I landowners and organize the economy, and the Arabs would Jews could be workers and farmers and build their own home-land. He returned to Odessa convinced that Jews would be the never liked that word-was being debated, that is, whether Ben-Zvi [who was to be Israel's second President] and his Party], I decided to speak in Hebrew. Everyone but Itzhak that at the Third Congress of our Party [Zionist Socialist here, you wouldn't have found more than a few . . . I remember He has ample perspective: "When I was born in 1886

contradicted democratic principle and the commitment to equality and social justice. What is not clear, however, when all legitimate criticisms of Israeli reality have been made, is the extent to which things could, in fact, have been different. One effect of the six-day war has been an especialty painful new Zionist vision, I'll tell you—I am not a Zionist."

Ben-Gurion's precept and practice have obviously often
been at odds with each other. Many aspects of Israeli society
and of its government's domestic and foreign policies have

by Maurice Zeitlin

awareness for Israel's left—that the extent of the real options facing Israel have been far narrower than they realized. If, in fact, a government had been in power in Israel from its inception that was unquestionably dedicated to enlightened and humane domestic policies and consistent neutralist and anti-imperialist foreign policies, how much more could have been accomplished in securing social justice for Jewish and Arab Israelis, and peaceful and cooperative relations with the surrounding Arab regimes? There is no clear answer.

TIS TRUE THAT WITH NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS, Israel's foreign policies have been pro-Western and closely identified with those of the United States. He government acted in collusion with Britain and France in 1956 against Nasser's regime. It sought, though it did not obtain, a mutual security pact with the United States. It carried out systematic reprisals against Arab terrorist attacks—many of which far exceeded even a generous definition of "defense." During the Algerian war of independence against France, Israel remained silent, and even intimidated left socialists from making private contacts with Algerian guerrilla leaders.

Military control in Israel's border areas subjected her Arab citizens to persistent infringement on their civil liberties and freedom of movement, until lifted by Prime Minister Eishkol several months before the June war. Israel's Arabs generally live under inferior conditions compared to her Jewish population, although most Arab Israelis are wage carners. The state's use of eminent domain has been disproportionately directed against Arab citizens. On the question of the Arab refuges, the Israeli government's posture—while in many ways rational and correct, and far less obdurate than the position of the Arab regimes—has been constricted by a military definition of reality, and all but summed up by Ben-Gurion's phrase, "not a single refugee." Even with her limited means and absorptive capacity, some refugees might have been resettled within Israel's borders. Even the Histadrut, Israel's central labor organization, did not give Arab workers the full rights of membership until 1959, under the pressure of the left. None of these strictures can be seriously denied—at least

by sensible men. In fact, they have been consistently made by Israelis themselves—some of them of the stature of the late philosopher Martin Bubber—especially those on the socialist left represented by Mapam. What, however, were Israel's real options? Had Israel's government not collaborated with France and Britain in the 1936 Sinal campaign, how radically would that have altered the dedication, public and vociferous, of the Arab regimes to the destruction of the State of Israel? The options available to Israel were few, and the left socialist? The options available to Israel were few, and the left socialist? The options available to Israel were few, and the straint and an appeal to "all countries" that they sell arms to Israel. Had the Israeli government publicly supported or even privately encouraged ties with the Algerian nationalist movement, its one more or less sure source of major weapoury, the French government would have been alienated. Where could Israel have turned—to the hostile Soviet Union?

and begun by reactionary comprador Arab regimes—
was the mass flight of hundreds of thousands of
Arab from the territory of the newly established
State of Israel. They were encouraged by the radio propaganda

of the Arab regimes, and the exodus took place despite the Israelis' attempt to stop it. During what followed—the immingration of the survivors of the Nazi concentration camps, and the need to defend against regimes sworn to destroy Israel—how much could branet have done, and how much could be domanded of her? Everything that could be done was demanded of her by Israel's own left, even in the face of the revanchisme of the Arab regimes and their own unwillingness to help the Arab refuges in any way.

As to the military rule in the border areas containing most Israeli Arabs, that too was condemned and opposed by many Israelis, not only of the left, but even within the center parties. And it was finally lifted. One of the important questions is the extent to which the Arabs would have been more fully integrated into Israeli life had problems of military security not confronted them so overwhelminally.

integrated into Israeli life had problems of military security not confronted them so overwhelmingly.

Given the limits of Israel's incomparable security situation, and the fact that there were close to 300,000 unassimilated Arabs in Israel, the question was how to deal with them. The gostion of Mapam was and is that Israelis are Arabs and Lews. Not that there are Arabs and Israelis And that the Israeli Arabs should and could be fully incorporated into the body politic. Mapam and its precursors did it, at least in practice. Mapam was the only party—aside from the Commissis—to have Arabs as full members. And where Mapam has a strong base among the Arabs, as in Nazareth, the relationship between Arab Israelis and Jewish Israelis is the kind the party dreamed about. That dream has not been abandoned despite the situation today. Mapam criticized the Ben-Gurion government for treating the Arabs only as a potential fifth column, a viewpoint that resulted in the ruling ideology that the only thing the Arabs understand is force.

"Some of the Arabs, ruled by hostife governments, were right on the other side of the order. There was truth in this, We said that we had to take the risk." Yankov Chazam, a Mapam

"Some of the Arabs, ruled by nositie governments, were right on the other side of the order. There was truth in this. We said that we had to take the risk," Yaakov Chazam, a Mapam leader, told me. "If there was a problem of security, then we should have strengthened the Army but given full ervil liberius to the Arabs in Israel. If you consider Arabs on the border a security problem, put more troops there! This was a danger-ous way, but it was the only just way. Life means to build in danger. The Arabs either are a bridge of peace or a wall of hate. If they live here as second-class citizens, they will be the latter. Of course, the Arabs have received major benefits as citizens of Israel, but always hesitantly and tardily. The proof that we were right about frendship was shown in this [the six-day] war. The Arabs of Israel did not stand against us, and many stood with us."

Even if unity were forged in Israel between Arab and Jew, it must be emphasized that there are two questions—that of

Even if unity were lorged in Israel between Arab and Jew, it must be emphasized that there are two questions—that of peace with the surrounding Arab regimes and that of social justice and social equality for Israeli Arabs. The status of the Arabs within Israel (and Israel's willingness to bend on the Arab refugee question) and the Arab regimes' postures toward stread are not demonstrably connected—though left socialists believe they are. In the course of my research since the June war and the re-thinking of my critique of Israel's policies, have become persuaded that even had the left socialists been in power, and had Israel's Arab citizens been treated with the fullest justice, the policies of the Arab regimes would not have changed significantly, nor would their unmitigated and unreleating barred of Israel and commitment to its destruction.

The policies of the Arab regimes were never motivated by the plight of the Arab refugees, for whom they have demonstrated little genuine concern, and whom they have maintained in perpetual degradation. Lebanon is the one country in which anything like resettlement of refugees from Palestine actually took place, and it has been the least reventerfaire of the Arab regimes, refraining from entering this June's six-day war. Iraq alone could easily have absorbed all the Arab refugees. Only the will of the Arab regimes has been lacking, because the plight of the refugees served their political purposes.

until one to the attent to which cannot be understood until one is there is the extent to which "national survival" is important in tiny Israel. To speak of travel between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and Beersheba, is to speak of the distance from Princeton to New York. It means, in other words, that had the Israelis not succeeded in winning the war in six days, and carrying it to Arab territory, they would have been destroyed. This is neither rhetoric nor a cliché.

When you stand across the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road from Latrun, which was the site of a major Arab-Israel battle in 1948, and you see Latrun (now a Trappist Monastery) up on a hill overlooking the road, you realize that only several hundred yards separated Israeli settlements from Jordanian troops. It then becomes clear what an Israeli, especially if he lives on the border, means when he says that his existence, his life, depended on whether or not he won the war in June, and on whether Israel can now secure more vable borders.

on whether Israel can now secure more viable borders.

The security problem and the border situation and the question of death and life in Israel are inseparable. For those of us who live in a country of vast frontiers, it is an abstraction to talk about "territorial acquisition." For the Israelis, maintaining their hold on Latran and the old road between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem is vital. They cannot return to the border

as to Arab intentions, Israelis will readily tell you that Azzam Pasha, then secretary general of the Arab League, stated the Arab war aims on May 15, 1948 (as reported by the BBC that day), quite clearly: "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades." They will remind you that Ahmed Shukairy, who now claims to be leading a "war of national liberation," and who directs the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization and talks so glibly of anti-imperialism, is a reactionary landlord who first headed the Syrian delegation and then the Saudi Arabian delegation to the U.N. before suddenly doming his new anti-imperialist clothes. But his aims have not changed since he was a representative of the Palestine Arab High Committee before the U.N. and stated (as recorded in the Official Records of the General Assembly, May 15, 1948, p. 659). "The war aims of the Arabs were the elimination of the Jewish State." The position of the Arab regimes was stated again, after the six-day war, by General Aboul Rahman Arif of Iraq: "The existence of Israel," he said on June 28, 1967, "is in itself an aggression and must herefore be repulsed, and there must be a return to a normal situation."

In our interview, Ben-Gurion avoided getting entangled in a full discussion of his views on how to resolve the problem of the occupied areas. He did say that the Sinai, which was

by never historically a part of Palestine, nor directly of strategic non-value to the State of Israel, would probably be returned to Egypt, once an agreement for its demilitarization and terms concerning navigation rights through Suez and the Gulf of he concerning navigation rights through Suez and the Gulf of he Agaba were negotiated with Egypt directly. He slaso said: "We shall settle the Heights of Golan and the empty areas around Jerusalem, and all the empty places in the West and output of the Arabs will have full rights. If we are to secure viable borders, this must be done." There is basic agreement in Israel over the need for direct negotiations, and a clear view on the Israel left as to what those negotiations should achieve.

N 1965, THE ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY split over the nature of the defense of the Israeli state. The resultant new Communist Party is primarily Arab-based and is more pro-Nasser.

Speaking authoritatively for the original Israeli Communist Party, Moshe Sach told me that Sowiet policy in the Middle East has nothing in common with socialist principles and was not even intelligent realpoilit. He pointed out that not only the Israeli Communist Party, but the Roumannian, Dutch and Swedish Parties had the same view, and had refused to attend the celebrations in Moseow of the 50th anniversary of the Bothsevik Revolution, and that the Italian and French Parties were torn by dissension over the issue as well. Cuba continues to maintain correct diplomatic relations with Israel, despite Soviet pressures and the Communist editorials against Israel in Granna.

"The June war," Sneh said unequivocally, "was a war of national defense. And we are opposed to the Soviet slogan of unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories now under its control as a result of that war. For that would mean a return to the conditions which led to that war. We are also opposed to annexation. There must be direct negotiations, not merely about territorial matters, but about general terms of peace. Only in the framework of such an agreement can the frontiers be defined. At the Khartoum Summit, the Arab regimes again stated they would not recognize Israel's right to exist—and this after the war! Thus, withdrawal would mean renewal of the war."

This is virtually the same position held by the government of Israel, though it has a played its cards even closer to its chest, waiting for the Arabs to agree to sit down to talk about

This is virtually the same position held by the government of Israel, though it has played its cards even closer to its chest, waiting for the Arabs to agree to sit down to talk about the terms of a general peace treaty in the area. Sneh says that Israel should reiterate publicly and forcefully its position that it had no territorial ambitions before the war, has none now, and is willing to negotiate the status of the territories it has occupied since the June war. He wants Jerusalem's status freely negotiated, but believes the city should be united under the sovereignty of Israel with one municipal authority and local autonomy for the Arab bertor

local autonomy for the Arab sector.

"We want self-determination for the Palestinian' Arabs on the West Bank and in Gaza," Such told me. "Let there be elections under international supervision. Let those former officials of the Jordanian regime who remained on the West Bank, like El Jabri, mayor of Hebron, or Nuseibeth, former minister of Defense in the Jordanian abinet, and others hold elections and establish a government that can then negotiate with Israel as the representatives of the Palestinian Arabs; including those in Gaza. The worst that could happen is that

return the West Bank to Jordan—once a peace treaty mutually territories as part of a peace treaty, but that Israel is ready to They not only believe that Israel should make unequivocally with Jewish national identity environs, can be rescinded again-not only for security West Bank to Jordan if peace is secured. However, they up negotiating the terms of their own surrender, it is imperative hat to assure the Arabs that they are not merely going to end satisfactory to both sides is concluded between them. They lear its willingness to rescind control of most of the occupied easons, but for reasons of Jerusalem's historical connection not believe that sovereignty over old Jerusalem, nor of its egotiations between the parties concerned; they also agree hat the Israeli government declare its willingness to return the the correct principled position ጸ direct

The simple fact is, as Yaakov Chazan put it in our interview, that "the Arabs now confront a new reality and must face it."

Nathan Yalin-Mor, who had tried in the past to establish contacts between Israelis and the Algerian FLPs, says that if Israel does not try to establish an autonomous republic of Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank, federated with Israel into a Federation of Palestine (Ferez Israel), she will be forced to withdraw by the big powers. He believes that many Israelis, including government officials, are moving toward this view, and cluding government officials, are moving toward this view, and that there are also Arabs on the West Bank who, within a year of so, may come around to it. Some are already intimating this publicly. "This is," he says, "the first time Arabs and Jews face each other directly. There are no Turks between them. There are no British between them. This land belongs to two nations, both with roots in and strong attachments to it. Jerusalem is the mother of two children between whom there has been a teagic clash."

within and of the dealings with refugees without, men who throughout their lives have been critics of the foreign most formidable critics of the second-class status of Arabs achievement of Arab-Israeli friendship, men who have been the even talk to the Israelis about the possibility of negotiations Unfortunately, there is not yet one important voice in the Arab world, either private or public, which has been willing to Israelis answered that they had been unable to make real been able to discover were the sentiments of their counterparts Arabs of the left, or independent nationalists; what had they to take, I asked them what secret contacts they had had with West Bank. In view of the difficult stand they were willing policy of Israel—want their government to make a declaramong them men who have focused their entire lives on the nember I met, and others I spoke to on or off the recordcontact with the Arabs; they said that they were unable to sit down and talk with an Arab leader, even secretly. So ion that it is indeed willing to talk about the status of the Jordan, on the West Bank, in Egypt, in Algeria? The and Victor Shemtov, another Mapam Knesset

what is Israel to do? If the government of Israel begins to try to rehabilitate the Arab refugees on the West Bank, as is sug gested by some, would she not be faced with the claim that she was taking such measures to create a fait accompli, to incorporate the occupied territories into her polity and economy—that she was intransigent, obdurate, annexationist?

N THE VERY BUE OF THE WAR, debate was still ficre on the question of how Israel should respond to the Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aquba and the Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aquba and the new Arab military alliance. Now that Israel has survived, barring any unforeseen change in the policies of the Arab regimes or of the Soviet Union, it is unlikely that the Israelis will view their alternatives as anything but military ones. At least so far as foreign policy is concerned, it seems inevitable that there will be a deadening of political debate and a dampening of political opposition. Moreover, if the needs of military security could serve as a rationale for domestic policies in the past which many considered unjust and irrational, such policies will now appear to have even greater credence and will be more easily accepted.

If this turns out to be the case, it will be tragic. For the critique of Israel made by the left socialist Zionists was not wrong. It argued that within the limits of ensuring a nation's security, the search for alternatives, even dangerous ones, had to go on; that Palestine was the home of two nations, and that the Arabs and the Jew had legitimate national aspirations that need not and should not conflict with each other. The differences between Arabs and Jews had been exploited by the British in order to divide them, just as those differences are still exploited by the great powers to further their own interests.

tain military superiority in the area, nor can she rely on the United States. The latter has prevailing interests which are opposed to genuine national liberation in the Middle East. Israel's long-run survival is endangered in proportion to her dependence on the U.S. With all the frustrations faced by her is less important than whether it shall be true in the future.

Neither Israel's internal development nor her security can be line of an "activist defense policy" hardened the intransigence of the Arabs in turn. Whether or not this was true in the past that there were critical points in the past when Israel's "hard" who have a vision of the Jewish state as an integral part of a developing Middle East of independent Arab states to find a deal with her Arab neighbors. Israel cannot indefinitely maintied to the policy, which now seems to be gaining the upper hand in Israel, of relying merely on a "position of strength" to but indispensible to Israel. It is more urgent than ever for those who maintain that Arab-Jewish friendship is not only possible will not continue, however, if we hear only silence from those war, Israel's search for alternatives must continue. That search responsibility for an adventurist policy which had to lead to people in the past, and despite the Soviet Union's immediate Jewish state was realized. way to realize their "impossible" dream, even as the dream of These views were correct. Many Israelis on the left believe

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# he Guevara

Che Guevara rewrote his rough diary notes into an unofficial and fragmentary history, Pasajes de la Guerra Revolucionaria. The following are excerpts from that history, published for the first After the great campaign in the Sierra Maestra of Cuba, Ernesto

### Alegría del Pío

pality of Niquero, near Cabo Cruz. At this very spot on December 5, 1956, Batista's forces discovered our hiding place.

We were exhausted from a long, painful trek; more painful than long, to tell the truth. We had landed on December 2, at a place known as the Playa de las Coloradas. We had lost all this had left an indelible mark upon our troop, made up of rookies who did not know what the word "combat" meant. We had reached Cuba following a seven-day voyage across the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, without food, plagued by seasickness and aboard a far-from-seaworthy vessel. All new footwear and fungus were by no means our only enemies by now everyone was suffering from blisters and footsores, but marshlands and swamps. We were all wearing new boots and our equipment, and had trudged for endless hours through

been left behind in the swamps. We had managed to mitigate our hun er and thirst by eating sugar cane, but due to our lack of experience we had left a trail of cane peelings and bagasse All that was left of our war equipment was our rifles, car-tridge belts and a few wet rounds of ammunition. Our medical any trail to follow our steps, for it had been our guide—as we all over the place. Not that the guards looking for us needed supplies had disappeared and most of our knapsacks had

> found out later—who had betrayed us. We had let him go the might before—an error we were to repeat several times during our long struggle until we learned that civilians whose personal records were unknown to us were not to be trusted while in dangerous areas. It was a serious blunder to release that man-

a long rest period. Orders were given to halt at the edge of a canefield, in a thicket close to the dense woods. Most of us of collapse, we would walk a short distance and then beg for By daybreak of the 5th we could barely walk. On the verge

gether with small private aircraft, began to circle our hiding place. Most of our men went on cutting and eating sugar cane without realizing that they were perfectly visible to those flying the planes, which were now circling at slow speed. I was the troop physician and it was my duty to treat the bisistered feet. I recall my last patient that morning: his name was Humberto Lamotte and that was to be his last day on earth. I still remember how tired and worn out he looked as he walked from my improvised first aid station to his post, still carrying his Force "Piper" planes as well as other types of small planes, toslept throughout the morning hours.

At noon we began to notice unusual signs of activity. Air

rat least this is the way it looked to us, this being our baptism of fire—descended upon our 82-man troop. My rife was not done of the best; I had deliberately asked for it because I was in very poor physical condition due to an attack of asthmathat had bothered me throughout our ocean voyage and I did not want to be held responsible for the loss of a good weapon. I can hardly remember what followed the initial burst of gunfire. Almeida ran back to take charge of his group. A comfire. our meager rations—half a sausage and two crackers—when a rifle shot broke the stiliness. Immediately, a hail of bullets— Comrade Montané and I were leaning against a tree, eating ur meager rations—half a sausage and two crackers—when



rade dropped a box of ammunition at my feet and when I reprimanded him for his action he looked at me with an expression of anguish and muttered something like "this is no time to bother with ammunition boxes." He continued on his way toward the canefield and disappeared from view.

of choosing between my devotion to medicine and my duty as a revolutionary soldier. There, at my feet, were a knapsack full away, looked at me and said: "Oh, it's nothing," but I could me!" and began to fire his rifle at no one in particular. Flat on Arbentosa, vomiting blood and bleeding profusely from a deep hole made by a 45-caliber bullet, yelled: "They have killed and a wound on my neck, and I thought for certain I was dead A burst of gunfire hit us both. I felt a sharp blow on my chest comrade named Arbentosa was walking toward the canefield ammunition, leaving the medicine, and started to cross the see by the look in his eyes that he considered me as good as dead what I really said is unprintable—and Faustino, still firing the ground, I turned to Faustino, saying: "I've been hit!"learing, heading for the canefield. I remember Faustino both of them; they were too heavy. I picked up the box of Perhaps this was the first time I was faced with the dilemma dicine and a box of ammunition. I couldn't possibly carry kneeling and firing his machine gun pistol. Near me, a

wounded man. Immediately, I began to figure out the best way to die. I recalled a Jack London story where the hero, aware that he is bound to freeze to death in the wastes of better surender and I heard a voice—later I found out it was Camilo's—shouting: "No, nobody surrenders here!" fol-lowed by a four-letter word. Ponce came at a run, breathing hard, and showed me a bullet wound (I was sure the bullet woods, following an impulse similar to that of the other bandaging his hand. Then everything became a blur of air-planes flying low and strafing the field, adding to the confusion, by a rifle bullet, being attended by Faustino Pérez who was must have pierced his lungs), and said "I'm wounded," and I replied coolly "me, too." Then Ponce, and other comrades who were still unhurt, crawled toward the canefield. For a Alaska, leans calmly against a tree and prepares to die in a dignified manner. That was the only thing that came to my in the middle of this turmoil another man kept on yelling: ntense pain, I dragged myself into the canefield. There I met comrade Raul Suárez, whose thumb had been blown away neida approached, urging me to go on, and noment I was left alone, just lying there waiting to die. Alund at that moment Still on the ground, I fired a shot in the direction of the tely trying to hide behind a single stalk of sugar cane, while a comrade of considerable avoirdupois who was despernd Dantesque as well as grotesque scenes, such as the sight no apparent reason. omeone on his knees said that we had despite the

With Almeida leading, we crossed the last path among the rows of came and reached the safety of the woods. The first shouts of "fire!" were heard in the canefield and tongues of fame and columns of smoke began to rise. I cannot remember exactly what happened; I felt the bitterness of defeat and I was sure I was going to die. We walked until the darkness made it impossible to go on, and decided to lie down and go to skeep all huddled together in a heap. We were starving and thirsty and the mosquitoes added to our misery. This was our baptism of five on December 5, 1956, on the outskirts of Niquero. It was the beginning of what would later become the Rebel Army.

### Battle of La Plata

UR FIRST VICTORY was the result of an attack upon a small Army garrison at the mouth of La Plata River.

The effect of our victory was electrifying. It was like a clarion call, proving that the Rebel Army really existed and was ready to fight.

On January 14, 1937, shortly after the surprise attack of Alegria del Pío, we came to a halt by the Magdalena River. A piece of firm land originating at the Sierra juts out between the Magdalena and La Plata. Fidel gave orders for target practice as an initial attempt at some sort of training for our troop, Some of the men were using a weapon for the first time. At that time we had 23 weapons in operating condition.

That afternoon we climbed the last hill before reaching the outskirts of La Plata. We were following a trail marked especially for us by a peasant named Medquides Elias. This man had been recommended by our guide Eutimio. Our guide was essential to us and he seemed to be the prototype of the rebed farmer, but later he was apprehended by Casillas (a Batista officer) who, instead of killing him, bribed him with an offer of \$10,000 and the rank of leutenant if he managed to kill Fridel. Eutimio came close to fulfilling his bargain but he lacked the courage to do so.

At dawn of the 16th we began watching the Army post, but no soldiers could be seen anywhere. At three p.m. we decided to approach the road leading to the berracks and take a look; by nightfall we crossed the shallow La Plata River and took our positions on the road. Five minutes later we took two farmers into custody. One of them had a record as an informer. When we could them who we were and reassured them that no harm would befall them, they gave us some valuable information.

would befall them, they gave us some valuable information. We had 22 weapons ready for the attack. It was a crucial moment because we were short of annunction. The Army post had to be taken, for a failure would have meant spending all our ammunition, leaving us practically defenseless.

The attack began at 2:40 a.m. and the guards put up a much stiffer resistance than we had expected. A sergant, armed with an M-1, opened up with a burst every time we asked them to surrender. We were given orders to use our old, Brazilian-type hand grenades. Luis Crespo and I trew ours but they did not go off; Raúl Castro threw a stick of dynamite with the same negative result. It became necessary to get close to the bouses and set them on fire even at the risk of our own lives. Finally, Luis Crespo and I got close to one of the ranches and set it on fire. The glare gave us an opportunity to see that it was a place for storing occumus, but the over-all effect intimidated the soldiers and they gave up the fight.

Camilo Cienfluegos was first into the house, where shouts of surrender were being heard. Quickly, we took stock of our booty; eight Springfelds, one Thompson machine gun and about 1000 rounds; we had fired approximately 500 rounds. In addition, we now had cartridge belts, fuel, knives, clothing and some food. Casualities: two soldiers dead, five wounded we took three prisoners.

Our men had not suffered a single scratch. We set fire to the soldiers' quarters and after taking care of the wounded—three soldiers' quarters and after taking care of the wounded—three of them were seriously wounded and we were told later that they had died—we withdrew. One of the soldiers later joined the forces under Raúl Castro's command, was promoted to be forces under Raúl Castro's command to the forces under Raúl Castro's command to the forces under Raúl Castro's command.



Our attitude toward the wounded was in open contrast to that of the tyranny's Army. Not only did they kill our wounded men; they abandoned their own. This difference made a great impact upon the enemy and it was instrumental in our victory. Fidel gave orders that the prisoners be given all the medicines to take care of the wounded. I was appalled at this decision because, as a physician, I felt the need of saving all available medicine and drugs for our own men. We freed all civiliants and at 4:30 of the 17th, we started for Palma Mocha, arriving there at dawn and continuing on in the most inaccessible zones of the Sierra Maestra. This was the victorious battle of the Rebel Armies. It was only in this battle and the one following that we had more weapons than men. Peasants were not yet ready to join in the struggle, and communication with the city bases was practically nonexistent.

### Bitter Days

HE DAYS FOLLOWING our departure from Epifanio's farm were, at least for me, the most painful of the war.

On February 22, I wrote in my diary that I was On February 22, I wrote in my diary that I was beginning to feel the symptoms of an attack of asthma; I did beginning to feel the symptoms of an attack of asthma; I did beginning to feel the symptoms of an attack of asthma; I did beginning to feel the symptoms of an attack of asthma; I did beginning to feel the symptoms of an attack of a state of the mean of the symptoms of an attack of a state of the mean of the mean of the symptoms of the symptoms of the mean of the symptoms of the symptoms of the mean of the symptoms of the mean of the mean

days. My asthma was so bad I could hardly walk, and we spent

or I'll hit you with my rifle butt!" Then he would pick up his at me: "You, son-of-a-bitch from Argentina, either you walk to be left behind, Crespo would revert to our jargon and snap a terrible experience. I was practically choking by the time I reached the top of the hill. I remember Crespo's efforts to in the vicinity. Everybody made it to the top, but for me it was Mortar and machine-gun fire broke out, headed in our direction, cut us off. It was not difficult because we had seen them in time. reach the hillside and cross to the other side before the troops another night near a house, among a thicket of coffee trees. load, and practically carry me and my heavy knapsack to the make me walk. Every time I said I could not go on and asked which proved that Batista's men knew that we were somewhere coming from the direction of Las Vegas. We had to move fast to Luís Crespo were watching the road, and saw a large troop About four p.m. on February 28th, Universo Sánchez and All this under a heavy downpour.

We reached a small hut at a place called Purgatorio. Fidel put on a great performance, impersonating a "Major González" of Batista's Army, in search of rebels. The host was both courteous and cool, but another man, a neighbor, was a real toady. I was too ill to enjoy fully the dialogues between Fidel, in his role as Major González, and the man, who insisted on giving advice to Fidel and kept saying that he could not understand why this boy Castro was out there in the woods, fighting,

sand why his boy Castro was out there in the woods, fighting. Something had to be done about me: I simply could not go on any longer. When the chatty neighbor left, Fidel told the host who he really was and the man threw his arms around him, saying that he belonged to the Orthodox Party, that he was a follower of Chibás, and that he was ready to help out in every way. It was necessary for the peasant to go to Manzamillo and establish some connact or, at least, buy some medicine. Even the man's wife was not supposed to know that

I would be near the house. Our latest recruit, a man of doubtful reputation, was assigned as my guard. In a generous gesture, Fidel gave me a Johnson rifle, a real jewel. Then we all made a big show of leaving together, and a few yards away my companion—whom we called "the teacher"—and I went into the woods to hide and wait.

Our man fulfilled his mission and I got my adrenalin. The next ten days were the most bitter of the struggle in the Sierra: I was dragging myself from tree to tree, using my rifle as a crutch, accompanied by a thoroughly frightened man who went practically out of his mind every time I coughed—he was so afraid someone would hear me—but we finally made it back to Epifanio's house. It had taken us ten days to cover a distance easily covered in one day's march.

### Reinforcement

UR REINFORCEMENTS Were scheduled to arrive on the 15th of March. We waited for hours but no one came. They arrived the following day, exhausted, saying that unexpected events had delayed their departure. They came in trucks owned by a rice planter who later became so frightened about being implicated in the affair that he took refuge in an Embassy, later departed for Costa Rica, and returned to Cuba as a hero aboard a plane carrying some arms. His name: Hubert Matos.

Only 30 of the 50-man troop were armed; they had two machine-gun rifles, a Madzen and a Johnson. The few months spent in the Sierra had turned us into full-fledged veterans, and the new troop looked to us as full of defects as our original Gramma troop: no discipline, lack of decision and inability to adapt to the new surroundings. The group, led by Jorge Sonts, was divided into five squads, each composed of ten men led by a lieutenant. This rank had been conferred by the organization in the city, pending ratification.

The contrast between the two groups was tremerdous. Our was well-disciplined, compact and hardened. Theirs was suffering from the usual lifs: they were not accustomed to eating only one meal a day; if they found the meal unpalatable, they refused to eat. Their knapsacks were loaded with useless items, and in order to make them lighter, they would rather get rid of a can of condensed milk than a towel—this is practically high treason in guerilla warfare!—so we made it a point to follow their trail and pick up any food they discarded. Once we settled in our camp there was a tense period brought about by constant friction between Sottis—who was quite an authoritarian but lacked the gift of getting along with others—and the troop.

Fidel arrived on the night of March 24. He and his 12 stalwart comrades were an impressive sight. What a contrast between these men, with their long beards and their makeshift packs, and the new arrivals wearing clean uniforms, carrying well-made packs, and all clean shaven! I made a full report of our problems and we held council to decide on future action.

The new arrivals added to our troop's efficiency. In addition, we had two machine-gun rifles, even though they were old and badly worn. Nevertheless we now constituted a considerable force. We had a short, elementary guerrilla training practice, and ore the seast. Our plan was to cover long distances, tooking for some group of soldiers to pounce upon.

### Forging the Temper

the reorganization and training of the rebd troops. We learned to cook by squads. Our group was by now so large that the squad system allowed for a better distribution of food, medicine and ammunition. There was tribution of food, medicine and ammunition. There was reletan in most squads, teaching the new men the art of cooking and how to get the best nourishment out of our food-cooking and how to get the best nourishment out of our food-cooking and how of walking through the Sierras. It would and the correct way of walking through the Sierras it would take an automobile only a few hours to cover the distance between the right hill of El Lomón and Uvero. To us, it meant weeks of slow walking, taking every precaution, carrying out our program of training the men for the coming battles as well as for a new life.

I must mention here that at last I was to get a canvas hammock. This was a royal gift, which I had not yet been awarded, in keeping with the guerrilla law: a canvas hammock went to those who had aliready made their own out of burlap sacks. Anyone could make himself a burlap hammock; this sacks. Anyone could make himself a burlap hammock; but the made him a candidate for the next canvas hammock; but the lint made my asthma worse, and I was forced to steep on the ground. Not having a burlap hammock, I was not entitled to a ground. Not having a burlap hammock, I was not entitled to a ground. Not having a burlap hammock, I was not entitled to a ground. Not having a force in the fact was a lart of each man's individual tragedy.

that were a part of each man's individual tragedy.

Fidel realized my plight and broke all the rules, awarding me the precious hammock. I will always remember that this happened by the banks of La Plata River, the day we ate horse meat for the first time.

The horse meat was not only a luxurious pièce de réstiance: it was the acid test of the capacity of adaptation. Peasant it was the acid test of the capacity of adaptation. Peasant members of our generilla force became quie indiganat and refused to eat their portion of horse meat. Some of them looked upon Manuel Fajardo as a murderer. He had worked in a slaughterhouse, and a great event such as the slaughtering of a horse called for the hand of a professional.

The horse belonged to a peasant named Popa, who lived across the river. I feel confident that following the anti-liliteracy campaign, Popa must be able to read and write by now. If he ever lays his hands on the magazine Verde Olivonow. If he ever lays his hands on the magazine Verde Olivonowhere these notes were originally published—he will undoubtedly recall the night when three murderous-looking guerrilla fighters knocked at his door, mistook him for an guerrilla fighters knocked at his door, mistook him for an guerrilla fighters knocked at his door, mistook him for an guerrilla fighters knocked at his door, mistook him for an efformer, and added insult to injury by taking his old, mother of exquisite taste for some of us and a test for the prejudiced belies of the peasants, who felt that they were committing an act of cannibalism by chewing on their old friend.

### The Arms Arrive

NE DAY, a contact man from Santiago named Andrés arrived with the welcome news that arms would be delivered within a few days. A sawmill on the coast was set for the rendezvous.

The night the arms came, we saw the most beautiful sight in the world. There they were, the instruments of death, on exhibit before the hungry eyes of every fighter: three machine

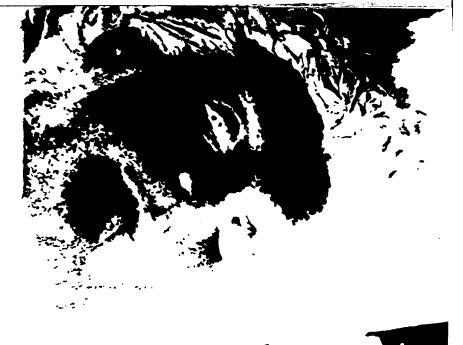
guns with their tripods, three Madzen machine-gun rifles, nine Mr.1 carbines, ten Johnson automatic rifles, and 6000 roundst of ammunition. The Mr.1's were allotted 45 rounds apiece, and they were distributed according to each man's merits and time spent in the Sierra. One of them went to Ramiro Yaldes, now a major, and two others were given to Camilo's advance guard. The other four were to cover the tripod machine guns. One machine gun the went to Cappain Jorge Sottis' platoon, one to Almelda's and another to the staff; that was my weapon. Such was my initiation as a direct combatant. I had participated in combat but my steady position was that of physician. For me, it was the beginning of a new stage.

A man named David, a foreman for one of the landowners, was very helpful. He slaughtered a cow for us, near the coast, and we had to go and bring in the pieces. This had to be done at night and I sent a group of men led by Israel Pardo, and a second group led by Banderas. Banderas was quite undisciplined and he made the men carry the entire load, it took them all night to bring the meat. A small troop was being organized, which I was to lead since Almeida was hart. Aware of my responsibility, I toid Banderas he was no longer a combatant; that unless he improved his behavior, he was to remain as a sympathizer. He did improve, although he was no model of discipline, but he was an alert man, of great ingenuity, and he had come face to face with reality through the medium of the Revolution. He had been working a small parcel of land wrested from the woods, and lived in a small hat with two small pigs and a dog. One day be showed me his son's 'photograph'; they lived with his ex-wife in Santiago. Banderas said he hoped that once the Revolution had succeeded, he could go sonewhere to work a piece of good land, not this inhospitable scrap of land practically hanging from the Sierra. The man had a peassion for agriculture.

I told him about the cooperative, but he was unable to understand. He wanted to work the land by himself and for himself. Gradhally, he began to understand the advantage of collective work, the use of farm machinery, etc. Banderss would have been a vanguard fighter in agricultural production. At the Sierra, he improved his reading and writing and he was really preparing for the future. He was a wide-awake peasant who knew the value of self-sacrifice when it comes to writing a new page in history.

in need of, so that he could get them for us. He was the typical foreman, faithful to his boss, with a great scorn for peasants, structure of the Revolution is based upon many sincere efforts made by humble men; our mission is to bring out the best in is still in Cuba; perhaps he followed his bosses, whose possesto explain that he had refused to talk. I do not know if David and tortured him, his main concern when he saw us again was and a racist to boot. However, when the Army arrested him his way to Santiago and he wanted a list of the things we were sacrifices, of unrewarded sacrifices. well, of Banderas who did not live to see the dawn, of blind change; he felt that a change was forthcoming, although he say he was a man who, at that moment, felt the need of a sions have already been confiscated by the Revolution. I must everyone and turn everyone into a revolutionary. The Revoution is made up of Davids who did not understand I held a long interview with David, the foreman. He was on ned the change might reach him and his world. The

We who are able to witness the Revolution's accomplish-



ments must remember those who fell by the roadside, and do our utmost to decrease the number of laggards.

## Treason in the Making

so necessary, and there was a little freedom to carry on conver-sations at night while resting in our hammocks. We were allowed to visit the nearby villages and establish closer thes with the peasants. We were moved by the hearty welcome given Sierra. There was a true free territory; safety measures were not T WAS A PLEASURE to look at our troop. Close to 200
men, well-disciplined, with increased morale, and armed
with good weapons, some of them new. The qualitative
change I mentioned before was now quite evident in the A PLEASURE to look at our troop. Close to 200

Felipe Pazos and Raúl Chibás were the "prima donnas" of the moment, although they were complete opposites. Raúl Chibás ived under the shadow of his brother's reputation-for Eddie Chibás was the symbol of an era—but he had none of his brother's virtues. He was neither expressive nor intelligent. Only his absolute mediocrity allowed him to be the principal figure of the Orthodox Party. He spoke very little

and he wanted to leave the Sierra at One when we have a way and the wanted to leave the Sierra at One with the did not have much time to talk, but Fidel told me about his efforts to turn out a really militant document that would set the basis for a declaration of principles. This was a difficult set the basis for a declaration of principles. This was a difficult set the basis for a declaration of principles. This was a difficult task when faced by these two "stone age" brains immune to the call of the people's struggle.

Fundamentally, the manifesto reiterated "the establishment of a great civic revolutionary front in a common front of struggle"; the arrive revolutionary front in a common front of struggle"; the appointment of "a figure designated to preside over the provisional government"; the statement that the front did neither request nor accept intervention by any other country in the internal affairs of Cube; it "did not accept any military junta as a provisional government of the Republic"; the determination to separate the Army from politics and insure the safety of the armed forces against political intrigue and influence; elections to be held within one year's time.

The program to be observed by the provisional government included the freedom of all political prisoners, civilian and military; absolute guarantee of freedom of the press and radio, and all rights, individual or political, to be guaranteed by the Constitutions; suppression of embezzlement in all forms, and establishment of measures aimed at increasing efficiency of all tests oraenteeriners aestablishment of the administrative civic tions; beginning of an intense anti-illiteracy campaign and public education on civic affairs, pointing out the citizens' opinities and durines to society and the country; "to establish the bases for an Agrarian Reform aimed at distribution of untilled lands, giving ownership to all sharecroppers, tenants and squatters having small lots of land, either private or stateowned, provided the farmer owners are compensated"; establishment of a foreign policy safeguarding our currency's career, democratization of trade union politics, promoting free elections in all trade unions and industrial workers' federaall state organizations; establishment of the administrative

stability and aimed at investing the country's credit in productive works; to expedite the process of industrialization and

for his impartiality, capabilities and honesty, can personify such a slogan. There are many able men in Cuba who can preside over the Republic." Felipe Pazza, one of the co-signers, felt quite confident that there was only one man for the create additional employment opportunities.

In addition, there were two points of special emphasis:

In addition, there were two points of special emphasis:

"First: the need to appoint, from this moment, the person who will preside over the Provisional Government of the Republic, to prove to the entire world that Cubans can become united under a slogan of freedom; to support the person who

presidency: himself.

"Second: that this person be appointed by an ensemble of

civic non-political institutions, whose support would safeguard the President from any political commitments, thus insuring clean, impartial elections."

I he document also stated: "It is not necessary to come to the Sierra for any discussions. We can have representatives in Havana, Mexico or wherever it becomes necessary."

Hearana, Mexico or wherever it because to establish the bases for an Agrarian Reform aimed at the distribution of untilled lands," was the kind of policy that the newspaper of untilled lands," was the kind of policy that the newspaper of plario de la Marina might agree with. Worse, there was the part reading; "provided the farmer owners are compensated."

The Revolution did not comply with some of the commitments are not the ceremitments.

ments, as originally stated. We must emphasize that the enemy broke the pact expressed in the manifesto when they refused to acknowledge the authority of the Sierra and made an attempt to shackle the future revolutionary government. We were not satisfied with the commitment, but it was

e necessary; at the time, it was progressive. It could never last beyond any moment that would represent an obstacle for the development of the revolutionary movement. In this matter, the enemy helped us break the uncomfortable bonds and gave us the opportunity to show the people what their real amendations were.

We were aware that this was a minimal program, limiting our own efforts, but we had to recognize that it was impossible to impose our will from the Sierra Masetra; for a long period of time, we would have to depend upon a whole series of "friends" who were trying to use our military strength and to the people's great trust in Fidel for Machiavellian maneuvers, and above all, to maintain imperialist domination of Cuba through the importing bourgeoisie, closely linked with the U.S. owners.

Maestra and it clearly stated: "Let no one be deceived by Government propaganda about the situation in the Sierra Maestra. The Sierra Maestra is an indestructible bulwark of freedom. It is part of the hearts of our people and it is here that we will know how to do justice to the faith and the confidence of our people." The words "we will know how" meant that Fidel and only Fidel knew how. The other two were incapable of following the development of the struggle in the Sierra, wen as spectators. They left the Sierra immediately. Chibás was arrested and beaten by the police. Both

men managed to get to the United States. It was a well-planned coup: a group of

apply and registricians

come of the Miami pact became known, Fidel's fery reply paralyzed the enemy. We were accused of being "divisionists" trying to impose our will from the remote regions of the Sierra, but the enemy had to change its strategy and look for depend on the opponents' strength—in this case, the weapons in the hands of the people. Quick action by our chief, who had full confidence in the guerrilla Army, averted the developthe most distinguished Coban oligarchy arrived at the Siera in defense of freedom," signed a joint declaration with the guerrilla chief isolated in the wilds of the Sierra, and returned with full freedom to play their trump card in Miami. But they ment of the treacherous move. Months later, when the outoverlooked one most important point. Political coups always

a new trap: the Caracas pact.
Our manifesto, dated July 12, 1957, was published in the newspapers. To us, the declaration was simply a short rest period on our march forward. Our main task—to defeat the enemy Army in the battlefield—must go on.

### "El Patojo"

comrade during difficult moments as well as during many moments of hopeful dreaming, is always painful. Julio Roberto was a great friend. He was small and rather weak, physically, so we nicknamed him "El Patojo," which in Guatemalan slang raw Davs Ago, the news from Guatemala included the deaths of several patriots, among them Julio Roberto Cácers Valle.

In our profession as revolutionaries amidst the class struggle shaking the entire continent, we find that death is a frequent accident. But the death of a friend, who was our

means "little one" or "child."

The first time I saw El Patojo was aboard a train. We were running away from Guatemala following Arbenz' overthrow. Our destination was Tapachula; then Mexico City. He was much younger than I, but we soon became close friends. Together, we made the trip from Chiapas to Mexico City, facing the same problems. We were poor and beaten, and we had to

make a living amidst indifferent, if not hostile, surroundings.

El Patioj was completely broke and I had only a few pesos. I purchased a camera and we became clandestine photographers, taking pictures of people visiting parks, etc. Our partner was a Mexican who owned the laboratory where we developed and printed our photographs. We became thoroughly familiar with Mexico City, walking from one end to the other, delivering our miserable photos and struggling with our customers in an effort to convince them that the little child in the print really looked beautiful and that the price of one Mexican peso for such a work of art was a tremendous bargain. We practiced regularly. Gradually, we fared a little better, until the advenour profession for several months and managed to eat quite

native languages. One day, he came to me and said he was leaving; that the time had come for him to do his duty. El Patojo had no knowledge of military training. He simply felt that it was his duty to return to his country and fight, tures of a revolutionary life separated us. In Cuba, El Patojo and I shared the same house, as becomes On a few occasions, I suspected what El Patojo was after: I had seen him hard at work, studying one of his country's old friends, but the old mutual confidence no longer existed

a roof over your head, never sleep in a house that can be sur-rounded. It was a synthesis of our guernile experience; the only thing I could give my friend. Could I tell him not to do it? By what right? We had tried something when it was considered impossible, and now he was convinced that it never trust friendly peasants, informers, guides or contact men. Do not trust anything or anybody until a zone is com-pletely liberated. Vigilance: constant guard and scouting, setting up camp in a safe spot, and above all, never sleep with never stay in the same place, never stay more than two nights in the same spot, never stop moving from one place to another. Mistrust: at the beginning, do not trust your own shadow, weapon in hand, in an attempt to imitate our guerrilla war-fare. We had a long conversation, a rare thing at the time, I limited my recommendations to three points: constant limited my recommendations to three points: constant mobility, constant mistrust and constant vigilance. Mobility:

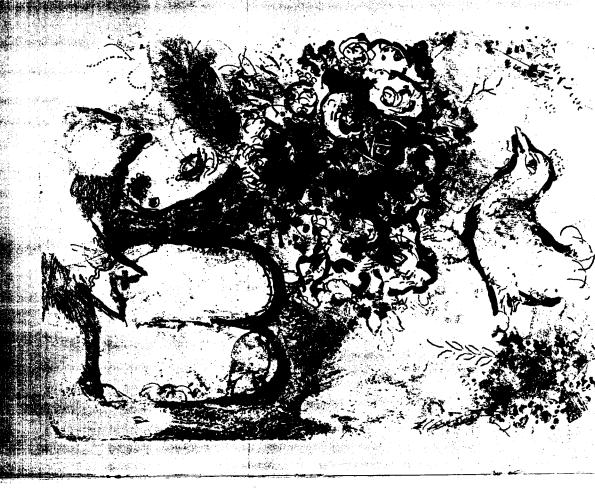
El Patojo departed, and a short time later we heard about his death. As always in these cases, we hoped that there had been some mistake, perhaps a mix-up on names. Unfortunately, it was true: his own mother had identified the body. Others, too, had been killed: a group of his commades, perhaps as intelligent and as self-sacrificing as El Patojo, but unknown to us. Once again, young blood had been spilled on American soil, in the struggle for liberty. Another battle had been lost. Let us take time off to cry over the fallen comrades while we continue to sharpen our machetes. Based on the unfortunate as well as valuable experience of our beloved dead, let us adopt the firm resolution not to repeat mistakes, and to avenge the death of every one of them by winning battles and a straining liberation.

tions; he mentioned no one. He had no personal belongings to be concerned with. However, common friends in Mexico v. brought me some verses he had written in a plain notebook. They are a revolutionary's last verses. They are also a song of love to the Revolution, to the motherland and to a woman. The final recommendation in these verses must have the characteristics of a command directed to the woman whom El Patojo met and loved, here in Cuba. At the time of his departure, El Pajoto made no recommenda-

Take it, it is only a heart hold it in your hand and at daybreak, and let the sun's rays warm it . . . open your hand

El Patojo's heart has remained with us, waiting for the lover's hand, and the loving hands of an entire people, to allow the sun to warm it on the dawn of a new day that will shine for Guatemala and all America. Today, there is a small school of Statistics named "Julio Roberto Cáceres Valle" at the Ministry of Industry, where El Patojo left numerous friends. Later, when freedom comes to Guatemala, his beloved name must appear on a school, a factory or a hospital, anywhere where people struggle and work in the construction of the

These selections from his memoirs of revolutionary war are from a book of Che Guevara's works to be published by Macmillan in 1968, edited by John Gerassi



## [THE NASSER THESIS: PART II]

# Oil & The Arabs

were gradually forced out of the area following World War II, the U.S. took their place. The region is now of paramount Southeast Asia. The Middle East is the crossroads of the comparable in American interests that can be said of the Southeast Asia peninsula." in the region of more than \$2.5 billion. There is nothing ion of the Vietnamese war, Southeast Asia was only a world, between Asia and Europe. In its Great Power aspect, the Middle East crisis shapes up as a confrontation of the 'Israeli rigidity" is responsible for the recurrent Mideast wars wesume that the politics of that area are completely in the trategic importance to this country, whereas, until the escalaoviet Union and the United States. As the British and French rritten on the eve of the six-day war; "In terms of American nterests . . . the Middle East is to be differentiated from ork Times is much more to the point in its candid editorial rally ignored by Arab and Israeli partisans alike. The New sarginal power factor for the U.S. The Persian Gulf produc erves of 60 per cent. American firms have a gross investment nds of its own nation states. The underlying reality is genper cent of the world's petroleum and has proved global nflammatory discussions over whether "Arab madness" or which has extensive holdings in the Middle East, are gross annual profit of Standard Oil of New Jersey,

energing Third World: it is, through the Suez Canal, the trade tantial. In geopolitical terms, the Mideast is a key to the Oil is not the only lure drawing the West to the Middle East, lthough its magnetism could certainly be considered subultural bridge between Africa and Asia-and the center of rossroads between Asia and Europe. It is also an important

These factors are unquestionably significant in the drive for control of the Mideast, but they do not offer the clear test of power of the more concrete prize of oil.

### [OIL—WHO NEEDS IT?]

trial average of less than ten per cent. In 1966, the eight major Western oil companies\* earned around \$2.5 billion after taxes in their Mideastern operations—from the sales of crude oil Company) had the highest profit margin of any U.S. corpora-tion in 1966: 37 per cent—as compared to the national indusprofit rates are among the highest of any industry in the world. The Wall Street Journal recently estimated that Saudi states of the Mideast: Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran. alone. American companies hold slightly less Arabia's American-owned Aramco (Arabian-American Oil nterest in the oil concessions in the four major oil-producing HE AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES have expended great efforts on books and studies which try to prove that the oil business is somehow no longer terribly profitable. The fact is, however, that the oil companies' than half

company relatively little: through a complicated system of tax credits and allowances, about 96 per cent of what Aranco pays Saudi Arabia is offect by savings on its U.S. tax bill. Besides, the Arabs' 50 per cent is calculated on profits from the Mideast countries is generous. Aramco's case, however, which is typical, shows that such generosity is painless. The 50 per cent of the profit that Aramco gives Saudi Arabia costs the profits from marketing and refining the oil.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the sale of crude oil only, and does not include the extensive The American oil companies argue that the "50-50 profit sharing" scheme negotiated over the last 15 years with the

expanding Third World market. The Mideast now provides

cent of Europe's oil is imported from Arab soil; Japan draws 60 per cent of its oil from the Mideast; and there is also the

Mideast oil lake to the oil consumers of the world. Many areas presently rely heavily on Mideastern oil: for example, 65 per

\*British Petroleum Co., Royal Dutch Shell, Compagnic Française des Petrols, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Socony-Mobil and Gulf.

by Robert Scheer

27 per cent of all the oil used in the world, but it contains over 60 per cent of the world's resources, and this figure is certain to increase in the future. Such statistics argue that the significance of this resource transcends the profits that are raked in. Oil is indispensible to industrial and military potential, and it is no wonder that continued control of this resource is an major focus of the Western powers.

If control of Mideast oil is important to the West, it is absolutely critical to the Arabs. Their oil is the only native resource which can bring in the hard east needed to break out of the cycle of underdevelopment and powerty in which their countries are trapped. Compared to the potential revenues from the sale of Arab oil, U.S. attempts at economic aid are a joke. In 1964, the Western oil companies cleared \$1.3 billion in profits from the sale of Arab orlude oil: more in one year than the total amount of U.S. economic aid to all Arab countries since the Second World War (\$0.9 billion).

Not only are huge profits taken out of the area, but the profits which remain go to the wrong places. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Libya and Iraq produce 90 per cent of the Arab world's oil—yet those countries contain only 12 per cent of the total Arab population. Economic progress for the bulk of the Arab population that depends on integrating the olirich lands with the potential mass Arab work force.

Why do the American companies get so much money for selling other people's oil? One should not suppose that the profits are simply fair payment for the technical skill and advanced equipment they bring to the production of oil in the area. If the Arabs hired these skills and equipment on the open market, they could get them at a fraction of the cost they pay to the oil companies as perennial profits. After all, the total Western capital investment in the Mideast oil operations is \$3 billion, which is roughly equivalent to two years of total revenue from the oil. In an open market, the Arabs should be able to buy out the Western investment in two years. As for technicians, if oil companies can hire them, there is no reason, in principle, why the Arabs should not be able to the total to the process.

The problem is simply that there is no open market. The market is controlled by the same companies that produce the oil. The statistics are assonishing: the eight major Western companies operating in the Mideast not only produce 80 per cent of its crude oil, but also do 71 per cent of the refining and control 90 per cent of the marketing.

Thus, these companies are in a position to force the oil countries to do business with them—and on outrageous terms. The game is rigged. And the Western commitment to keep it that way is profound. This is not simply because of a hunger for profits on the part of the U.S., to whom the defense of these interests ultimately falls. The driving U.S. fear is not, for example, competition from other "Free World" powers. But the "Arabization" of oil, in the context of increasing Soviett influence, is considered a vital threat, since it holds out the possibility of removing control from the "Free World" sphere.

possibility of removing control from the "Free World" sphere. The Weet had no difficulty maintaining its control in the Mideast for the first decade after the Second World War, although the Soviet Union did briefly attempt, just after the war, to relain its occupation in Iran, the only large non-Arabic oil producer in the Middle East. But the balance of power at that time, and Stalin's preoccupation with Eastern Europe, forced a Russian departure. Nevertheless, it was Iran that first challenged the Western begemony.

### [IRAN: A CASE IN POINT]

N MAY 1, 1951, IRANIAN RAIME MINISTER MOSSIGED mationalized his country's oil production. The USA proceeded to crush him so totally that the example has served as a chilling model for other would-be nationalists—no major oil-producing country in the Mideast has dared to repeat Mossaidegh's attempt. The major Western broducers were able to impose, through their control of the refining and marketing end of the oil business, a total boyout of Iranian oil in the Western market. Iranian oil became.

Mossadegh didn't have a chance. After two years of ecoMossadegh didn't have a chance. After two years of ecomonic strangulation, the CIA—in one of its better-documented
adventures—arranged a coup. The American oil companies
benefitted handsomely. The new Iranian government graciously accepted a new four-company consortium, in which
Americans held a 40 per cent interest, in place of the former
exclusive British control. Over the next three years, the United
States government reciprocated by pumping in \$120 million
in aid, which helped create an elaborate internal military
apparatus. A then naive Hubert Humphrey exclaimed, "that
Army isn't going to fight the Russians. It's planning to fight
the Iranian people."

The finale to this awesome display of American efficiency was Iran's support of the Baghdad Part. The New York Times editorialized that the addition of Tran "... puts the cork in the bottle, and permits concerted defense planning from the Mediterranean to the Bay of Bengal, in order to safeguard the independence of the whole area and protect its vast oil resources."

sources."

The connection, in the rationale of the pact, between the area's independence and the West's control of its prime resource, neatly tied America's crusade for freedom to the well-being of her companies abroad.

### [THE NASSER THREAT]

HE BAGHDAD PACT Was an integral part of a global containment policy which was put into effect by the United States in the early 1958s. This peat cocasioned Nasser's first challenge to the West, since he refused to align himself formally with it. The resurgence of Arab nationalism identified with Nasser's rise to power in the mid-56s was threatening to the West in two other ways. First, there was a good deal of talk about nationalization of the Suec Canal was alarming in itself, but more frightening in its implications. Most disturbing about Nasser was his clear ambition to spread his version of the Arab Revolution to the other countries—Nasser was consciously and arrogantly expansionist. Second, "Nasserism" shared with the rival Baathist movement, as well as with other less prominent Arab left movements, the position that the oil in the underpopulated and/or tiny oil-producing countries must be the basis of the development of the entire region. In its simplified form, the herey held that Western exploitation of Kuwait's oil, for example, was exploitation of Arab oil.

The United States' response to this fledgling challenge was expolitation and manipulative. Principally, the U.S.

The United States' response to this fleegling challenge was essentially cautious and manipulative. Principally, the US; relied on propping up the economy and military machines of the monarchies, while alternately mollifying through grants, or

chastening by withholding grants, the more leftist tendencies as they appeared in Egypt and the other Arab regimes. Intensive CIA operations even involved funding the American Friends of the Middle East—a pro-Arab organization in the U.S.—as well as widespread meddling in internal Arab politics.

The Arab Revolutions in Egypt and occasionally Syria could be tolerated by the United States since, white quite effectual in many internal and external matters, they had not come close to revolutionizing or even seriously inconveniencing Western hegemony. Also, in 1955, the new factor of Soviet support made direct intervention a risker enterprise, to be attempted only when vital interests were actually encroached upon. U.S. policymakers were also very concerned that the cost of any direct intervention might be an anti-Western Arab union which could topple America's right-wing Arab allies. Thus the Nasser U.S. relationship has involved an implicit notion of limits! Nasser has always stered clear of any major direct confrontation with the U.S.; in return, the U.S. has never really

than the Americans, the Soviets were less hostile

non

attempted to clamp down on him as it did with Castro.

The Arab revolutionary impulse, thus restricted from its essential task of challenging the West for the control of Arab resources, instead found its outlet by challenging Israel as a Western tool. One could attack "Israel imperialism without threatening real imperialist interests and risking their responses. Moreover, hostility to Israel provided a kind of anti-imperialism that was able to appeal to both progressive leftists and traditional monarchies in the Arab world. Their unity could not be achieved in an attack on U.S. imperialism, since several of the regimes involved were its conmuticed representatives. There could be unity against Israel because, even if the cause were expressed in other terms, the real basis was in questions of borders and race, historical girevances and especially the plight of the refugees. The unity was foreful because these girevances—if not central to the problem of social revolution—were to a significant degree genuine.

If Arab identification of strate with Western imperialism confused and misdirected the Arab Revolution, various actions of the Israelis reinforced this confusion. In 1956, Israel did join with the British and French attempt to reestablish by force Western control over the Suez Canal, after Nasser, in an important and necessary step, nationalized it. And Israel did support the French in the Algerian War. The various arguments about and justifications for these episodes were discussed in detail in the first installment of this essay [R.AMPARTS, November 1967]. To almost every Asab the message had seemed clear: Israel had a ligned herself with the exploiters. The Arab "line" that Israel episcented the Western imperial presence in the area had a new fury as a result of Suez, and Arab tencheries toward accommodation became politically untenable.

## [RUSSIA'S OPEN ARMS POLICY] IE IRANIAN EXPERIENCE HAD WARNED (hose Min

HIE BAMAIAN EXPERIENCE HAD WARNED those Mideastern leaders bent in any sense on challenging the West that they had best not do it alone. The ironic impact of the U.S. Mideast intervention was to make Arab nations welcome a countervailing power. Given the Cold War, this could only mean the Soviet Union, and Nasser and others began to project nonalignment as an alternative to the Baghdad Pact, and as a necessary ingredient in the Arab Revolution.

The new Soviet presence in the Mideast began in 1955, after the Bandung Conference on nonaligned nations. One might

one leltist tendencies as have expected the Russians to move the Arab Revolution to Arab regimes. Intensive seriously challenge the conditions which thwarted it. In fact the American Friends the Russian policy, though generous, aimed at less idealists inization in the U.S.—
until 1955, and considered it a step backward from the occasionally Syria could earlier Walf government. The change towards Nasser occurred while quite effectual in the walf government at the conveniencing western nationalist leaders of the Third World as possible, before the conveniencing western various to the conveniencing the

silgament, since it meant, in most cases, a movement left.

The fact that the major physical confrontations in the Midness were more directly with Israel than with the Western powers did not dampen Soviet enthusiasm. Indeed, the Russians were so pleased by the emergence of anti-Western foreign policy in what had previously been as deteritory for the U.S., that Russian military and economic aid to Egypt began to flow unstitutingly and uncritically. In this new pragnatic mood, which seemed to ape American largess, the Soviets extended similar lines of credit to Algeria and Syria—while in all three countries the local communists were jailed and the radical slogants remained to a large extent on paper only. The Soviets asked only for "nonalignment," which in the Mideast context meant a friendlier—or even a less hostile—attitude toward their position in the Cold War.

It defines the distance between the current Soviet leaders and Russia's own revolution to observe that the Soviets came to accept the adventurism of the Syrians, the dependence on the corrupt bureaucracy basic to Nasser's regime, and the obsession of both with Israel, simply as defective aberrations in an otherwise sound move left. The Soviets did not choose to confront the implications of the fact that these were not aberrations, but alternative responses to the absence of popular revolution.

The social changes in both Syria and Egypt have been significant, but they have also been inadequate; they have destroyed the power of the traditional upper class without, in any significant sense, passing power on to that very broad base of the Arab pyramid. In both countries important reforms did occur. But these were the results of military outper drien which, in a quite accidental process, placed men in power who were willing—for a host of often personal, frequently contradictory and politically vague reasons—to introduce reforms. Nevertheless, although such leaders undoubtedly react in part to the peni-up forces for change in the society, it is still government by fat. The failure here is not a simple question of civil liberties; the experience in the underdeveloped countries has been that when the change comes from above rather than through struggle from below, it does not cut deep enough.

The Soviet press contained articles critical of internal developments in the Arab countries, but such criticisms were not considered when providing add, which was virtually unending. The whole Russian operation was characterized by a mind-lessness that catered to the mood of the Arabs—a mood not at all concerned with the content of the action but only with the dominance of anti-Western rhetoric. The indigenous Communist Parties had failed miserably over the decades to leave their mark on the Middle Bast. The Russians now seemed to feel that perhaps the Middeast was idiosyncratic and could only support a more bizarre politics.

### [REVOLUTION: WHO NEEDS IT?]

the basis for a policy of speedy industrialization did not exist." sources: the conditions of 'primitive accumulation' to provide did not have plenty of unused land or considerable natural In contrast to the Russia of 1917 or the China of 1949, Egypt Laqueur wrote: "It is doubtful whether any re-ERE AID BY THE SOVIET UNION could not after the gime could have succeeded in these conditions

Utile 1,000,000 population base as a minute accept to the population base as a minute accept to the bod initiatives and at times frantic rhetoric of what has the bod initiatives and at times frantic rhetoric of what has the bod initiatives and at the bod basely accept the bod basely ac of the region, which were concentrated in the underpopulated Baath in Syria, the various progressives of Iraq, and the isolated sects of Palestine radicals roaming through Kuwait and the West Bank—have in no sense significantly challenged The only possible solution lay in wedding the oil resources

cation of Israel—rather than the oil companies and their monarchies—as the serious extension of imperialism has allowed Arab progressives to play at revolution, through periodic lowed Arab progressives to play at revolution, in 1957 or the most recent boycott-but never through an assertion of Arab sovereignty over their resource. The identifijeopardized during the periodic flare-ups of the Israel issue, as the supremacy of Western control of the region's oil.

It is ironic that the flow of oil to the West has only been confusion, that does not make the Arab misdirection any action. If Israeli actions have served at times to reinforce this more rational. anti-Israel tirades, without taking essential revolutionary

by the actions of the Syrian government—presumably the most radical in the Middle East—which last spring attempted to challenge the companies that control the Iraqi oil which passes through pipclines across Syria. After a series of wild manifestos, the Syrians settled down to still another comproat the very instant of this setback, in an almost Freudian transference, that the Syrians waged the frantic campaign mise which left Western power over oil intact. It was almost against Israeli imperialism which was to lead to the six-day war recent illustration of this phenomenon is afforded

## [THE USSR AND SYRIAN "ADVENTURISM"]

of the way Syrian adventurism—with its support of the
Al Fatah attacks and wild radio propaganda against
Israel—combined with Soviet indulgence and irresponsibility.
After Syria broke with Egypt and quit the UAR, the Soviets stated: "The Baath Party bears the character of an exclusive, conspiratorial organization like a medieval order, rigidly authoritative Soviet account of the governing Baath Party sided with Egypt against Damascus. As late as 1965, an T IS IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND the build-up of tensions that produced the six-day war without an appreciation

centralized, and unable to cooperate sincerely with anyone..."

Yet the Soviets were supporting Damascus in 1967. The decisive factor in the Soviet change was the willingness of a Cold War, despite the fact that the Baath remained a composite of middle-class politicians backed by the military and operating in isolation from the peasantry. The struggles which ating in isolation from the peasantry. The struggles reshuffled Baath government to line up on Russia's side of the place in Syria as well as in Egypt were factional

that all this was known but overlooked. The Russians sup-ported the Syrians because they were now "theirs," much as of Soviet Mideast policy in the period before the six-day war that all this was known but overlooked. The Russians supmatter Ky, because they were "ours." Americans rationalized supporting Syngman Rhee, and, for that

Power tradition, they had been confident of their ability to manipulate the situation, but in the months before the war on the whim of the Syrian military, was perhaps known to the Soviets; but they did not fully understand its implications it was clearly Russia who was manipulated. until the disaster of the six-day war. Perhaps, in the Great The essential instability of the Syrian "left," reliant as it was

## [THE USSR AND THE SIX-DAY WAR]

HAT THE SOVET UNION did not expect the war can be surmised from the fact that it did not anticipate the two major events which precipitated the crisis. The Soviet press, for example, reported the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force from Gaza and Aqabta, but did not mention the crucial change in the status of the Gulf of Aqabta, which, after U.N. withdrawal, came under the control of the UAR. Thus, the Soviets, at least publicly, did not recognize that with the UAR controlling the Gulf, fixnelit shipping would not be allowed to pass through the Straits. Soviet ambassador had asked to see him at 3:30 one morning to inform him of the Soviets' "urgent plea" that the UAR should not be the first to begin firing. Though this blockade led predictably to the Israelis. June 6th attack, comment in the Soviet press during the last week in blown up all out of proportion. The failure of the Soviet government to make a public issue of the incident may indicate that it had lost control of events by the third week in May, and was unsure as to what to do or what would come next. Nasser, in his Cairo University speech of June 9, 1967, related that the May maintained that the entire withdrawal incident had been

policy was aimed at increasing pressure on the West, tying the Arabs closer to them, without the outbreak of full-scale war. Since the Cuban misile crisis, the Soviets have been unwilling to engage in a showdown with the U.S.; this has led them to risk bringing international tensions dangerously close but not to the actual point of showdown. Yet in the Mideast, the Soviets helped create a situation they could no longer control. The blockade of Aqaba came about largely because the Soviets had supported Syria's claim that Israeli troops were massing on her borders, and because they pressured the massing on her borders, and because they pressured the ians, who had acted more conservatively than Syria on the Israel question, to offset Syrian adventurism. The Russian The Soviets had apparently counted heavily on the Egypt

some evidence that Nasser meant only the troops from Upper Sinai and Gaza), the logic of Egypt's anti-Israel position would lead to the blockade of Israel shipping. Nor did they anticipate that Israel would go to war over Aqaba, or the massing of Egyptian troops in the Sinai. The Soviets continuously underestimated the emotional depth and political intensity of the Arab-Israeli conflict. But it should be added Egyptians to come to Syria's aid.

It is not yet known whether the Egyptians consulted with

It is not yet known whether the Egyptians consulted with

the Soviets on the demand for withdrawal of the U.N. troops

but once this took place, the Soviets were clearly unprepared

to assess its implications. They apparently did not realize that

if U.N. troops were withdrawn from the Aqaba area (there is

if U.N. troops were withdrawn from the Aqaba area (there is

> frontation with Israel-they knew the U.S. would hesitate to become directly involved for fear of endangering the proan Egyptian attack on Saudi Arabia, in which case America Western Arab regimes—than they would have been to support that the Soviets were more willing to support an Arab con-

importantly, the Soviet government immediately began to rearm Egypt and Syria, specifying only that their arms should be better used. While their arms and aid policies have remained openly critical of the continued tendency on the Arab left to unchanged, the Soviets seem to have become much more not having made a throughgoing social revolution. But, more officers corps for "inwardly not accepting the Egyptian Revo-lution," thus echoing a long-standing criticism of the UAR for opposite directions. The Soviet press had criticized the UAR and Soviet military aid to Arab nations Since the war, the Soviet intellectual analysis of Arab defeat have been going

quoted with approval a recent Italian communist statement which, for the first time in recent years, endorsed the view that: "A more judicious path would be to search for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, taking into account that in Israel, too, there are left forces..." Nevertheless, the massive flow of Soviet arms continues, unaffected by such intellectual concerns.

# [WILL THE REAL IMPERIALISTS PLEASE STAND UP]

Powers cannot be expected to be concerned, on any consistent basis, with the interests and needs of the Arabs and Jews who live in the Mideast. On the contrary, proccupied with their own "prestige" and security needs, the Great Powers can only be a source of interference. The issues which currently divide Arab from Jew are not as basic to their well-being as the interests they share which alienate them both from the Great Powers outside. This enemies, and that Great Power aid is essential to their survival assertion, of course, runs directly counter to the basic assumption of both Arabs and Israelis that they are each other's worst THE CENTRAL THESIS OF this essay is that the Great

private citizens of the Arab countries and Israel to be in the same room without the interminable chant rising about broken permanently replaced the original skin. It is difficult for even terrorist raids, veiled purposes, imperialism

and aggression.

Each side identifies the opposition with the notion of imperialism. To the Arabs it is "Zonist imperialism" and to the Israelis, "Nasserist imperialism." Ironically, the Arab left and credibly, Eban replied: "I don't see this as imperialism. support the other side's "imperialism." But both sides imply that Western economic interests bear only a minor connection the Israelis both claim that the American oil companies

demand a military solution of the conflict with Israel.

Once again, Soviet policy is characterized by a pursuit of "allies" in the Cold War, with the same concern for their own national interest which marks American foreign policy. The New Times (the official weekly journal of the USSR)

Under the best of circumstances—given the fullest coopera-tion of outsiders—the problems of the Middle East will not easily be solved. The wounds are deep, and they have been opened and reopened so many times that sear tissue has

to the problem of imperialism in the Mideast. When I interviewed Abba Eban I asked him about the oil companies. Ininvestment are

in Yemen, where Egyptian-backed nationalists faced forces financed by the Saudi government, came to a head. At that point the U.S. signed an agreement with Saudi Arabia for the A glance at the war in Yemen makes it somewhat clearer who the imperialists really are. In 1965, the endemic conflict \$46.6 million cated \$27.6 million for Israel in the years between 1950-67, quite a bit less than to Arab states friendly to the U.S.: Saudi Arabia received \$161.7 million; Jordan, \$55.6 million; Iraq American Zionists, the U.S. military assistance program allo-King Faisal must have made Israel seem to Nasser like a much easier target than Yemen. For all the presumed power of Army Corps of Engineers. America's determination to protect construction of military facilities, effective May 24th, to run for six years. The construction was in the hands of the U.S.

Western protection of the Arab oil states is made more effective by the realities of Great Power accommodation. The Soviet Union has clearly indicated that she will go to great lengths to avoid any military confrontation with the United States. As the U.S. clearly demonstrated, when Eisenhower as much as to Israel. unity between royalty and republicans might well have resulted.

And Arab unity of any sort is anathema to the Western powers countries thereafter, and a permanent anti-Western Arab in the June war, it would have become virtually impossible for Americans and American companies to function in Arab intervene directly on the side of one Arab party against another than to intervene on the side of Israel against the Arab countries. Had the U.S. intervened militarily on the side of Israel sent troops to Lebanon in 1958, it is a good deal easier to

### [THE ARAB DIASPORA]

is the symbol of a nation for a people who have none. And, although he may lose that quality, as Ben-Gurion seems to nation, as was Ben-Gurion's to the earlier Zionist Jews. Nasser have done, the need for a symbol will remain. HE POLITICAL LEADERS in Tel Aviv may dismiss Nasser's appeal as a matter of "charisma"; but what they do not gresp is that his charisma is as meaningful to the not gresp is that his charisma is as meaningful to the Arabs, who believe in the necessity of a united Arab

The Arab denial of legitimate Jewish nationhood as the basis of Israel is the subject of deserved ridicule. But that the mainstream of Zionism has, in like fashion, denied the existence of a legitimate Arab quest for nationhood is not commonly admitted. This factor has been of great significance in the formation and sustaining of Arab hostility towards Israel; the Arabs will never be able to turn their energies from opposing Israel to the development of an Arab nation so long as the Israels hold the existence of an Arab nation to be a threat. This view existed even before the State of Israel. David

first thing to make clear is that there is no Arab problem in the sense that there is a Jewish. There is no homeless Arab people, no Arab migration, Just the contrary. The Arabs are Ben-Gurion, at the time one of the Zionists most sympathetic to the Arabs, said in a New York City speech in 1942: "The among the rare races which are almost entirely, with insig-nificant exceptions, concentrated in their own territories."

It was natural that Ben-Gurion should think of homelessness in the sense that the Jews had experienced it—as a result of . But the essential psychological thrust of nationalist

movements against colonialism is that people feel homeless in their traditional geographical residence when the political and economic decisions of that area are made by alien forces.

Western colonialism, which had replaced that of the Turks, still uled in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, as well as in Palestine, at

powers—a world hardly likely to be rational about the immi Arab world fragmented by the boundaries and rules of foreign The Arabs suffered their own kind of Diaspora in their native land. Ben-Gurion and the other Zionists entered an gration of another group of Europeans.

that Arab concern with Western imperialism was fraudulently ame to be accompanied by an intellectual position which held Arab unity and independence as anything but a threat. This Given these feelings on the part of the Arabs, it became nereasingly difficult for the Israelis to view the drive towards -the one really successful moment-and Israel was on the action. The nationalization was the event of Arab nationalism inderestimate the strategic and psychological effects of Israel's Nasser's nationalization of the Canal led them to seriously heir alliance with the French and English in the Suez war. The onceived. This developed further as the Israelis tried to justify iew was understandable, but dangerous, since it increasir nsensitivity of Israeli leaders at that time to the importance of

settle the issue of political unity. nationhood: "... cultural unity, however profound, does not ecture, published in 1959 as a book, The Tide of Nationalism. received its most extensive treatment in Abba Eban's Oxford West was not a threat to the Arabs. Perhaps this point of view was unwilling to admit that this constituted any valid basis for Israeli leaders compounded their error, insisting that the

to deny any validity to the Arab attempts at anti-imperialism: "[The Arabs] decline to admit that Western domination has to the teeth: "The leading Western capitals are now aware that any plans to stabilize the Middle East must include a serious yond the point of his own retreat. . . There is a perverse insistence on settling accounts." Assuming that Western domination had "gone away," Eban concluded that defense of the gone away. They pursue their 'imperialist' adversary far behis unwillingness to admit Arab national aspirations led him effort to reinforce Israel in all the elements of her strength and political status quo was the best policy for the Middle East And the status quo would best be defended by arming Israel Eban's preoccupation with Nasser as a threat to Israel and

precisely the nationhood he denies to the Arabs: "Israel's across generations of martyrdom. eligion, a culture, a civilization—a journey together of people nationalism is more than a political movement. It is a faith, a In this same analysis, however, Eban confers upon Israel

of this Israeli nationalism when leading Israeli spokesmen deny come to understand that Arabs, too, can have their Diaspora nation)—is not necessarily a threat to Israel. Until Israeli Jews an Arab state—if it became a reality (as a confederation or a hold without having been conned into it by Nasser; and that his right to a nation. The Israelis must come to accept the fact hat nationhood is an aspiration which some Arabs legitimately It is difficult for an Arab nationalist to accept the legitimacy

### [A BREAK WITH THE PAST]

of the tragic proclivity of each side to fulfill the other's worst term security will be enhanced by her intended entry into the Egypt's oil in Sinai repeat the error of Suez, and settlements on the conquered land and her exploitation of of being an expansionist country. Israel's military/agricultura anks of those foreigners who sell Arab oil? It is a continuation chronic Israeli indifference to or ignorance of the Arab fear SRAEL IS NOW THREE TIMES as large as she was before the war and, if she retains the conquered lands—as many of her younger leaders such as Dayan and Allon seem bent on doing-she will have confirmed the Arab charge alism. Can it be seriously argued that Israel's long

its own. At first the Israelis attempted to be as moderate as possible in their rule, but, with new acts of Arab opposition, schools will be built, land reclaimed and trade will thrive. But, given Israel's technical and commercial superiority, she will dominate the life of the area. The situation has a dynamic all direction, and her best intentions may in the long run prove irrelevant. There is incessant talk now in Israel about all the the expansionist state which the Arabs have long accused them of being. But current developments are pushing Israel in that they have responded more harshly. This, in turn, breeds fresh acts of opposition. good work that will be done in the West Bank and in Gaza-Israelis do not take seriously the danger of their becoming

banging out their snappy copy at the Tel Aviv Hilton. have suffered most from the wars with the Arabs harbor the least hate. The kids from the border Kibbutzim who were passion for the Arabs than the scores of American journalists through the mines of the Syrian heights have a greater comraised in underground nurseries and grew up to pick their way It is one of the saving graces of Israel that the people who

of events. A solution of the Mideast crisis demands a revolt on incursions both sides against short-sighted nationalism, and against the Western governments which control this area, rather than with above all, a confrontation of Arab nationalism with the Unfortunately, the Kibbutzniks will not determine the course of the Great Powers into the Mideast. It means,

Israel. Israel must support the Arabs in this effort.

But Israel will not break with the West, unless the Arabs who consider themselves progressives can come to accept Israel as a partner in the effort to free the Mideast from Western domination. Unless this is done, the "Arab Revolution" will describe the Marab Revolution. pro-Western monarchies against any socialist rival.

The Arab nation and the Jewish nation are both legitimate crusade against Israel is a trump card to be played by the remain a prisoner of Arab reaction. In the final analysis, the

model, neither is viable, and the histrionics of a Ben-Gurion or a Nasser cannot alter that fact. of the Mideast. But, as competing nationalisms of the of the same social revolution to meet the needs of the people concepts which can survive together only if they exist as part

Researchers for this article and Part I [RAMPARTS, November 1967] include Bob Avakian, Jim Hawley, David Kolodney and



### The Garrison Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy

improper methods. meant it. Turning down a Mob proposi-tion that would have netted him \$3000 a have been toppled on appeal because of Street clip joints, crack down on prostiweek as his share of slot machine protution and eliminate bail bond rackets of New Orleans, a rackets-buster without ost a major case, and no convictions ng DA is impressive; his office has never Iis track record as the proverbial fight-He was elected on a reform platform and parallel in a political freebooting state IM GARRISON IS AN ANGRY MAN. FOR six years now he has been the tough, uncompromising district attorney he proceeded to raid Bourbon

is trying to keep him from his duty. of the United States government which isn't Cosa Nostra, but the majestic might time, the file reads "Conspiracy to Assassinate President Kennedy," and it Mob had attempted to use political clout to get him off their backs. Only this him away from a vice ring or as if the "Who appointed Ramsey Clark, who

Garrison is angry right now—as angry | will be alive when it is released? This is as if some bribed cops had tried to steer | really your property and the property of California newscasters. "Who controls the CIA? Who controls the FBI? Who that there is anybody in this room who is locked up for so long that it is unlikely controls the Archives where this evidence speech before a gathering of southern has done his best to torpedo the investi-gation of the case?" he fumed in a recent

the people of this country. Who has the people from seeing that evidence? Who

President, Lyndon Johnson!" "The one man who has profited most

to the government to prove that it was not an accessory before or after the fact. "I assume that the President of the accusing Johnson of complicity in the crime, but left no doubt that as far as he United States is not involved," he said.
"But wouldn't it be nice to know it?" was concerned, the burden had shifted Garrison made it clear that he was not

the government and government-oriented challenge is underscored by the fact that The simple probity of Garrison's

by William W. Turner

forces have concealed and destroyed evidence, intimidated witnesses and maligned, ridiculed and impeded Garrison and his investigation. In short, the opinion there is no question that they that of an innocent party, but of one de-termined to cover its tracks. For the past nine months, I have worked closely with conduct of the government has not been have uncovered a conspiracy. Nor is the DA and his staff, hoping to conthere any doubt that Jim Garrison is one In my

> of a vanishing breed: a Southern populist anchored in very traditional Amercan neither rationalize nor temporize in ican ideals about justice and truth, who

media-from NBC to Life-have created tour de force. He is, in fact, portunist with vaulting political ambi-tion, which naturally leads to the the death of a President into a political conclusion that he is trying to parlay an image of Garrison as a ruthless op-By design or ignorance, the mass

make would be reckless enough to atto sleep at night. I am in an official What would these people who have atof the planning of the assassination position in a city where the greater part nantly. "It's a matter of not being able gain headlines," says Garrison indigmission. "It's not a matter of wanting to distinguished men of the Warren Comwas missed by the Warren Commission. President Kennedy took place, and this tempt to usurp the findings of the seven

then (foolishly) played my king's bishop to bishop four. Garrison could have clobbered me, but instead he chose to play the game much as he has played the investigation. First, he solidly occupied pieces in starting order, so I led off with my king's pawn and PHOTOGRAPHER'S NOTE: Garrison and I played a game of chess. We thought the board looked too stald for pictures with all the

a gentleman would have resigned the center. Then he developed his major pieces carefully and painstakingly. At first glance he didn't seem to be making much entrenched there was nothing I could do. In those circumstances nesses, but when he finally launched his attack, he was so solidly progress nor to be taking full advantage of my obvious

> tacked me do if they were here and had official responsibility? Would they be able to skep nights? Would they be able to say, Jack Kennedy is dead and there is nothing I can do about it?".

### [THE MAKING OF A DA]

preoccupied and bored? Where today are their private horizons and their mirthe personnel mine, the flame thrower, poison gas, the nearly obsolete TNT bomb, the obsolescent atom bomb splendid indifference now? rored worlds of self? Where is their Your uncommitted and uninvolved, your pened to your disinterested millions? terrestrial being happening upon a self-desolated world and asking, "What hapallegorical example, pictured an extrabomb—all made to maim or destroy his fellow man." Garrison, who is fond of and the currently popular hydrogen gun, the electric chair, the ha the guillotine, the sword, the machine lock, the gallows, the rack, the gibbet, produced the cross, the bowl of hemwrote, "such reason as he possesses has man emerged from the mists of time, he the apathy that permitted Dachau. Since essays published in 1966, he deplored so deeply on his conscience that in the horror he witnessed there etched itself during World War II in Europe where, while flying a Piper Cub as an he came upon Dachau. The residue of artillery spotter during the Allied sweep, ARRISON'S ATTITUDES were

Louisiana National Guard—he latched on as an assistant DA in New Orleans and began his public career. After two unsuccessful tries at elective office, he on strong. Like Jack Kennedy, he proprestige, he took to television and came because of their lack of money and law was likewise unrewarding. After another tour of duty in the Korean War an FBI agent but found the role too circumscribed to be stimulating. A stint machine and backed only by five young lawyers known as the "Nothing Group" torney race. pulled an upset in the 1961 district atsity law school, Garrison tried the life of hat was missing in the stereotyped poli--he is presently a Lt. Colonel in the with a firm specializing in corporation With a diploma from Tulane Univer-Bucking the Democratic

judges collectively filed criminal defama-tion charges. (Complained one, "People holler 'Moo' at me.") The case escalated right to criticize public officials. landmark decision upheld Garrison's to the U.S. Supreme Court, where a Saints' Day, Long's Birthday and St. Winterbottom's Day." Outraged, the ened the judges to "the sacred cows of India." On another, he accused them of funds for the raids, a fines forfeitures Justice Department, the FBI and the CIA to release evidence about the asgoldbricking by taking 206 holidays, "not counting legal holidays like All the Temple Sinai Brotherhood, he lik-Orleans. On one occasion, a luncheon of running dispute that was the talk of New pool. Garrison took on the judges in a judges began blocking his source of Street raids, the city's eight criminal tangled with anal retentive government sassination is not the first time he has Garrison's current battle to get ustice Department, the FBI and He exercised that right. When Mayor

Victor H. Schiro vacillated on an issue, he quipped, "Not since Hamlet tried to decide whether or not to stab the king of by a two to one margin—the first New ment to officials, he was a delight to the Orleans DA to be reelected in 30 years. voters. In 1965, he was returned to office decision." But if he was an embarrass-Denmark has there been so agonizing a

in court decisions. In a law quarterly he predicted that increasing emphasis on "the rights of the defendant against the state may come to be seen as the greatest tue in capital punishment, but is some-White Citizens Council. He sees no virnounced the censorship in stinging terms, thus incurring the wrath of the can you define obscenity?") and deshelves, he refused to prosecute ("How Klux Klan. Negro leaders have no quarrel with his conduct of office, and segregationists and archeonservatives, but bristles at the mention of the Ku evitable elitism. He is friendly with what ambivalent on the libertarian trend win's Another Country from bookstore vice squad tried to sweep James Bald-DAs. Several years ago when the police he has appointed Negroes as assistant traditional democrat vidualist dogma, but is too much of a in part to Ayn Rand's indi-ARRISON'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY defies definition. He subscribes

contribution our country has made violent crime cisions are a factor in the rising rate of he has implied that Supreme Court dethis world we live in"; yet on occasion

power is equated with morality evolving into a "proto-fascist state," and cites as one indication the subtle quashing of dissent by an increasingly tends, is transforming the old America and the defense establishment, he consive and still growing power of the CIA ernment has told so many lies in this [the "But no more. I've discovered the govinto a Kafkaesque society in which autocratic central government. The masanything." He fears that the U.S. assassination] case it can't be believed on changed appreciably. "A year ago I was probe, his views on many issues But since the start of his assassination

sticks to his study at home, and his lar half a generation ago. But mostly basso profundo rendition of a tune popuing forth on the piano and crooning a of the livelier French Quarter spots, Street swinger, he is still familiar in a few a square. Once known as a Bourbon advice to Laertes. But he is not exactly where he can sometimes be found hold-Greene and Lewis Carroll to Polonius' vours history-it reflects in his metal tellectual big city DAs. He avidly deto dramatize his formidable personality. as deliberate as his moves in chess, seem makes no conscious effort at ostentaboyant, which is the most common figures who automatically dominates any tion. But he is one of those arresting adjective applied to him, and in truth he He also must rank as one of the more ingathering, and his bold strokes in battle, -and quotes everything from Graham Garrison detests being called flam-

wants to happen. It is better for you not to know that at midday on Novemchooses to tell you. Justice is what striking blonde wife and five kids.
It may be that in the end, the rank unhappened. Truth is what the govern cratic experiment: "In our incipient in the history of the American demo-Garrison sees this as the pivotal question comfortable to let sleeping dogs lie? But do the people really want the truth sense of fair play is not easily trifled with will be its undoing, for the American fairness of the current siege on Garrison superstate it really doesn't matter what

ber 22, 1963, there were many men in many places glancing at their watches. But if we do not fight for the truth now,

that Lee Harvey Oswald had accomplices in New Orleans, where the previous sumby grief, Garrison summoned his staff to the office for a "brainstormmer he had stumped the streets advocating session" to explore the possibility nation, as the nation lay stunned by grief, Garrison summoned

Associates, and were affiliated with the Apostolic Orthodox Old Catholic Church, a sect steeped in theological anti-communism. An exceptionally skilled pilot, Ferrie had been dismissed from Eastern Air Lines in 1962 due to publicity over alteged homosexual activities.

According to Martin, Ferrie had comtime private eye named Jack S. Martin confided that a David William Ferrie had taken off on a sudden trip to Texas the afternoon of the assassination. The tipster knew Ferrie well, although there detective firm, V Associates, and the Apostolic Or was bad blood between had worked intermittently city's netherworld, and it was First Assistant DA Frank Klein who registered the first feedback. A slight, furtive, someing Fair Play for Cuba.

The DA's men put out feelers into the intermittently firm, W. Guy y for the same

Banister &

telescopic sight, and had become in-volved with his protege in an assassina-tion plot. Less than two weeks before the target date, Ferrie had made a trip to which Oswald had once been a member. He had taught Oswald to shoot with a manded a Civil Air Patrol squadron of near Brownsville, Texas. tion, Martin said, was to fly the escaping conspirators to Matamoros, Mexico, Dallas. His assigned role in the assassina-

Kennedy's death, he was interrogated by the DA's office. He said his trip had been arranged "on the spur of the moment." short jog to Galveston and hunted geese Sunday morning. Sunday afternoon they headed back to New Orleans, but de-toured to Alexandria, Louisiana, to visit and Melvin Coffey, he had driven straight through to Houston Friday night. On on the Monday following President an ice rink; that evening they made the With two companions, Alvin Beauboeuf When Ferrie returned to New Orleans

> to a curious place at a curious time," the DA recalls. He booked Ferrie as a "fugitive from Texas" and handed him over to the FBI. The G-men questioned him intensively, then released him. days for recreational

Since the 40-odd pages recording the

ment in the National Archives reveals
Ferrie had admitted being "publicly and
privately" critical of Kennedy for withholding air cover at the Bay of Pigs, and
had used expressions like "he ought to
be shot," but agents agreed he did not mean the threat literally.

Most convincing at the time, the fact pilot too seriously. A short Bureau docu-

seemed to rule out his role as a getaway pilot. Moreover, the Stinson monoplane he then owned was sitting at Lakefront that Ferrie did not leave New Orleans

son dropped his investigation. "I had full confidence in the FBI then," he ex-Accepting the FBI's judgment, Garri-

findings of the Warren Commission. It was at the height of the controversy stirred by publications ripping at the a New Orleans oilman. The previous week, Long had remarked in the course of a press conference that he doubted the a tourist-class seat on an Eastern jet headed for New York, his interest in the possibility of a conspiracy was rekindled. Flanking him were Senator Russell B. For three years the DA's faith in the Bureau's prowess remained unshaken. Then in November 1966, squeezed into Long of Louisiana and Joseph Rault Jr,

grievous flaws and unexplored territory in the Warren Report. He considered it highly implausible that a gunman of Oswald's "mediocre skill" could have fred with pinpoint accuracy within a time questions in the manner, he reminisces, "of a prosecutor cross-examining a wit-Commission's methods and conclusions.

Garrison bombarded the senator with ness." Long maintained that there were

Garrison was unconvinced by Ferrie's account. An all-night dash through the worst rainstorm in years to start a mercurial junket of over 1000 miles in three much to swallow. "It was a curious trip purposes was too

classified in the National Archives, one can only surmise the reasons the Bureau stamped its file on him "closed."

Apparently the FEM 414

Airport in unflyable condition. the assassination

plains. "There was no reason to try and second guess them."

to get off two shots from a bolt-action rifle, much less three."

The DA's mind reverted to the strange constraint barely sufficient "for a man

preferring to the dark. to wonder how perceptive the FBI had really been in dismissing the whole thing. When he returned to New Orleans, he full-scale probe. He launched it quietly, the conspiracy had been centered in New Orleans, he committed his office to a at home, lucubrating over the volumes of the Warren Report. When he became convinced that Oswald could not have went into virtual seclusion in his study trip of pilot David Ferrie, and he begar acted alone, and that at least a phase of

the FBI. What about the goose hunting?
"We did in fact get to where the geese were and there were thousands," he recounted. "But you couldn't approach them. They were a wise bunch of birds." Pressed for details of what took place at the ice rink, Ferrie became irritated. "Ice skate—what do you think?" he snapped.
It didn't take the DA's men long to
poke holes in Ferrie's story. Melvin
Coffey, one of his companions on the
1963 Texas trip, deposed that it was not and on December 15 he was brought in for further questioning.

Asked pertinent details of the whirlwind a sudden inspiration: Texas trip in 1963, he begged lack of and referred his questioners to

- Ö The trip was arranged before?

A. Yes.
 O. How long before?
 A. A couple of days.
 The probers also determined that no one had taken along any shotguns on the

"goose-hunting" trip.
In Houston, the ice skating alibi was similarly discredited. In 1963, the FBI shadinerviewed Chuck Rolland, proprietor of the Winterland Skating Rink. "FERRIE contacted him by telephone November 22, 1963, and asked for the skating schedule," a Bureau report, one of the few unclassified documents on Ferrie, reveals. "Mr. FERRIE stated that he was coming in from out of town and desired to do some skating while in Houston. On November 22, 1963, between 3:30 and 5:30 PM, Mr. FERRIE and two companions came to the rink and talked to Mr. ROLLAND." The report continues that Ferrie and Rolland

skated; Ferrie had spent the entire two hours he was at the rink standing by a had a short general conversation, and that Ferrie remarked that "he and his companions would be in and out of the skating rink during the weekend" (Comof the three men in Ferrie's party had ice in 1963. Rolland was certain that none they obtained pertinent facts that FBI had either missed or failed to report son's men recently talked to mission Documents 301). When Garri-

At Houston International Airport, more information was gleaned. Air service personnel seemed to recall that in 1963 Ferrie had access to an airplane based in Houston. In this craft, the flight than an hour. to Matamoros would take little more pay telephone—and finally received a call.

the Dallas assassins to south of the border, or may have been slated to be a the getaway. Garrison considers it possible that Ferrie may have been the pilot pose of the trip. One of the standard tactics of bank robbers is to escape from the scene of the crime in a "hot car" that cannot be traced to them, then switch backup pilot in the event contingency of a second craft in a two-stage escape of to a "cold car" of their own to complete Ferrie had patently lied about the pur-

Did Ferrie know Oswald? The pilot denied it, but the evidence mounts that he did. For example, there is now in Garrison's hands information that when Oswald was arrested by Dallas police, he had in his possession a curren New Or-Orleans public library in the name Dr.
David Ferrie. That card had expired.
When he realized he was a suspect in
Garrison's current investigation, Ferrie
seemed to deteriorate. By the time he During an otherwise mild interrogation, Ferric was asked, strangely enough, if he lent his library card to Oswald. No, he questioning of Ferrie when he was in federal tion is a Secret Service report on questioning of Ferrie by that age Reinforcing the validity of this informa-tion is a Secret Service report on the replied, producing a card from the New leans library card issued to David Ferrie. by that agency custody in 1963.

sought out the press only days before his death, labeling the probe a "fraud" and cigarettes and cups of coffee and enough tranquilizers to pacify an army. He had died on February 22, 1967, he nervous wreck, subsisting on 1967, he was a endless

the end but the beginning.

[544 CAMP STREET, NEW ORLEANS]

Commission. But Garrison has connected Oswald with that address. His investigation shows that Oswald func-

was nothing more than a facade.

The dilapidated building at 544 Camp Street is on the corner of Lafayette Place. Shortly after news of Garrison's investi-

Brooks had told me of two associates whom I hoped to find. One was Hugh F. Ward, a young investigator for Banister who also belonged to the Minutemen and the Anti-Communism League. Then I learned that Ward, too, was dead. Re-I learned that Ward, too, was dead. I portedly taught to fly by David Fern he was at the controls of a Piper Az

pegged as a getaway pilot," he remarked bitterly.

suspect had conveniently passed away, he had the perfect excuse to inter his probe alongside the deceased pilot. But for DA Jim Garrison, it was not all, a publicity stunt, and the DA had had his headlines. Now that his prime portant individuals," most of the press winked knowingly. The probe was, after of Ferrie as "one of history's When Garrison delivered his epitaph

St., NEW ORLEANS, LA.

St., NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Was stamped on some of the literature that Oowald had in his possession at the time of his arrest [for "disturbing the peace"] in New Orleans, extensive investigation was not able to connect Oswald with that address" (Warren Report, p. 408). So said the nerve center, and that Oswald's ostenta-tious "Fair Play for Cuba" advocacy tioned in a paramilitary right-wing milieu of which 544 Camp Street was a

men defector Jerry Millon Brooks as the office of W. Guy Banister, a former FBI official who ran a private defective agency. According to Brooks, who had been a trusted Minutemen aide, Banister was a member of the Minutemen and head of the Anti-Communism League of the Caribban asserted to a internal the Caribban asserted to a internal of the Minutemen and the dot of the Anti-Communism League of the Caribban asserted to a internal of the Minutemen and the dot of the Anti-Communism League of the Caribban asserted to a internal of the Minutement and the dot of the Anti-Communism League of the Caribban asserted to a internal of the Minutement and the dot of the Anti-Communism League of the Minutement and the dot of the Anti-Communism League of the Minutement and the dot of the Anti-Communism League of the Minutement and the dot of the Anti-Communism League of the Minutement and Communist" research in 1961-1962, and had known David Ferrie as a frequent visitor to Banister's office. the Caribbean, assertedly an intermediary between the CIA and Caribbean insurgency movements. Brooks said he had worked for Banister on "antigation broke, I went to 531 Lafayette Place, an address given me by Minute-

Banister had died of an apparent heart attack in the summer of 1964. But

when it plunged to earth near Ciudad Victoria, Mexico, May 23, 1965.

Gaulie; shortly afterward Gatlin flew to Paris. The search for Gatlin, however, was likewise futile: in 1964 he fell or was pushed from the sixth floor of the Ell Panama Hotel in Panama during the early morning, and was killed instantly. But the trip to 331 Lafayette Place was not entirely fruitless. The address, I discovered, was a side entrance to 544 French right-wing clique that was going to attempt to assassinate General de \$100,000 of CIA money earmarked for a self-important manner, that frequent world travels were as a "trans-porter" for the CIA. As an example, he said, Gatlin remarked about 1962, in a confidence. Brooks believed a sort of protegé of Gatlin and was in his The other associate was N Brooks Gatlin Sr, legal counsel bean. Jerry Brooks said he had once beer Brooks Gatlin Sr, legal counsel to the Anti-Communism League of the Carib Gatlin's Maurice

That second floor once housed the Cu-ban Democratic Revolutionary Front or the side, one arrives via a walkup Camp Street. Entering either at the front and W. Guy Banister & Associates. staircase at the same second floor space Guy Banister had been in charge of

Garrison that Banister became associated with the Office of Naval Intelligence through the recommendation of
Guy Johnson, an ONI reserve officer
and the first attorney for Clay Shaw
when he was arrested by Garrison.
A copyrighted story in the New Orkans States-Item, April 25, 1967, further
illuminates the Camp Street scene. The
newspaper, which at the time had an
investigative team working parallel to
the Garrison probe, reported that a reliable source close to Banister said he
had seen 30 to 100 boxes marked
""" to Bonister said he
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"" t gence apparat has recently surfaced. A man who knew Banister well has told as a communist conspiracy. Evidence of his relationship with the federal intellieral years. He was regarded as one of the city's most vocal anti-Castroites, and published the racist Louisiana Intellithe Chicago FBI office before retiring in 1955 and becoming New Orleans gence Digest, which depicted integration deputy superintendent of police for

"Schlumberger" in Banister's ourse.
"Schlumberger" in 1961 before the Bay of Pigs. The boxes contained rifte grenades, land mines and unique "little grenades, land mines and unique little grenades, land mines and unique little littl

stuff would just be there overnight . . . a bunch of fellows connected with the Cuban deal asked to leave it there overnight." It was all right, assured Banister,

officer which, he boasted to the press, proved Garrison's probe was a fraud. He then skipped first to Montreal and then follows, was the CIA. Novel is wanted by the DA as a material witness in the to question him on the assassination. normally routine procedure, refuses to extradite him unless Garrison agrees not nor James Rhodes, in one of the most absurd stipulations ever attached to a to Columbus, Ohio, from where Goverley, and took a lie detector test admin-Subpoenaed by the grand jury last March, Novel fled to McLean, Virginia, Co. munitions dump near New Orleans. from the Gordon Novel episode which next door to the CIA complex at Lang-1961 burglary of the Schlumberger Well Army intelligence one can surmise

contact and told to join a group which was ordered to transport munitions from the bunker to New Orleans." The key to the bunker was provided by his CIA Pigs invasion. He is quoted as saying that on the day the munitions were picked up, he "was called by his CIA cryptically asserted that the munitions to his account, were dropped in Novel's office, Ferrie's home and Banister's in the CIA group at the bunker were David Ferrie, Sergio Arcacha Smithprising reporter took him to a marathon burglaries in history." When an entercaper was one of "the most patriotic eral Cubans. The munitions, according destined for use in the impending Bay of count was that the munitions bunker Item article, ened further. According to the Statesmocratic Revolutionary Front—and New Orleans delegate to the Cuban Decontact. Novel reportedly said the others was a CIA staging point for war materiel From his Ohio sanctuary the fugitive Novel's indiscreet tongue loos-Novel's oft-repeated sevac-

was such that in 1962, when Eastern Air Lines was in the process of dismissing as an investigator, and the mutual affinity Ferrie for publicity over alleged homoioned plea on his behalf. When Banister Miami hearing and delivered an impas-Ferrie worked on and off for Banister died appeared evidently 18

acquired part of his files. When he realized he was a prime suspect in Garrison's probe, Ferrie systematically disposed of his papers and documents for the years 1962 and 1963. But in phototions. Included is the notation: "Copies of B's [presumably Banister's] microfilm files to Atlanta rite-wingers [sic]." portion of notes recording the disposipaper he had written (at one time he had caged mice in his home on which he experimented with cancer implants), he copying the bibliography of a cancer inadvertantly overlapped he had written (at one time he had E E

FBI's, and contained files on both friends and foes. The "10" and "23" classification dealt with Cuban matters; 23-5, for example, was labeled Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front and 10-230 simply Cuban File. There was a main file, 23-14, labeled Shaw File, but someone had munist intelligence" in Louisiana, and part were sold by his widow to the Sovereignt Commission, a sort of state HUAC, where a Garrison investigator was able to examine them. Banister's filing system was modeled after the completely stripped it before Garrison's the largest collection of "anti-com-

There are numerous witnesses who attest that he was a confidant of Banister and Ferrie, and that his office was a way station for the mixed bag of Cuban Front, which occupied what was grandiosely called Suite 6 at 544 Camp Street, was the coalition of Cuban exile "libowas the coalition of Cuban exile" in the coalition of Cuban exile "libowas the coalition of Cuban exile" in the coalition of Cuban exile "libowas the coalition of Cuban exile" in the coalition of Cuban exile "libowas the coalition of Cuban exile" in the coalition of Cuban exile "libowas the cuban exile" in the coalition of Cuban exile "libowas the cuban exile" in the c being a party to the munitions burglary with Novel and Ferrie, but by this time he was living in Dallas, where he refused a paramilitary group of militant right wingers. In March 1963, he moved to gate of the Miami-based organization, is a dapper, moustachioed man who had eration" groups operating under CIA aegis that mounted the Bay of Pigs infounder of the Crusade to Free Cuba, exiles and American adventurers served in Batista's diplomatic corps. vasion. Arcacha, the New Orleans delepolice and to talk to the DA's men without Dallas tion, Garrison charged Arcacha with volved in the "liberation" movement. Late in 1962, the Front closed up shop, Houston, Texas. Early in his investigawhich assistant DA Bill Alexander Arcacha became Þ.

bottom

The Banister files were reputed to be

man got there.
The Cuban Democratic Revolutionary

him, Texas Governor John Connally would not sign the papers.
As for Oswald and 544 Camp Street.

Quiroga, Ferrie and Leon Oswald. It was not until he was interviewed by Garrison that Lewis concluded that Leon Oswald ing that the "natural deaths o and" Ferrie were strikingly he barged into Banister's office and in-terrupted a meeting between Banister, Quiroga, Oswald and Ferrie together at wald. A a young man he introduced as Leon Oswho was close to Arcacha, came in with Street when Cuban exile Carlos Quiroga coffee in the restaurant next to 544 Camp late 1962, Lewis says, he was drinking in Banister's stable of investigators. In One witness is David L. Lewis, another Oswald there on a number of occasions." Garrison declares that "we have several Lewis has slipped into seclusion. was probably Lee Harvey Oswald. Not-544 Camp Street. A few days after that, witnesses who can testify they observed few days later, Lewis "natural deaths of Banister similar, Sa W

[CIA: THE COMMON DENOMINATOR]

cape out of the country would be by a plane flown by Ferrie. This was the nub of the testimony of Perry Raymond Russo at a preliminary hearing for Clay ment. There was talk of "triangulation of fire . . . the availability of exit . . . one man had to be sacrificed to give the other executive-type man named Clem Ber-trand discussed a guerrilla ambush of President Kennedy in Ferrie's apartacy in the assassination. Russo identified Leon Oswald as Lee Harvey Oswald, and Shaw, accused by Garrison of conspir-Clem Bertrand as Clay Shaw. one or two gunmen time to escape." Esratic N OR ABOUT THE NIGHT of September 16, 1963, a nondescript Leon Oswald, the brilliant, er-c David Ferrie, and a courtly

disparate men together in the first place? One possible answer: the CIA. On the fringe of downtown New Or-What would bring three such widely

leans, the building at 544 Camp Street is across the street from the government building which in 1963 housed the local CIA headquarters. One block away, at 640 Magazine Street, is the William B. Reliy Co., a offee firm where Gwadd was employed that pivotal summer. He was employed worked from May 10 to July 19, earning worked from May 10 to July 19, earning

6

hour or longer and when questioned he Oswald would be gone for periods of an Service that cerned about being fired. The personnel manager of the Reily Co. told the Secret child. Nor did he seem particularly con-"there would be times when

application was about to be accepted "out there where the gold is"—the NASA Saturn missile plant at Gentilly, waiting room buried in gun magazines (Warren Report, Vol. 10, p. 226). Shortly a suburb (Vol. 10, p. 226) mentioned to Alba that his employment before leaving the coffee firm, Oswald that Oswald spent hours on end in his Next door is the Crescent City Garage Adrian T. Alba, testified

activity, and attempted to join the Communist Party, U.S.A. But Garrison points out that it is an open secret that cover for clandestine operations. And it American citizenship in Moscow, mar-ried the niece of a Soviet KGB colonel could get a job at a space agency installathe CIA uses the NASA facility as a openly engaged in "Fair Play For Cuba" Marxist who had tried to renounce his preposterous. tion requiring security clearance seems On the face of it, the idea that Oswald 픙 was a self-avowed

is his contention that Oswald was a "witting" agent of the CIA.

There is a surfeit of indications of Oswald's status. One is the story of Donald P. Norton, who claims he was impressed into the Agency's service in containing documents in manila en-velopes. According to plan, Norton de-livered the briefcase to an employee of an American oil firm in Calgary, Alberta, who repeated the pass phrase, "The weather is very warm in Tulsa." contacted by one Harvey Lee, a dead ringer for Oswald except that his hair seemed slightly thicker. In exchange for lated, he was dispatched from Atlanta to Mexico with \$50,000 for an antitered in the Yamajel Hotel in Monterrey, Mexico, per instructions, than he was the money, Lee gave him a briefcase Castro group. He had no sooner regissexual. In September 1962, Norton re-1957 under threat of exposure as a homo-

Eastern Air Lines counter at the Atlanta airport. The contact was a singular-Ferrie earlier in his CIA career. In early 1958, he was tapped for a courier trip to met t David

as to where he had been . . ." (CE 1154) assignment late in 1966, and upon his return to Miami his contact instructed that "something was happening in New a long, quiet vacation. Orleans, and that I [Norton] should Freeport, Grand Bahamas, on an Agency er in Havana. Norton asserts he went to delivered to a Cuban television perform-"It" was \$150,000, which Norton was Ferrie. "Here are your samples," Ferrie remarked, handing Norton a appearing man who called himself Hugh Pharris or Ferris; Norton now states it

tions of deception. detector test, and there were no indicatact Garrison. Norton was given a lie "people who have died in recent months
-like Ferrie." Then he decided to con-He did, and started to fret about the

Garrison, "that even though he sup-posedly defected to the Soviet Union with Top Secret data on our radar nets, no action was taken against him when he came back to the United States?" wald" [CD 692] are still classified in the National Archives). Curiously, the mis-cast Marine who was constantly in hot about the U-2" [CD 931] and "Reproduction of CIA official dossier on Osschooled in covert operations by the CIA while in the Marine Corps at the Atsugi Naval Station in Japan, a U-2 facility electronics courses. "Isn't it odd," prods Top Secret clearance, and was given two water had a Crypto clearance on top of a uments, "Oswald's access to information (interestingly, two possibly relevant doc-Garrison believes that Oswald

his Atsugi tour of duty, he was given a Russian language proficincy test (Folsom Exhibit No. 1, p. 7). A former Marine comrade, Kerry Thornley, deposed to Garrison that Oswald conversed in Russian with John Rene Marine Corps records reflect that on February 25, 1959, at the conclusion of that he had studied Russian at Tulane University, the likelihood is that he was Russian language ability. Although the Warren Report spread the fiction that he was self-taught, and Oswald himself falsely told a New Orleans acquaintance tutored at the CIA's Atsugi station.

Marine Corps records reflect that on Equally odd is Oswald's acquisition of

ated. In retrospect, the clearance of U.S. Union also smacks of being CIA-initi-Oswald's "defection" to the Soviet expeditious.

ltake Corps past facto downgraded his dis-charge to less than honorable, Oswell-indignantly wrote Secretary of the Pany John B. Connally. "I have and allways [sic] had the full sanction of the U.S. Embassy, Moscow USSR and leace the U.S. government" (Warren Report, p. 710). When an interviewer on a New Orleans radio station asked him on

hemming and hawing and the apparent slip of the tongue, "I was under the protection..." [Vol. 21, p. 639].) as you will not rest until you get your answer er, I worked in Russia, er, I was er under the protection er, of the er, that citizen ..." (This is the original version as disseminated by the Associated Press. the American government but I was is to say I was not under protection of will answer that question directly then stammered badly: "Well, as I er, well, I Russia, the normally articulate Oswald ment subsidy during his three years in mission has been edited to delete the all times er, considered an American August 21, 1963, if he had had a govern-The version released by the Warren Com-

termingle their armored divisions and infantry divisions and various units the way we do in the United States, and they would have all of their aircraft in one geographical location and their tanks in another geographical location, and their infantry in another..." On one occasion, Oswald asked Ofstein to enlarge a photograph taken in Russia which, he headquarters and that the guards sta-tioned there were armed with weapons and ammunition and had orders to shoot any trespassers ... "(vol. 10, p. 202), Os-wald's inordinate interest in the contrails of high flying aircraft, Soviet military deployment and a military facility in-volving an element of risk to photograph vapor trail," Ofstein quotes him. "He also mentioned about the disbursement [dispersement?] of military units," Ofstein continued, "saying they didn't ingovernment contracts). Ofstein's smat-tering of Russian evidently set the usu-ally phlegmatic Oswald to talking. "All the time I was in Minsk I never saw a explained, represented "some military Oswald's mission in the Soviet Union can be found in the testimony of Dennis where Oswald worked upon his return from Russia; it receives many classified is the photographic/graphic arts gars-Chiles-Stovall Co. in Dallas H. Ofstein, a fellow-employee at Possibly the most cogent suggestion of Jag-(this





The Reily Bldg. (See map opposite)

hardly seems the natural curiosity of a hapless ex-Marine private.

communication developed by German intelligence during World War II and still in general use among espionage deposit and pickup of messages. can be inserted in an innocuous letter or magazine and mailed, or left in a "dead vastly reduce the negative to a size that will fit inside a period. The microdot the document to be transmitted An intriguing entry in Oswald's address book is the word "microdots" Microdots are a clandestine means of notated the address and phone number frop"-a prearranged location for the igencies. The technique is to photograph of Jaggers-Chiles-Stovall (CE 18, p. 45). ppearing on the page on which he has

obtained library Thus it may be significant that Oswald tained library cards in Dallas and worleans, and usually visited the

> 3330 Louisiana Avenue Parkway. There may be a pattern here, since Oswald sup-Parkway, a wrong number, but conspicthe International Trade Mart former place of employment], borrower's card issued by the New Or-teans public library in the name Clem libraries on Thursday. The possible imposedly carried a card issued to Ferrie home address 3100 Louisiana Avenue is the discovery by Garrison of an adult them. A piece that may fit into the puzzle he ever charged out, and never returned by the FBI, which confiscated every book plication of his visits was not overlooked when arrested in Dallas. uously close to that of David Ferrie at Bertrand. The business address shown is and the [Shaw's

erty seized by Dallas police after the assassination. Included is such sophistilensak 15 power telescope, Micron 6X binoculars and a variety of film-hardly Realist camera, a Hanza camera timer, filters, a small German camera, a Wolgence status is the inventory of his prop-erty seized by Dallas police after the houseman (Stovall Exhibits). the usual accouterments of a lowly warecated optical equipment Still another hint of Oswald's intellias a Sterio

ingratiating letters to the national head-quarters of the Communist Party, Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Socialist Corps and lectured his fellow Marines on Marxist dialectics set about institutionalizing his leftist facade. He wrote Upon his return from Russia, the man who subscribed to Pravda in the Marine

Workers Party (a copy of the famous snapshot of Oswald with a revolver on his hip, a rifle in one hand and the Party organ, the Militant, in the other was mailed to the SWP office in New York in April 1963). Garrison believes the facade was intended to facilitate his entry into communist countries for special missions.

Ferrie's involvement with the CA seems to stem mainly from his anti-Castro paramillary activity, although there is a suggestion that he was at one time a pilot for the Agency. In the late 1940s and early 1950s he flew light planes commercially in the Cleveland, Ohio area, and was rated by his colleagues as an outstanding pilot. In the middle 1950s there is an untraceable gap in his carrier. Then he turns up as an Eastern Air Lines pilot, Although he supposedly obtained an instrument rating at the Sunnyside Hying School in Tampa, Florida, there is no record that a proper state of the supposed of the any such school ever existed

gradual loss of hair. First a bald spot appeared, which Ferrie explained was caused by acid dripping from a plane battery. Then the hair began falling out came "moody and paranoiac - afraid the communists were out to get him." The the loss of hair he suffered. A fellow em-ployee at Eastern recalls that when Ferrie first joined the line he was "hand-some and friendly," but in the end bepersonality change coincided with A clue to Ferrie's activities may lie in

My The state of th 1. The did International Tride Mart. During the summer of 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald passed out "Tapl Party for Cobe." Wher Law Tride Index 1964. Some of the Microtiure was stamped with the address "544 Camp St. New Orders and the Stamp St. New Orders and the Stamp St. New Orders and the Stamp St. New Orders and St. Stamp St. New Orders and St. Stamp St. New Orders and St. I shapettle Place was used by the table Gas Bankharter, a private electivity by was used by the table Gas As who employed David Ferrier Garrison has linked Gawald to the building's occupants.

The old Us. Courtiouse across from 544 Camp Street, in 1963 the CIA had an office in the Courtbouse.

The old Us. Courtbouse across from 544 Camp Street, in 1963 the CIA had an office in the Courtbouse.

The old Usin G. Reity Co. at 640 Magazine Street, a coffee firm where Oswald was ample during the summer of 1963. The Crescent City Garage, next door to the Reity Co. Owner Adrian Alba tod the Warren Commission that Oswald frequently visited the garage to read his gun magazines, and once monitored that he would soon be obtaining a job at the Speak Agenory Instituty of Gontilly, a few Orders subtract.

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hotographs by William W. Turner

Map by John Williams

national Trade Mart, opened in 1965. Clay Shaw, accused by Garrison conspirator, was executive manager of the Mart until his retirement

medicine to try to halt the process-until his body was entirely devoid of in clumps-Ferrie desperately studied edly have suffered the same hair-loss altitudes required for clandestine flights. icul reaction to exposure to the extreme moonlighting and suffered a physiologhair. One speculation is that he was

Carier of World Wars in New Orleans in late 1961, Ferrie related that he had trained pilots in Guatemala for the Bay of Pigs, and professed bitter disappointof person who told his business to any-body." In a speech before the Military ing for the CIA rescuing Cubans out of Castro prisons," and on one occasion cas called to Miami so that the CIA auspices of the Marine Corps and State Department. Coupled with this is the guerrilla warfare. One of his young proteges has revealed that he trained ment that they were not used. could "test him to see if he was the type use that Ferrie confided "he was worki...formation from another former prosmall weapons units, this under the Cubans and formed them into five-man some of his Civil Air Patrol cadets and Orleans area was to drill small teams in One of Ferrie's covert tasks in the New

Clay Shaw, an international trade official with top-level contacts in Latin America and Europe, would have been a natural target for CIA recruitment. Gordon Novel, who was acquainted Italy by the police because it was sus-pected of being a CIA front. It trans-planted its operation to the more friendly voir of Montreal, among others of the foreign press, CMC was an obscure but Orleans. More persuasive is Gordon Novel, who was acquainted with Shaw, was quoted by the States-Item as venturing that Shaw may have been asked by the CIA to observe the papers Paese Sera of Rome and Le Deciale in Rome. According to the newsmembership on the board of directors of traffic of foreign commerce through New where it still functions climate of Johannesburg, South Africa, well-financed firm that was ousted from a firm called Centro Mondiale Commer-Shaw's

Corporation in Switzerland, but that company was dissolved by the Swiss The same group that incorporated CMC also set up a firm called Permidex Corporation in Switzerland, but that conduit for funds destined for the Secret Army Organization (OAS), a group of government when it was proved to be a

> right-wing French officers dedicated to "keeping Algeria French" by force of arms. The composition of the CMC group with which Shaw was associated Party. Through his attorney, Shaw has stated he joined the CMC board of directors in 1938 at the insistence of his cer, now an executive of the Bank of Montreal; the publisher of the neo-Nazi own board of directors of the Interna-tional Trade Mart of New Orleans. secretary of the Italian neo-Fascist finance minister Hjalmar Schacht; and the lawyer to the Italian royal family and dustrialist related by marriage to Hitler Guitere de Spadaforo, an Italian National-Zeitung of Germany; Prince includes a former U.S. intelligence offiis of more than cursory interest, since it

side of Lake Pontchartrain. Agents had seized more than a ton of dynamite, 20 training site and arms cache on the north story, telling of an FBI raid on a military was in the wind. "Explosives Cache Home Lent to Cuban, Says Owner's Wife," announced the lead to another about to become reality and that a NATO-Warsaw bloc nonaggression pact closing that the test ban treaty was about to become reality and that a F. Kennedy. "A-Treaty Signing Set On Monday" was the lead to one story, distwo news stories which, Garrison asserts, symbolize the bitter end of the paramilitary right's tolerance of John N AUGUST 1, 1963, the front

100-pound bomb casings, fuses, napalm ingredients and other war materiel.

The whipsaw developments—Kennedy's patent determination to effect a gered a rage against the President that would find vent in his assassination.

The true nature of the group raided at rapprochement with the communist nations on the one hand, his crackdown under the Neutrality Act on anti-Castro paramilitary groups on the other-trig-

Tropicana Hotel in Havana before being named Jose Juarez as a favor to friends in Cuba. (McLaney had been wellout the cover story that the premises had been loaned to a newly-arrived Cuban owner, Mrs. William J. McLaney, gave out the cover story that the premises had from the story. The FBI announced no arrests, and the wife of the property Lake Pontchartrain was not evident

According to information leaked to Garrison by another government agency,

ousted by Castro in 1960.)

posing as agents of a South American country, trapped him in a deal to sell a nois machine shop, was arrested again in 1964 when Treasury investigators, who possessed a federal license to manufacture weapons in his Collinsville, Illiquietly released them. Among those in the net was Acelo Pedro Amores, be-lieved to be a former Batista official who the FBI had in fact arrested 11 men, ther venturers and Cuban exiles The others arrested were American adhuge quantity of illicit automatic arms the founders of the Mintemen. Lauchli caught was Richard Lauchli Jr, one of slipped out of Cuba

plagued Minutemen national coordina-tor Robert DePugh since the organiza-tion's inception, and there have been tion team at Dealey Plaza included rene-gade Minutemen operating without the hatched by individual cliques. several abortive assassination schemes quarters. Free-lance terrorism knowledge of the group's central head-

ris was given money by a Minutemen clique at the Liberty Mall in Kansas City to subsidize the subjer slaying of Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas. The plan called for Morris to escape in a plane flown by a Toxas man, but DePugh got wind of it and aborted it. And a Cuban exile close to Guy Ranister has told Garrison that in 1962 Minuteman Banister seriously discussed "putman" in the Havana Palace and killing all For example, in 1962, a Dallas ex-tremist using the pseudonym John Mor-

Minutemen decided to ambush Marcus outside of Dallas, because "another assassination in Dallas would be too much." Again, there was a leak and the plan fell through. However, as the plan fell through. However, as the Warren Report might phrase it, such schemes "establish the propensity to kill" on the part of the radical right. has managed to thrive in rigidly con-servative Dallas. According to an in-formant who was present, several lated in Dallas in September 1966; its target was Stanley Marcus of the Nei-United Nations liberal who somehow man-Marcus department store, a pro-

generic term for the paramilitary right from homogenous movement elements are driven primarily by has become an almost

Garrison believes that the assassina-

The latest plot to surface was formu-

Kennedy dead and money to do the job."

[THE MAKING OF A PATSY]

N JANUARY 20, 1961, TWO MEN approached Oscar W. Deslaite, assistant manager of the Bolton Ford Truck Center in New Orleans, and identified themselves as members of the

trees, a rifle range and large cache of guns belonging to Minutemen. cially in the South. A graphic example can be found in rural St. Bernard Nazi emblems and a shrine to Horst Wessel, and in back, behind a copse of Klux Klan regional headquarters are undercover investigator relates that inside a farmhouse which serves as a Ku Parish, near New Orleans. A state police Castro and regaining property or sine-cures in the Cuban bureaucracy. There by a personal interest in overthrowing perfervid anti-communism, still others race hatred and anti-Semitism, others by considerable cross-pollination, espe-

DePugh, and suggested to him that the guerrilla team that bushwhacked the President included Minutemen who had drifted into the Nazi orbit. "I'm inclined the "fascists" are using anti-communism as a smokescreen to cover their own rush for power. I had occasion to talk to Minutemen and the late George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazis. In a recent public statement DePugh commented that "fascism is the number one to agree," he said. paramilitary right, and in recent years a power struggle for hegemony over the movement raged between DePugh of the danger in this country today," and that There is intense factionalism inside the

Oswald's address book is "Nat. Sec. Dan Burros, Lincoln Rockwell, Arlington, Virginia" (CE 18, p. 53). Other right-wing figures in the address book are Carlos Bringuier of the Cuban Student Directorate in New Orleans and retired General Edwin Walker of Dallas. Bringuier told the Commission that Os-wald had approached him and offered to train Cuban exiles in Marine tactics, but One of the most inexplicable entries in One of the most inexplicable entries in 'Nat. Sec.

1963, there was not one but several para-military teams gunning for Kennedy. They had been in contact, he said, with "wealthy backers who wanted to see Kennedy dead and had been given in the Florida Keys prior to the assassination claims that by November 22, he suspected Oswald was a plant. An anti-Castro adventurer who trained

the obscurity of the Archives by Garrident recorded by the FBI immediately were purchased he would be the one to form, recording their names as Joseph Moore and Oswald. The young man calltheir cause, they wanted to purchase ten trucks at cost. Deslatte filled out a bid after the assassination and dug out of pay for them. This is the gist of an inciing himself Oswald said that if the trucks Friends of Democratic Cuba. To help

son researcher Tom Bethell (CD 1542).
Garrison has located the former Bolton Ford manager who was present at the time, Fred A. Sewell. He recalled that the younger "skinny" man gave the full name. Lee Oswald, and that "Joseph Moore" retails than the control of puzzling about the incident is that Lee Harvey Oswald was in Minsk, Russia in 1961, thus raising the question of who was impersonating him and why. a Cuban name on the bid form. What is Moore" actually was a Cuban who gave

fore departing on the first leg of his journey to the Soviet Union aboard the SS Marion Lykes (CE 1963). Garrison has picked up indications that Oswald's decision to embark via ship from New Orleans was dictated by intelligence considerations. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that during the four-day period in the city he was inducted into a CIA group, an anti-Castro member of which would later use Oswald's name. Any answer must necessarily be conjecture, but it may be significant to recall that Lee Harvey Oswald spent four days in New Orleans in September 1959 be-

cratic Cuba is not inconsistent with this theory. One of the incorporators of the organization was Guy Banister, the Minutemen/CIA type. Another was William Wayne Datzell who knew Ferrie and Arcacha, and was still another in the Banister coterie of sleuths. To a States-Item reporter he admitted he was CIA The genesis of the Friends of Demo-

when questiong ago by the New Orleans grand jury looking into the second group, were a CIA man named Logan and the FBI's Regis Kennedy, who in-The Friends of Democratic Cuba was founded January 9, 1961, less than two weeks before the Bolton Ford incident. visors to the Friends, says an informant who was closely involved with the mental in its creation. Government lutionary Front, and Arcacha was instru-It was intended as a kind of American auxiliary to Arcacha's all-Cuban Revo-



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ALICE'S RESTAURANT Arlo Guthrie GUTHRIE reprise = COMES ON R/RS 6267 i the accused assassin.

tion. The Friends were short-lived, and the Front slowly dissolved after the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion. The dieformed the Free Cuba movement. hard remnants of these moribund groups

POSTERS

Free Cuba group in its hectic post-asspace at that address, Secret Service men "Cuban tation and never thought to connect him with a right-wing outfit. Learning that but apparently the T-men were comis no record that the Secret Free Cuba group even after he had been ousted from the CRC (CE 1414). There Free Cuba Committee' and 'Cuban Revof organizations known as 'Crusade to said that "those Cubans were members pletely sold on Oswald's left-wing orienquestioned Arcacha about Oswald. checks on both accounts (CE 3119). countant related, was authorized to sign olutionary Council." Arcacha, the actalked to a Cuban exile accountant who assination inquiries at 544 Camp Street, He said that Arcacha continued with the The Secret Service stumbled upon the revolutionaries" had occupied Service

group. One indication is implicit in the testimony of Mrs. Sylvia Odio, an aristocratic Cuban refugee. When Lee Harvey Oswald's picture was fashed on television after the assassination, she Dallas apartment seeking assistance for the anti-Castro movement. The spokesmately involved with the Free Cuba duced as something like Angelo. The third man was introduced as Leon Oslike Leopoldo; a second man was introman gave a "war name" that sounded three men appeared unannounced at her fainted. She explained to the Warren vald, and Mrs. Odio was certain he was It was a grievous omission, for it is now manifest that Oswald was intision that in late September 1963,

an ex-Marine, he said. "He told us we don't have any guts, you Cubans, because President Kennedy should have been assassinated after the Bay of Pigs.

It is easy to do. He has told us."

When his listener became upset at talk of Odio with a new sales pitch. "Leon" was morning Leopoldo telephoned ing shortly "on a trip." rived from New Orleans and were leavafter commenting that they had just ar-Mrs. Odio was noncommittal. They left, Cuban Premier. Leon was an expert shot, killing Kennedy, Leopoldo remarked that it would be just as easy to kill the Unsure of the trio's true allegiance, 쿲 e next

he said, a man who "could do anything like getting underground in Cuba, like killing Castro" (Vol. 11, pp. 367-389).

G-men traced them and a companion, mour had been arrested by the Dallas Lawrence Howard Jr, to the west coast movement...Committee to Free Cuba." notation: "Active in the anti-Castro Significantly, their arrest record bore the Loren Eugene Hall and William press, the FBI located three men possibly police on a technical narcotics charge. isitors. Some three weeks after the visit, dentical with Mrs. Odio's provocative Just before the Warren Report went to

ably the Free Cuba movement. But Howard, although conceding he was with Hall in Dallas in late September, located on Magellan Circle, "to ask her fied that pay records of a Miami Beach firm showed him at work from Septemfiatly denied being at Mrs. Odio's. Sey-mour alibied that he was working in ber 5 through October 10. assistance in the movement," presum-Mrs. Odio, whose apartment he correctly Miami Beach at the time; the FBI veri-Howard and Seymour had been to see Hall admitted to the FBI that he,

by observing that Seymour bore a strik-ing resemblence to Oswald, a meaning-less footnote considering that the pay records had been accepted as prima facie had been mistaken, a turnabout that did not seem to be viewed too skeptically by the G-men. The Bureau closed its inquiry at the relevant time. evidence that he was in Miami Beach records had been accepted recanted his admission and claimed he In a second session with the FBI, Hall

face transportation timetables, and there is a suggestion he flew at least part of the way. Mrs. Horace Twiford of Houston mented that he "had only a few hours" before "flying to Mexico" (CE 2335). stated that in late September, when Oswald telephoned her husband, he comtraveled to Dallas in the limited time be-Mrs. Odio's. It did so by declaring it of the possibility that it was Oswald at Warren Commission had only to dispose and his crossing of the Mexican border. But the Commission reckoned from surtween his departure from New Orleans improbable that Oswald could With Seymour "out of the way," the

Irving premises of Ruth and Michael Paine, with whom Marina had been staying, yielded another tie to the Free Cuba movement. Among Oswald's be-The post-assassination search at the

> mediately "corrected" by Jack Ruby who had mingled with the press: "No, he is a member of the Fair " for Cuba'" (Vol. 7, p. 548). And at his celebrated press conference the night of the assassination, DA Henry Wade let longings in the garage was a barrel that had, said Deputy Buddy Walthers, "a lot of these little leaflets in it, 'Freedom t slip that "Oswald is a member of the

meetings on the week ends and were possably [sic] connected with the 'Freeseven days before the President was shot and the day after he was shot these Cubans moved from this house. My informant stated that subject Oswald had was a member." Three days later, when the Secret Service had evinced no interdale some Cubans had been having he had advised Dallas Secret Service Chief Forrest Sorrels that "for the past a "Supplementary Investigative Report" learned today that sometime between dom For Cuba Party' of which Oswald few months at a house dated November 23, 1963, he stated that Deputy Walthers added a final link. In he wrote a wistful addendum: "I at 3128 Harlen-

didate. To make the assassination look planation is a pragmatic one: they did not trust him and suspected he was an infiltrator. The most likely exdecided to make him the patsy is open to conjecture. Perhaps he balked at going needed a patsy and he was the ideal canthrough with the assassination. Perhaps

peace

— a pamphlet discussing:

Cuba would have been incited to a dangerous pitch."

In the weeks preceding the assassinakilled trying to escape, and if those Cu-ban and Soviet visas he applied for but didn't get could have been found on his body, public opinion against Russia and offers Garrison, "I think the big money backers of the plot were a little disappointed. Oswald was supposed to be to a

an Oswald double in Dallas who probably was instrumental in "setting him up." Gunsmith Dial D. Ryder told the someone tion, there are a number Survig the early Novemi name of instances of Oswald

been to this house before" (Decker Exhibit No. 5323).

Why Oswald's anti-Castro comrades

like the work of an avowed Marxist and Castro sympathizer would have been a propaganda tour de force. "Even so," they The limitations of socialism, liberalism, pacifies — a definition of loyalty to the rece, the world, and the future in the future and the "United Nation."

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> target shooters patronizing the Sports
> Drome Rifle Range reported that a man
> resembling Oswald had practiced there
> as late as November; the man made himsight mounted; he produced a repair tag in that name as confirmation (Report, p. 315). Garland G. Slack and other self obvious, at one time incurring Slack's displeasure by firing on his target (Report, pp. 318-319).

A third salesman, Eugene M. Wilson, recalled that when the man purporting to be Oswald was told he would need a credit rating, he snapped, "Maybe I'm the purchase, he test-drove an expensive model on the Stemmons Freeway at 60 to 70 miles an hour. Both Bogard and Albert Guy Bogard reported to the FBI that a man giving the name Lee Oswald, Mercury is highly revealing. Immediately after the assassination, salesman down the name Oswald so that they would remember him if he called back. weeks he would have the money to make sassin, came into the showroom on No-vember 9. Remarking that in several who closely resembled the accused another salesman, Oren Brown, wrote

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ENOUGH?" (photo Resgas amiling) •
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An incident at Downtown Lincoln-

captain in the Korean War who, he claims, subsequently became a CIA agent. It is a matter of record that in mits. But he had sent a registered letter to J. Edgar Hoover warning him of the 1957 he was seriously injured in a plane crash in Cambodia, which tends to supwas then scheduled for the latter part of September (probably the 26th in Washington, D.C.), and the letter had gone impending assassination, which he says

There is an incredibly brief FBI inter-

going to have to go back to Russia to buy a car" (Report, p. 320).

expected of a person telling the truth."

Nevertheless, the Warren Commission someone might be impersonating Oswald. But Bogard will never identify the impersonator. He stuck to his story in Dallas police on seemingly trumped-up bad check charges. He retreated to his native Louisiana, where on St. Valen-tine's Day 1966, he was found dead of evidently never considered the possibility allegedly spent the day drafting a lengthy letter to the Soviet Embassy. It Bogard's responses were those "normally beaten to within an inch of his life by an unknown assailant and arrested by the news interviews, and subsequently was automobile and that on November 9 he Oswald supposedly could not operate an dismissed the incident by noting that Given a lie detector test by the FBI,

theory are wrapped up in a story that has gradually filtered out of Leavenworth Penitentiary. The story is that of inmate Richard Case Nagell, and paradoxically, the most cogent confirmation for it is the manner in which he wound up sentenced exhaust fumes in his automobile.

The main ingredients of the patsy

port his contention, since Cambodia was mot exactly a tourist playgound. On September 20, 1963, Nagell walked into a bank in El Paso, Texas, fired a gun into the ceiling, and then sat outside waiting to be arrested. He says he staged the affair because he wanted to be in custody as an alibi when the assassination took place. It was a desperate measure, he adplace it was a desperate measure, he admanner in winner to ten years in federal custody.
Nagell was a highly decorated infantry
Name War who, he

view report stating, in part, that on De-cember 19, 1963, Nagell advised, "For the record he would like to say that his association with OSWALD (meaning LEE HARVEY OSWALD) was purely social and that he had met him in Mexico City and in Texas" (CD 197). Another

# THERE'S GOING TO BE A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN 1968 SHOULDN'T WE GET INTO IT?

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Our government had no dight to send American troops to Aviation in the rities place. New that half an alliand American soldiers are in Vistame, the government says they must say that the control of the

WE STAND FOR AND FREEDOM

did in recent years, the most important and impressive light for interedom in America has been the fight of black people. Oher American care as no submitted particular actions are as no submitted particular actions as a submitted particular and included in outside the later propose came have in chather, submitted particular and included in outside the case of the first action and alteredom beautiful that are the diogan. "Such power in preparation for self-determination of the first own commontlies. We support their efforts to do so.

It is not only black Americans who find themselves test the state of the submitted professional, American in the last two years have been increasingly subcurst of the first own commontlies. We should be a first in the self-determination or relief, from manual workers to salaried professionals, American in the last we years have been increasingly subcurst of the first increase as keypenched and programmed, and increase in only restry to glight back against the power currents as cover shen. We apport and ancourage all their struggles for dignly on the self-determination of the first manual workers.

The wat in Vietnam and racial invest at hom will be the key issues of the 1986 campaign. We must demand the right to enter th deleate, and to vote for candidates who believe that the United States should get out of Vietnam and start building a demo-cratic society here at home.

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attempting to prevent the assassination of President Kennedy . . ." (CD 404). paper reporters, accusing the FBI of not report states that when the prisoner was being led from court on January 24, 1964, he "made wild accusations to news-

anti-Castro group in New Orleans and Mexico City, code name Bravo Club, decided to give Kennedy a "Christmas given intelligence training after the crash. What Nagell alleges is damning not only to the FBI, but to the CIA. In brief, present" to be delivered September 26, a date that was postponed. A party was required. Two members of Bravo Club approached Oswald while he was workgovernment has suggested in court that his airplane crash mentally affected shifted to Dallas, Bravo Club enlisted the aid of a Dallas "subsidiary," Delta pealed to his ego in setting him up as the patsy. When the "delivery" site was ing at the Reily colfee firm in New Or-leans in the summer of 1963, and apanti-Castro elements. As he puts it, an was a rank betrayal in the eyes of a rapprochement with Castro, which tion was Kennedy's move in the direction he says that the motive for the assassina-Nagell, the fact remains that he was tion) at Springfield, Missouri. While the center (a euphemism for mental instituwith discharging a firearm on govern-ment-protected property. Since his sen-tencing, he has been shuttled between Leavenworth and the federal medical threw the book at Nagell, a first offender who says he expected to be charged only indicated by the fact that the government That the charges may not be so wild is

plans and sent several agents into the field to ascertain whether they were "for real." Nagell says he was one of the agents dispatched. Within a short time, he claims, he was pulled in. It had been sum of the plot was right-wing in nature. Nagell says that he was instructed to "arrow" the patsy, that is kill him, after the assassination. At this point, he contends, he got cold feet and bailed out. "I would rather be arrested than commit making the watch tick," and that the verified that the plans were authentic, Meanwhile the CIA got wind of the [anti-Castroites] were declared in a

In the petition, Nagell asserts that

foreign countries under the authorization of the Defense Intelligence Agency. He states that the files of the FBI and the CIA contain information that Oswald Kramer, the other in the name Albert Hidel), and receipts for registered mail, including the one for the letter sent to his defense, such as notebooks con-taining the names of certain CIA emwas using the aliases Albert Hidel and Aleksei Hidel. He charges that the FBI Hoover warning of the assassination. tourist cards (one in the name Joseph photographs, O/W1 Mexican

When Nagell complains he has been "salted away" because of what he knows, he just might be making the understatement of the year.

[THE ELIMINATION OF A PATSY]

enough to utter his cry of innocence. But something had misfired, and Oswald fell not into the hands of his would-be exepresented a crisis that the conspirators could solve only by pressing police buff safety of the Dallas jail. The denouement who was not supposed to have lived long marked patsy, contends Garrison-one Jack Ruby into serv cutioners, but into the comparative I men while in police custody. A a patsy," Oswald shouted to news-DIDN'T KILL ANYBODY . . . I'm just

sistance he put up in his refuge in the Texas Theater, Oswald's demeanor in custody gave every indication that he would resolve the great riddle—given ing to kill the President and escape, he did not take the revolver with him. That he made a beeline to his rooming in the Texas Theater, it did not explain why, if he had gone to work at the School Book Depository that morning intendconcluded that Oswald ducked into his Oak Cliff rooming house to pick up the treacherous comrades rather than from ately wanted to protect himself from revolver speaks of a man who desperhouse for the sole purpose of getting the the police. Notwithstanding the mild re-.38 revolver, later confiscated from him Although the Warren Commission

Oswald does not appear to be the only double-cross victim of that bloody afternoon: the evidence is persuasive that killed Officer J. D. Tippit, a friend of

> and "worthless" (Inquest, p. 109). Although ballistics tests could not positers of the Free Cuba group. The Com-mission's star witness in fingering Oswald was Mrs. Helen Markham, a billing that who called her testimony "contradictory" staff members, notably Wesley Liebeler precipitated strong dissent among some



In the Winter Issue

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Analysis of Key U.S. Strikes
Notes from the Detroit Rebellion

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completely missing (Report, p. 172). gled out of this dilemma by wildly cer's body with Oswald's revolver, they did determine that three bullets were of speculating that five shots were fired, one were evenly divided between the while the four recovered shell casings one manufacture, the fourth of another, tively match the bullets in the dead offiafacturers. The Commission wrig-

his head seemed like his hairline sort of went square instead of tapered off—it kind of went down and squared off and made his head look flat in back." vides, described a killer quite different from Oswald: "I remember the back of scription of Oswald that day (Sawyer Exhibit No. A, pp. 396-397). And the than a pistol" (presumably, Hill noted the distinctive marks made by the ejector of an automatic). In the same vein, geant Gerald Hill alerted all cars that "Shells at the scene indicate the suspect is armed with an automatic .38 rather best placed eyewitness, Domingo Benaand a "white shirt," certainly not a definish automatic pistol. . . ." First flashes had the killer with "black wavy hair" "He's apparently armed with a .32 dark Patrolman H. L. Summers announced Moreover, the police radio logs describe a killer other than Oswald. Ser-

killer reverse his path so as to bring him back onto Jefferson and proceeding in a ferson Boulevard one block south, thence to the Texaco service station one in a cavernous building at the corner of Tenth and Crawford which in 1963 was known as the Abundant Life Temple. In an aerial view of the area, the Commiswas Oswald's. Consequently, it had the the station, which the Commission said sion traced the killer's escape path from westerly direction toward the theater block west at Jefferson and Crawford. A the scene near Tenth and Patton to Jef-"white jacket" was found at the rear of Garrison posits that the real killer hid

"A witness reports that he last was seen in the Abundant Life Temple about the 400 block. We are fixing to go in and alley and into the rear door of the Abundant Life Temple. This view is corroborated by police radio logs. Shortly after 1:40 p.m., Sergeant Hill came on the air: Rejecting this arbitrary reconstruction, Garrison points out that the killer could have proceeded straight ahead from the rear of the Texaco station, across an

Car 95 ordered, "Send me another squad over here to Tenth and Crawford to over here to Tenth and Crawford check out this church basement." At this point Car 223 burst in excited

get somebody around the front, get them here fast." The dispatcher complied, and Car 19 soon affirmed, "We're all at the library." There was no suspect at the library, but the Abundant Life Temple had been spared a shakedown. 500 block . . . I'm going around back "He's in the library on Jefferson

operator with a soft spot in his heart for dogs and dames, who killed Oswald on an impulse of one-man justice, the real Ruby was no buffoon. The fiction that he executed Oswald out of compassion for the Kennedy family was conjured up by his first attorney, the late Tom Howard. "Joe, you should know this," Ruby scribbled to a succeeding attorney, Joe Tonshill "Ton Howard stid Treey, Joe Tonshill without heart of the property of the succeeding attorney, Joe Tonshill without heart of the property of the succeeding attorney, Joe Tonshill without heart of the property of the succeeding attorney. scribbled to a succeeding attorney, Joe Tonahill. "Tom Howard told me to say that I shot Oswald so that Caroline and Mrs. Kennedy wouldn't have to come how to eliminate Oswald, who knew too much. This was where Jack Ruby came in. Although the Warren Commission pictured Ruby as a blustery night club to Dallas to testify, OK?" The grave problem, of course, was

Detroit, who sent "a telegram of undisclosed nature to Havana, Cuba, April 1, 1962" and made "calls to Welsh [sic] Candy Company" in Belmont, Massachusetts, then owned by Birch Society founder Robert Welch. Also listed by the Commission was Thomas Hill, an "official of the John Birch Society" in Belication of the John Birch Society in Belication of the John Birch Society. mont whose name was in Jack Ruby's notebook, and Lamar Hunt, the son of H. L. Hunt, who subsequently denied (CE 2980). Included were Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, and a brother, Earl, of motivated groups interested in securing the assassination of President Kennedy" In a memorandum dealing with his background, Ruby specialists on the Commission compiled a list of persons seemingly "the most promising sources of contact between Ruby and politically

cent right" about Castro's Cuba and it should be "blown out of the ocean." William McEwan Duff, who served as in April 1963, that Walker was "100 investigate the potshot taken at Walker homa City police detective Cliff Roberts, who had been hired by Walker to win A. Walker. He told former Ruby was an admirer of General Ed-



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> late 1962 to early 1963, advised the Secret Service that Ruby, who was addressed only as "Jack," visited Walker "on the basis of about once a month, tified white males" (CE 2389). each time in the company of two uniden

A cross-section of Ruby's acquaint-

Sergio Arcacha Smith, formerly of 544
Camp Street. Now Orland Camp Street, New Orleans. a passel of local businessmen. But there to the Carousel Club. There is of course Blake vacated her apartment, 10746D hat when Carousel Club passholder Sue as Dallas Minutemen. Since no facet of men pegged by a Garrison investigator bitten Dallas assistant DA, and three ances can be found in the list of 66 perhe investigation seems complete without strange coincidence, it can be noted also W. F. (Bill) Alexander,

Odom, "so I called him—or the manager called him... He came over to the hotel and we talked." The manager of the moved from Dallas. In subsequent manager of the Roosevelt Hotel who might put him in contact with the right to promote a bull fight" and asked the might be a coded version of Ruby's unlisted telephone number. Within a entry, "Lee Odom, PO Box 19106, Dallas, Tex." He pointed out that it corresponded to "PO 19106" in Oswald's Anderson, at the time manager of the Adolphus Hotel. Last May, Garrison sought to explain the legal materiality of Clay Shaw's notebook in terms of an had introduced themselves at a bar. out of it and maintained he and Shaw vision, Odom left Anderson completely told to a national audience on CBS televersions of the story, including the one Roosevelt was Anderson, In 1966, he was in New Orleans "trying Dallas to explain away the coincidence. few days a Lee Odom came forth in people. "He suggested Mr. Shaw," said iddress book, Also on the pass list is H. H. (Andy) and theorized that it

oners from a Cuban prison" (p. 369).
Ruby had telephoned a Houston man in January 1959, just after Castro took named Robert Ray McKeown, known asked about the possible release of prisjeeps located in Shreveport, La., and possible sale to Cuba of some surplus mented. The Warren Report advises that Ruby's affinity for Cuba is well-docu-"Ruby made preliminary inqui-s a middleman, concerning the

> throughout Texas as a friend of Castro, a Las Vegas, Nevada source (CE 1689). Ruby told McKeown, would come from Americans held in Havana. The money, nfluence to obtain the release of three

McKeown agreed to arrange the intro-duction, but once again Ruby failed to follow through. The reason may have been that Maurice Brooks Gatlin of the Castro at a very profitable figure."
McKeown agreed to arrange 41. New Orleans-based Anti-Communism League of the Caribbean scotched the had an option on a great number of jeeps which were in Shreveport, Louisi-Castro. According to McKeown, Ruby \$25,000 for a letter of introduction telephone call, Ruby contacted Mctheir way out of jail and back to the United States. But a few weeks after the the prisoner deal, which may be ex-Keown in person, this time offering him 961, that three Americans had made slained by the news report on January 6, McKeown heard nothing more about

Cuban Premier was about to surface as nay have detected signs that the new

out that Ruby proposed to sell Castro 100 jeeps, he warned the venturesome night club owner to call it off. Gatlin

deal. Minutemen defector Jerry Brooks discloses that the minute Gatlin found

Cuban capital for a year. It also makes the correlation that Matthews' ex-wife in Shrevepor received a lengthy telephone call from Ruby's Carousel Club on October 3, 1963. But with a denial from Matthews that he knew anything about the "jeep deal," and an inability ing the period of the jeep negotiations, gambler Russell D. Matthews, described as a 'passing acquaintance' of Ruby's, returned to Dallas from Havana, then several months later went back to the Dallas rackets a couple of decades ago he ran with a crowd whose luminary was Benny (Cowboy) Binion, who moved to is no lightweight: in the heyday of the member the long distance call, the Com-mission ran out of curiosity. Matthews on the part of Mrs. Matthews to reas Vegas and founded the Horseshoe The Warren Report observes that dur-

The account given by Ruby of his trip to Cuba in September 1959 also strains credulity. "Ruby traveled to Havana as

declares (p. 370). "Both Ruby and McWillie state the trip was purely social." Ruby gulled the Commission with a story that he stuck close to the hotel, was Rolando Masferrer, a former Ba-tista official who had headed "The Cuban exiles he claimed to be close to Ruby boasted to at least two Americans that he was "in with both sides" while got bored stiff, and left within a week sitting in Castro's domain. But Thayer Waldo, an old Latin hand vith sources inside Cuba, reports that Among the

Ruby's unexplained telegram to Havana on April 1, 1962. And word that circulated through Cuban emigre circles in 1963 had Ruby visiting Havana via travel ban and got to Cuba is a moot an act. Whether Ruby circumvented the question. However, there remains Earl left on a two-week trip, saying he was going to New Orleans and then to Cuba "to pick up an act for the club." When tight-lipped about his trip-and without he returned he was uncharacteristically told Garrison that in mid-1962 Ruby who frequented the Carousel Club has the dictator's regime. One of the many Dallas police officers

Thoughts that Enslave Minds Mental Poisoning!

Tigers," a dreaded private army during

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der guards, both Mexican and ican." Curry said that Breen (CE 1761, 1762). from a trip to Mexico, and repeated her to the FBI after Breen failed to return tion with narcotics traffic." Curry went an unnamed location, where he had been have been on narcotics business. As long story in 1963 after the assassination extremely efficient operation in connecshown moving pictures of various bor-Ruby and had "accompanied RUBY to Curry told the FBI that her paramour ago as 1956, a woman named Eileen If Ruby did go to Cuba in 1962, it may Curry said burry said that Breen "was over what he considered an had become cozy

tempted to locate her but was too late.
On September 4, 1965, she was killed by his probe got underway, Garrison denied knowing Oswald, Miss Chermi chortled, "They were bed mates." When denied knowing Oswald, after the assassination in which Ruby were going to be killed on their impend-ing visit to Dallas. Shown a news story for Ruby. She told the attending physician that Kennedy and other officials ana. Hospitalized with injuries and narinto a story consistent with Eileen Curry's. On November 20, 1963, a woman two men to pick up a load of narcotics Ruby employee traveling to Florida with cotics symptoms, she said she was a moving automobile near Eunice, Louisinamed Rose Chermi was thrown from a highway near Big Sandy, Texas. empted to locate her but hit-and-run driver while walking along Texas editor Penn Jones Jr has delved

962 trip to Cuba that she and her late hus-

> band, who had ties to organized crime, attended a meeting in Dallas in 1962, in cannot be divulged at this time. evidence of gun-running by Ruby which cured through a Mexican contact (Vol key planners were Ruby, an Army "light colonel," and a heavy-set "Cuban or p. 330ff). Garrison has additional funds. She said the guns were to be pro-Mexican," and she gathered that Ruby was the "bag man" who handled the runs into Cuba and refugees out. which plans were discussed to smuggle

trigue, Ruby may well have been smug-gling narcotics into the United States the narcotics were a white elephant until sold for U.S. dollars. This is where buck-China reportedly had entered into a and guns into the hands of Cuban inaccommodations of international been sheer braggadocio. In the strange both sides of the street may not have hungry organized crime elements came would be exchanged for narcotics, but perspective. In 1962, and gun-running should be put in some intext his claim that he was playing The allegations of narcotics trafficking and just possibly Jack Ruby. In this agreement in which Cuban sugar Cuba and Red à.

Mexico City that year (e.g. CE 3055).

ington firm, Falcon Aeronautics, Inc., which smacks of having been an ad hoc CIA front. The official dismissed Underhill's allegations with the comment year or so of his life." imagination which he had during the last they were "similar to those flights of his from an official of a now defunct Washan old friend wrote to Underhill's widow asking about his demise, the reply came of a bullet wound in the head; although months later, Underhill was found dead after the assassination, a distraught Underhill told friends that a semi-autonomous CIA clique which had been profit-RAMPARTS, June 1967] a weapons expert and sometime CIA "unperson," may be quite plausible CIA operatives, having a finger in it. way of Caribbean intrigue went on in those days without the CIA, or at least police decided it was self-inflicted, implicated in the assassination. Several eering in narcotics and gun-running was Thus the allegations of Gary Underhill, It is fair to say that not much in the quite plausible Immediately

flights of imagination when they thought The question remains whether or not ewsmen in the police basement had

> that he sat next to Oswald in the Carouernor Connally was discussed - and the statement of Wilbryn "Bob" Litchfield organized crime to do away with Govsation in the Carousel Club the night of October 4, 1963, in which the desire of attorney Carroll Jarnagin [Ramparrs, November 1966] — who claims that he they detected a flicker of recognition on Oswald's part just before Ruby shot him. We have already examined the report of PARTS, June 1967]. both were waiting to see Ruby [RAMsel Club office in early November while

of prime suspects in Garrison's investi-gation, the latter of the bull-necked Cuban who tagged around after Oswald in New Orleans in the summer of 1963 the men in the background was identified by Wade as Oswald. He described the in the background were three men sitting at the bar. Ruby strode over to the photographer and "yelled that the building inspector who dropped into the Carousel Club the night of November 10, 1963. Wade said that a club photog-2370). The two match the descriptions scar in the eyebrow of his left eye" (CE man who had "numerous bumps on his face and was believed to have a one-inch others as a young man of "very fair pale complexion," and an older, stocky Latin photographs did not turn out." One of rapher snapped a shot of a customer: ment of Harvey L. Wade, a Chattanooga

fall at which Oswald, Ruby, Shaw and an unknown Cuban were present. The first was in the Roosevelt Hotel in New troduced as Leon, Ruby as Jack, and Shaw as Alton Bernard. On the latter the Capitol House Hotel in Baton Rouge. He recalled that Oswald was inenvelopes to Oswald and Ruby which Orleans, the second on September 29 in ranted against Kennedy in his campaign, said that he twice attended meetings that governor of Louisiana link appears in the statement of the Rev. Clyde Johnson which was filed by Garrimotion. Rev. son in answer to a Clay Shaw defense Further indication of a Ruby-Oswald he said, Shaw passed manila Johnson, a candidate for in 1962, wbо

evidence of a Ruby-Oswald link as well witness in mind, there is documentary be weighed with the credibility of the

In addition, there is the cogent state-

purportedly contained money.

While such eyewitness accounts must

Oswald's address book contains

team in Los Angeles County. try "Midland 2550"; Ruby's has the entry "Newton 2550." While their sig-nificance is unknown—Garrison specuin the recent convictions of a mugging was, in fact, just this kind of mathematsheer happenstance are astronomical. It unrelated persons' address books by same four-digit numbers preceded by nals of some sort—the odds against the lates they may be communications sigcal improbability that was instrumental

arrived in Dallas from Kansas City that same night, and was in touch with Ruby (CE 1322, p. 517). On September 24, 1963, David Ferrie's telephone was charged with a call to Chicago number man and close friend of Ruby's. Meyers WH 4-4970; on November 20, 1963, this well. In his address book, Oswald twice hrough the traumatic post-assassination awrence Meyers, a Chicago businessnumber was called from Kansas City by 1963, Ruby twice called that number television station, PE 8-1951; in June otted down the number of a Ft. Worth And there are other "coincidences" as

hours (Vol. 25, p. 335) The Dallas number FR 5-5591 appears

> was shot by Ruby. of Detective James R. Leavelle, one of Continental Trailways bus driver on the Shreveport run and an uncle of Dallas which leads to another correlation. The number is listed to Kenneth Cody, a through the police basement when he the pair of officers escorting Oswald bureau detective, Cody was the partner police officer Joe Cody. A homicide twice in the last pages of Oswald's book,

half dozen times in the last two or three years that RUBY had arrived at Fair Park while he, CODY, had been skating " (CE 1736). Cody was "assigned in the Counter In-telligence Corps" and stationed for a Ruby, and "there had been at least a loyed ice skating at Fair Park, time in Dallas. Cody related that he enhis clubs during the Korean War, when acknowledged having known Ruby "12 or 13 years." He met Ruby at one of In an FBI interview, Joseph Cody as did

attention to himself as the opposite of behavior between the assassination and his slaying of Oswald was a way of disassociating himself from the plot by "reversing the magnetic field"—drawing Garrison contends that Ruby's stagey

rousted a club flunkey, Larry Craford who watched while his boss took a Commission that his boss was crying on in Sol's Turf Club, his favorite haunt, afternoon, Ruby displayed the Polaroid picture of a Birch Society "Im peach Earl Warren" billboard. morning hours of Saturday, the afternoon of the 22nd. In the early strong, a Carousel employee, told what he actually was. Andrew

boss took a

outrage. Morning News, and uttered words for Treason" ad in Friday's Ruby's survival as a "little in Aryan Dallas depended upon

panions, peered at the box receiving responses to the black-bordered "Wanted

with suitable expressions of indignation.

He went to the post office with com-

at the operating level were Minutemen, and including anti-Castro assassination down to the Dallas connecting link at every level of opera-tion, from the oil-rich sponsors of the were Nazis, and subliminally he became one of them. As Garrison put it, "The department, down through Jack Some of those whose boots he licked his obsequiousness to powerful m



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Nazi oriented. Ir was essentially a Nazi

ound me the perfect setup for a frame.

I was used to silence Oswald. I up this world who would ever dream a story that it was the Minutemen who killed the Jews," he wrote, "don't you Nazis. "They are going to come out with ness who realizes with anguish that he has served not ultraconservatives but tray a man acutely aware of his Jewishsold by the reputable New York docu-RAMPARTS, February realized what his masters really were a trusty, reveal that towards the end, he down that ramp Sunday morning." hat the motherfucker was a Nazi and believe it, they are using that to cover up ment auctioneer Charles Hamilton, porvalked into a trap the moment I walked Ruby's letters, smuggled out of jail by ... Oh the way I fucked 1967]. The letters,

### [RECONSTRUCTING THE CRIME]

Ruby's apartment. On October 3, the group was installed in the house on Harandale, which is in south Oak Cliff past 'N OCTOBER 1963, a number of key verged upon Dallas. The Free Cuba in Garrison's probe con-

police files of all pertinent material concerning the arrests). As will be recalled, the record shows that the FBI did not bling is that the new witness swears that he was questioned by the FBI about Hall assassination, the witness says, Hall re-deemed the weapon, commenting that evening he returned from Mexico, and the .30 caliber rifle on the day after these belated interviews seem dissem-Report went to press. But what makes Seymour until just before locate and interview Hall, Howard and September 1966, the FBI stripped Dallas arrested in Dallas in mid-October (in and William Seymour when they were Garrison knows, posted bail for Hall wealthy oilman-the same oilman who, he was going to Dallas to meet with a Hall \$50, holding a .30 caliber rifle as collateral. About a month before the Castro movement. He declined, but lent 1963, Hall was short of funds and peti-tioned him for assistance in the antiwith the story of a new witness located by Garrison. The witness stated that in The arrival of Hall possibly dovetails man who registered as R. Narvaez. On cupied by a Cuban-appearing young wald checked into the YMCA on North YMCA; they checked out on October Lawrence Howard Jr the night of October 17, Loren Hall and two days the room next to him was oc-Ervay and remained two days. The same the Warren

thin-haired" young Anglo, on one oc-casion on the sun roof of the YMCA statement of Joseph Roland Hummel, who resided at the YMCA that October. occasions he saw Oswald with a "skinny, been casually acquainted with Oswald in New Orleans, and saw him again at the Dallas YMCA in late October. On two Hummel has told Garrison that he had Coupled with this development is the

merous witnesses identify Jack Leon Rubenstein, alias Jack Ruby, as being pressed into service to do away with Oswald? A Houston Secret Service re-Houston report was countermanded by a Dallas SS report that flatly declared: "Ruby was in Dallas on November 21, dent's entrance route and from the Rice Hotel where [the President] stayed." The several hours, one block from the Presiin Houston, Texas on November 21, for shooting of Oswald synopsizes: "Nuport prepared within days of Ruby's What was Ruby's role before he was

1963." The Dallas version was predicated upon two alibi incidents furnished by Ruby, plus the inconclusive statement of Andrew Armstrong that "he did trips away from Dallas recently" (CE

as the obese woman they had seen in San noticed an obese woman rooted to a spot Ruiz, his wife and her woman friend PARTS, November 1966]. Arturo Alocer this is the report of a Mexico City at-torney that Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, motorcade in Houston. Complementing adequate time to fly back and forth that presence in Dallas that day, giving him 4-1/2 hour gap in accounting for Ruby's the report, Garrison considers it reliable. Antonio. Although the FBI sloughed off Alocer party immediately recognized her picture was shown on television, the After Ruby shot Oswald dent's entourage to pass on its way to the airport and the short hop to Houston least two hours—waiting for the Presinear the Gunter Hotel—she was there at were in San Antonio on vacation. They watching the motorcade there [RAMwas in San Antonio that same morning Shortly before and after the assassina-Garrison points out that there was a and Eva's

hollow-sounding "honk" of a car horn (only police vehicles were in the base-

time the elevator carrying Oswald ar-rived at basement level, one hears the tapes made in the basement about the

ment), then a pause of some four sec-onds, then another "honk" closely fol-

tional, and it was that bullet which forged the final link for the Commission between Oswald and the assassination. though Kantor graphically described being collared by the night club owner at the bottom of a hospital staircase). tion, Ruby was placed by witnesses in the Dallas Morning News building, condition, looking more like it had been fired into a stuffing box than through the sion that the bullet was in near-pristine (It did not seem to bother the Commisseen, Ruby's actions were hardly irrait, we can only speculate. But as we have trauma room? Since no one saw him do magic bullet on a stretcher outside the Was it Ruby who planted the so-called Mrs. Tice was mistaken and that Kantor, who knew Ruby well, had seen him ments, the Commission claimed that Wilma Tice and newsman Seth Kantor Plaza. Around 1:00 p.m. he was spotted at Parkland Hospital by housewife which commands a view of Dealey somewhere other than Parkland—even

ordinated by radio.

For a bachelor of casual habits, Sun

question, but his timing was exquisite. Listening to the sound tracks of videoslipped through the guard is open to police department to the Main Street entrance of the police basement. How he Union office across the street from the was carrying several thousand dollars in cash). Then he strode from the Western Carousel-Ruby lent him \$5-and Ruby the night before, Little Lynn and her husname Little Lynn, one of his performers who lived in Ft. Worth (surely a pretext: wired \$25 to Mrs. Bruce Ray Carlin, stage 11:17 a.m. by automatic time stamp, he day morning, November 24, was possibly the most synchronized in Ruby's life. At band had made a special trip to the

the Grassy Knoll area, a quartering angle from the front. The operation was codent was caught in converging fire. The fatal head shot, he says, was fired from assassination bore the classic earmarks As previously reported [RAMPARTS, June 1967], the DA contends that the eration and getaway on November 22. of a guerrilla ambush in which the Presi-ASED ON THE FRESH evidence in Garrison's possession, we can now partially reconstruct the op-

cars, one radio-equipped, prowled the parking lot between his tower and the Knoll shortly before the shooting; he [on the Knoll]." The late Lee Bowers, who was in the railroad tower directly north of the Knoll, testified that three just before the shots were fired, "middle-aged" and "heavy-set," To recapitulate, railroader S. M. Holland, standing on the Triple Underpass, said they definitely were not law enforcenen behind the picket fence on the Knoll nent vehicles. Bowers stated he saw two was a shot fired from behind that fence insists to this day that "there definitely ₹. the one



## An open letter from Otto Preminger

Dear Ramparts Reader:

Several months ago, I was shown a film titled, "You Dig It," made in New York—under the Mobilization for Youth program—by a group of young men and women from poor Negro and Puerto Rican homes. It was an outstanding effort, in my opinion.

"You Dig It" was made without professional guidance. The script was written by a 16-year old; directed and filmed by two 20-year olds; with a cast composed of 50 youngsters between 13 and 20 with no previous filmmaking experience.

I was so excited about "You Dig It" that I met with the young film makers. Outwardly, they looked just like any other group of similar age and background. But inwardly they glowed. These young people—who were born to failure and had only hopelessness ahead of them—suddenly and dramatically achieved success. Not money, not fame—not yet. But seeing themselves and their films on TV and at Lincoln Center...hearing their work praised by seasoned professionals... winning a first prize (the Plaque of the Lion of fis. Marc) at the 1967 Venice Documentary Film Festival...

my blood!"

one of his letters smuggled from jail Ruby wrote, "If you hear a lot of horndenly push through the press ranks? Ir lowed by the crack of Ruby's pistol.
Were the "honks" signaling to Ruby the

progress of his victim so he could sud-

blowing, it will be for me, they will want

But—and there is always a but—the Mobilization for Youth program cannot provide any more money. The group has appealed to various foundations, but their decisions often take so long that these teen-agers may be in wheelchairs before the red tape is cut and the money comes in.

Knowing that Ramparts readers share many of my views and concerns, I ask you to join me in supporting this talented group. They need a total of \$80,000 to continue their work for another year, which includes production of a feature film and two half-hour shorts.

Please take a moment now to fill out the coupon below, then mail it with your check today. Whatever you can afford to give will be deeply appreyour check today. Whatever you can afford to give will be deeply appre-ciated. Your contribution is tax-deductible, of course.



Otto Preminger
Cultural Arts Dept., Mobilization for Youth. 214 E. Second St., N.Y., N.Y. 10009  Here is my contribution of \$
who made "You Dig It" to continue their movie work for another year.
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NAME

a bullet whizzed by his head confer with Garrison. Among other things, he told the DA that he had not tion of an Oswald double, this time one who may have been one of the assassins, he came out of a restaurant after lunch, a Cuban." On his return to Dallas, Craig noticed that he was being shadowed. As bler, but a "dark, swarthy man, possibly Recently Craig went to New Orleans to that Oswald was far away from the build-ing at that time." Once again, the Comsaid that a Negro was driving the Ramshooting from the Depository Building. mission ignored the possible manifesta-"because of the overwhelming evidence rejected his identification

afraid to have his name made public),

A new witness of Garrison's (he is

and dark and from his agility in running could be 25 years of age. He had something in his hand. I couldn't be sure but it may have been a head piece" (CE

it may have been a head piece"

2003, p. 222).

dress shirt, no tie and khaki-colored shots (the parking lot is bisected by a railroad spur). This man had a white

the railroad siding after the volley

report 89-43).

man run towards the passenger cars on scene, picked up from there: "I saw one

Price, who had a bird's-eye view of the

228ff). Postal employee J. ial occurrence—a flash

said that in their vicinity there was

foliage when the shots rang out, Bowers hough the men were partly obscured plaid shirt or plaid coat or jacket." Al-

trousers. His hair appeared to be long

Two women have reported that they saw a twin-engine plane, engines diling, siting well away from the paved access strips and runway, and close to the highway from Dallas via Oak Cliff. Coupled with this information is the assertion of the Cubans on the assassination team was flown to Arizona and hid out in his home before slipping across the border a Garrison informant that a Minuteman in Arizona boasted to him that one of into Mexico. at Red Bird Airport some few miles south of Oak Cliff at about 1:00 p.m. A possible getaway plane was spotted Red Bird

scribed to the Commission. When the shooting started, said Worrell, he sought cover across Houston Street from the

rear of the Depository Building. "I

8

say he was in his late twenties or middle

—I mean early thirties . . . his coat was
open and kind of flapping back in the

there approximately three minutes be-fore I saw this man come out the back door...the way he was running, I would

breeze." Worrell asserted the man ran alongside the building back toward the Dealey Plaza area (Vol. 2, pp. 190-201).

a "heavyset, dark-complexioned" man, proceeded back toward Dealey Plaza and disappeared. It is quite possibly this third man whom James R. Worrell de-

north, away from the scene. The third, in a Rambler station wagon and drove pository Building, where they were Knoll fence and headed behind the De-Price, states that after the shots were fired, two men dashed from behind the who had the same vantage point

oined by a third man. Two of them got

at an adjacent table between a man of about fifty who wore a hearing aid and spoke with a Southern accent and a pressed concern over how much Lee Os-wald had told his wife about the assassi-nation plot. In their conversation, they viewed, was waiting for a luncheon partner and overheard a conversation man whom Garrison's staff has interment; it took place in the restaurant bushy pronounced eyebrows." Both exyounger man with "bushy 13, 1964. Richard Giesbrecht, a businessthe Winnipeg, Canada airport February There is a sequel to this flurry of moven accent and oushy hair an

down the grass area from the direction of the Texas School Book Depository.

Negro male, pulled over to the curb and said individual got in . . ." (CE

estified he "observed an individual run

About 15 minutes after the assassina-m, Deputy Sheriff Roger D. Craig

will be no more interviews: Worrell died in a traffic accident on November 9, 1966.

mission was less than exhaustive, there

questioning by the Com-

Marvin C. Robinson, who told the FBI time between 12:30 and 1:00 p.m. when he was driving past the Depository somein the name of a textile concern. At this point the pair noticed Glesbrecht, who started to a phone to notity police. A third man materialized and blocked his way. The trio quickly disappeared.

The FBI checked on the incident—but the results of this investigation are also more money at our disposal now than at any other time," the older man re-ported. He disclosed that the group of which both men apparently were a part hotel in March with reservations made man was to "relieve" Isaacs and destroy his 1958 model automobile. "We have brought up an unidentified man named Isaacs; they found it odd that "Isaacs" man referred to as Hoffman or Hockwould become mixed up with a "psycho" like Oswald. In their conversation, a

Isaacs acknowledges that he owned a 1938 Ford which was "crushed in a wrecking yard." It is also noteworthy that Kansas City is the headquarters of the national Minutemen organization. an assortment of photographs. "That's the man with the bushy eyebrows," he explained, picking out a mug shot of David Ferrie. exist. A Garrison investigator has lo-cated a Harold Isaacs in Texas, and Recently witness Giesbrecht was shown ment captioned "Harold Isaacs" 'classified." However, a classified docudoes

### [THE POWER PLAY]

range from "Allegation Oswald in Mon-treal, summer 1963," to a teaser like "re Charles Small, a lata Smolitorif (Mexican trip)." Many of these documents now appear relevant to his investigation, but despite the fact that he is a duly consti-tuted law enforcement officer, he cannot gain access to them.

And how do items turn up missing from a citadel of security like the Na-L assassination mosaic, the more desperate the attempt to squelch him becomes. Long ago the "national security" curtain was dropped on over 200 documents in the National ting together all the pieces of the Archives

Dallas the afternoon of the assassina-tion]." Moreover, Garrison observes that there was "an incredible incidence maintained by Larry Craford [his Carounected with the assassination are so listed, including "Jack Ruby's notebook tional Archives? Twenty-six items conwith the assassination

# Individuals Against the Crime of Silence

Peoples Of The World, And To Future Generations: A Declaration To Our Fellow Citizens Of The United States, To The

We are appalled and angered by the conduct of our country in

Vietnam.

- and mutilating its people. In the name of peace, we are creating a desert. In the name of security, we are inviting world conflagration. the greatest military power in the world upon a small agricultural nation, killing, burning N In the name of liberty, we have unleashed the awesome arsenal of
- We believe it to be illegal. We must oppose it. We, the signers of this declaration, believe this war to be immoral
- of them crimes against humanity. Millions more, who were not tried, were still guilty of cuted men for the crime of OBEYING their government, when that government demanded THE CRIME OF SILENCE, We have a commitment to the laws and principles we carefully At Nuremberg, after World War II, we tried, convicted and exe-
- tion to the ideal of human decency among men demand that we speak out. UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. And our own deep democratic traditions and our dedicaforged in the AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, at the NUREMBERG TRIALS, and in the We Therefore wish to declare our names to the office of the Secretary

TEAR ON THE DOTTED LINE AND MAIL—YOUR SIGNATURE DOES HAVE POWER IF YOU USE IT—OVER 60,000 ALREADY HAVE.

war in Vietnam and as a demonstration that the conscience of America is not dead General of the United Nations, both as permanent witness to our opposition to the

Viconovade in the Congressional Record of the 8th Congress of the United States of America, in which alphity leading billion and scalome in the Yvelnom War, came to the conditation that we are violating the following accords: The Charter v. The United Sigtes Constitution.

following are a few among the many who have signed this declaration to be on permanent record To Protest - To Object - To Dissent has long been an American tradition. The

) wish to a of the inc		MADMI BOLDSTEW	DR FRED GOLDSTEIN	BEN GAZZARA	REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN	DR JEROME D. FRANK	W. H. FERRY	JAMES FARMER	REV. WILLIAM H. DU BAY	NOBERT MOAFFEE BROWN	RAY BRADBURY	REV. PHILLIP BENRIGAM, S.B.J.	DANIEL BERRIGAN, S.J.	(FATHER) J. E. BAMBERGER, M.D., OCBO	and the second s
? wish to sign my name to the above Declaration to the United Nations and want to go on record with this Declara of the Individuals Against the Crime of Stance.	AICYOH COOMIS	OIL NOOLNE E. LIEBRA	OR BOSCHT LOC.	DIM ICHT ESO	SARRI BICHARD N LEW	RING LABONED ID	PHIL KERNY	EDWARD M. KEATING	PROF. DONALD KALISH	SANDER I MANAGE ERO	CHARLES N. HUBBEL	TERESSA B HOFFMAN	DR STANLEY HOFFMAN	BRIG GENERAL H. B. HERTER GET	THUY ABRAHAM HEST IN
to the United Nations and want to go	JANICE RULE	CARL REINER	STICHARD M. POWELL	DIGHTOP JAMES A. PINE	DH. LINUS PAULING	AVA RELEN PAULING	Un. MARIN F. CHICKEN	PENNT E NILES	PHUP, HANS J. MORGENTHAU	ENGON MONINGE	OTOTAL BETEN	TOTOR MENTON	THOUGH MAILER	STATE MAGINDON	Pulled by the pulled
o on record with this Declara	A. L. WIRIN, ESQ.	DR. HARVEY WHEELER	DR. MAURICE M. WALBE	ROBERT VAUGHN	DICK VAN DYKE	LOUIS UNTERMETER	BRYNA IVENS UNTERMETER	D. IAN THIERMANN	DR. KORMAN TABACHNICK	PHED M. STERNMETZ, 684.	DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK	PHOT. NOBERT SIMMONS	LORRY SHERMAN	DAVID SCHOENBRUM	The same of the same



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Sign, complete and mail to P.O. Eus depoid, Los Angeles, Calif, Spools The office of the Individuals Against the Crims of Stems will then forward the information to the United Nations.

Stead you also wish to support additional justiliatings and commissations, and if or more in case you be yet beet against your part of the Commissations and the way of the Commissations and the Commi 읗 žφ date

nings and communications, send \$1 or more in cash or by check Silence. This donation entities you to the lapel emblem and the speed our progress. mown. Your signature does have power.

RAMPARTS

of spontaneous combustion" in Washington the day after the assassination
when autopsy notes went up in flames
and a secret CIA report on Oswald's
activities prior to the assassination was
singed beyond recognition in a Thermofax machine.

to no avail that the charges against him were a frame-up. A Dealey Plaza eye-witness who in 1963 told the FBI that the FBI not to tell the DA anything be-cause "District Attorney Garrison was trying to overturn the findings of the two men ran from behind the Grassy Knoll fence was brusquely warned, "If Coupled with the secrecy has been an aggressive drive to intimidate and disman with pertinent information about your damn mouth shut." A New Orleans you didn't see Oswald shoot from that sixth floor window, you'd better keep bribery and convicted, and he protests quently charged by his superiors with wee hours of November 22, and stated his brother agents of carousing into the first Negro Secret Service agent, accused credit witnesses. Abraham Bolden, the Warren Report "Ruby hired me"; Bolden was subsethat while in custody Oswald blurted out, a local Minuteman was admonished by The affair of Jules Rocco Kimble il-

lustrates how governmental pressure has induced potential witnesses to slip from Garrison's graps, A self-avowed member of the Ku Khux Klan who got in trouble over bombings in Baton Rouge, Kimbbe approached the DA's men in the apparent hope of gaining mitigation. He said that on the day after David Ferrie died, he drove a top KK official, Jack Helm, to Ferrie's apartment. Helm came out with a satchel crammed with papers, which he placed in a bank safe deposit box, Kimbbe also divulged that in 1962, he had flown to Montreal with Ferrie on what was purported to be Minutemen business. He promised the DA's investigators that he would garner further information and report back.

He didn't come through. Shortly afterward, he phoned his wife from Atlanta, saying he had met a CIA contact. "They'll never get me back to New Orleans." he vowed. A few days after that, he called from Montreal. For reasons unknown, Kimble backtracked to Tampa, Florida, where he was arrested by ocal police. Interviewed by Garrison's men, he said that he had once worked special assignments for the CIA, and in

verification named his Agency contacts and the box number at the Lafayette Street station they assigned him. He averred he had recontacted the CLA after Walter Sheridan had counseled him to say nothing to the DA and go to Canada. Sheridan, the ex-Bobby Kennedy ramod in the Justice Department's "get Hoffa" crusade, is now with NBC News and has been instrumental in that television network's extraordinary effort to abort the assassination investigation. Sheridan was so overzealous that he was subsequently indicted by a grand jury for public bribery in attempting to induce witnesses to make statements against Carrison. However, the network does not consider this newsworthy.

NBC's special on the Garrison case broadcast last June exemplifies their effort. One of the stars of the program was Dean Andrews Jr, who has since been convicted of perjury by a New Orleans jury in connection with his testimony about the Clay Bertrand phase of the investigation. Andrews lent an ethereal quality to Garrison's probe by saying that he invented the mane Manuel Garcia Gonzales and watched the DA's men frantically look for him as a suspect. There is a Manuel Garcia Gonzales. I have seen the nasty Llama pistol confiscated from him by New Orleans police in September 1966, shortly before Garrison became interested in him, and the immigration file documenting his admission to the United States. Another canard fabricated by NBC was the assertion that the network had located the real Clay Bertrand, and that he was not Clay Shaw. The man's name had been turned over to the Justice Department, the narrator said. The man turned out to be bar owner Eugene Davis, who loudly protested that he had never used the name—and indeed, he did not fit the description—of "Clay Bertrand."

Another medium that has been particularly shrill in its anti-Garrison invective is Newsweek, which at times seems to parrot the administration line as faithfully as Izvestia hawks the Kremin's. The magazine's "expert" on the case is Hugh Aynesworth, who at the time of the assasination was an ace reporter for the Dallas Morning News, which saw fit to print the black-bordered "Wanted for Treason: John F. Kennedy" ad on November 22nd. In his Garrison put-down (May 15, 1967), Aynesworth reported the charges of Al-

vin Beauboeuf, Ferrie's companion on the Texas trip the afternoon of the assassination, that two DA investigators ried to bribe him. What Aynesworth didn't report was that the tape recording of the conversation made by Beauboeuf's attorney had been carefully edited to delete the investigator's emphatic warnings to Beauboeuf that they sought only the truth, and that they sought only the truth. The tandem attack on Garrison, with much of the press copy sounding like it had been ghostwritten by Richard Helms, seems to be the preliminary to legal moves aimed at removing the DA from office or even jailing him.

The behavior of U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark has been most suggestive that such a play is in the works. On March 2, 1967, the day after Clay Shaw was arrested, the attorney general announced that Shaw had been investigated by the FBH in 1963 and "cleared" of any complicity in the assassination. Three months later, after the world had been noisily advised that the prestigious FBH had found Shaw innocent, Clark sheepishly admitted there had been no investigation at all. The retraction hardly caused a ripple in the press. Then on October 14, UPI quoted Clark as telling an audience of law students at the University of Virginia that Garrison "took a perfectly fine man, Clay Shaw, and ruined him just for personal aggrandizement," and that the Department would prosecute the DA. Clark promptly issued a denial, and a Department spouse to a question."

But the most reasonable interpretation is that Clark let slip precisely what was on his mind. The notion is reinforced by the affidavit of Gordon Novel's former wife, Marlene Mancuso, who told Garrison that Richard Townley of NBC's New Orleans affiliate tried to get her to testify against the investigation. "He said they were not merely going to discredit the probe," she swore. "He said Garrison would get a jail sentence."

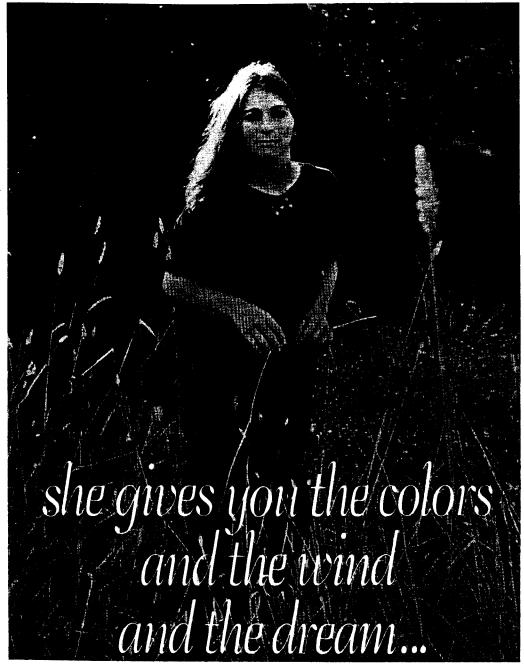
When news of the assassination probe first broke, Garrison declaimed in a burst of rhetoric, "Let justice be done though the heavens fall!" The heavens are still there, but Washington has come crashing down upon him.

CITY

STATE

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