

NEW ESCALATION

# Johnson's bombs rebuff Hanoi bid

By Wilfred Burchett

Guardian staff correspondent

PHNOM, PENH, Cambodia (by cable Feb. 27)

THE NEW SERIES of escalation measures—including "free strike" zones in North Vietnam where U.S. pilots and naval gunners dump bombs and shells at will, shelling deep inland by the 7th Fleet, long-range shelling across the demilitarized zone, the "biggest ever" offensive against what reportedly is the National Liberation Front headquarters area, and the mining of North Vietnam rivers—was Washington's clear reply to Hanoi's peace gesture. But the U.S. reaction was a calculated risk taken by North Vietnamese leaders, and was half expected.

The new developments confirmed the opinion of those who are convinced that President Johnson's talk about seeking peace is fraudulent. And they diminish the influence of those who have been pressing Hanoi for more than a year to "make a gesture that would test Johnson's sincerity." It is difficult for even the greatest skeptics in Hanoi to believe that Washington's thinking can be as primitive as was indicated by Defense Secretary McNamara's statement in defense of the resumption of bombing, an official reaction to Hanoi's offer of talks if the bombing ends. McNamara said the effectiveness of the bombings "is evidence-

ed by their strong campaign, a worldwide campaign, to try to force us stop that bombing."

IF WASHINGTON thinks that Hanoi's offer was made from a position of weakness and therefore a bit more escalation will bring North Vietnam to its knees, it is making an enormous mistake, a mistake which may cost the U.S. tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of American lives. The U.S. does not have a monopoly on escalation capacity.

After Washington's first reaction to the offer of talks, a high Vietnamese official said to me jokingly: "What does Johnson want? That we invite 400,000 Chinese, 40,000 North Koreans and a few thousand Cubans? They'd all love to come. Then we could propose their withdrawal in exchange for an American withdrawal from South Vietnam." This

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A SYMBOL OF THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN SOUTH VIETNAM  
 Vietnamese skull marks entrance to GI's makeshift laundry

WASHINGTON GIVES ITS BLESSING

## The verdict: Status quo for CIA

TOP OFFICIALDOM in Washington has decided to do nothing about the Central Intelligence Agency precisely because it approves of what the CIA has done and is doing. In the wake of the sensational disclosures that the CIA has been funding the activities of a vast assortment of private liberal organizations, the major concern of the Johnson Administration and the Republican leadership, judging from public statements, is to make sure that the CIA avoids future disclosures and unpleasant publicity.

The likelihood of passage of legislation that would harness the spy agency, according to most Washington sources, does not exist. The last time a move was made in Congress to put the agency under greater surveillance—one year ago—it was defeated overwhelmingly. There is

no indication, despite the latest revelations, that either House has changed its mind.

Only a handful of liberal congressmen seemed to disagree with Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), who told a television audience Feb. 26 that "it's fine to talk of free and voluntary groups, but this is a bare-knuckled operation, without kid gloves."

WHAT THE PUBLIC feels about the business is not known. No one consulted the public in the first place and no one appears to be consulting it now. The most likely outcome of the disclosure, first made public by Ramparts magazine, is that some CIA subsidies will be discontinued—at least to those organizations which have been revealed as recipients. The full extent of secret govern-

ment subsidies to purportedly private institutions may never be known.

The entire affair has obviously hurt the U.S. overseas, even if domestic reaction is muffled. The New York Times commented editorially Feb. 27 that "the integrity of all overseas activities by American student, scientific, labor and church organizations has been put under a cloud by the impossibility of determining what the outer limits of CIA penetration are—or, indeed, whether there are any outer limits."

BARRY GOLDWATER demanded to know Feb. 26 why the CIA was "financing socialism" in the U.S. He was alluding to the fact that most of the CIA money went to liberal or right-wing socialist organizations, the purpose, of

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## Report to Readers: Death and intrigue in New Orleans

IN RESPONSE TO A REPORTER's comment that a statement of his was "bizarre," Mark Lane once said that the most bizarre thing about the assassination of President Kennedy was the assassination itself. In this context, the events in New Orleans in the last weeks, as they concern the assassinations of Kennedy and Lee Harvey Oswald, fall into place. And when they are examined, they are found to be not bizarre, but ominous—both because of their content and implications and because of the efforts of the press, federal investigatory agencies and Warren Commission counsel to deride and denigrate them. What emerges from the confusing newspaper stories are the following facts:

- Another mysterious death has been added to the long list of mysterious deaths of persons involved in one way or another in the assassination inquiry.
- There is considerable evidence of the complicity

of exiled anti-Castro Cubans in the murky details of the events surrounding the assassination.

• The newspapers of New Orleans acted in a most irresponsible fashion to hamper the investigation of District Attorney Jim Garrison.

• The government of the United States has barred access to valuable information on a possible New Orleans link to the assassination by classifying as secret facts gathered during the investigation.

• There is an unyielding determination by all those who compiled the Warren Commission Report to defend at all costs the single-murderer theory and to cast doubt on the reliability of anyone who seeks to prove that the murderer or murderers may still be among us.

GARRISON SINCE DECEMBER has been pursuing leads to support his theory that there was a conspiracy involving several persons responsible for the assass-

ination of Kennedy. He was proceeding quietly until the New Orleans States-Item (followed by the Times-Picayune) ran a copyright story Feb. 17 disclosing the secret investigation. Immediately scores of newspapermen descended on New Orleans and Garrison was forced to drop hints as to what was in the works. He predicted arrests and convictions, charged obstruction and non-cooperation by the federal government and stated without qualification that he did not believe that Oswald had "killed anybody" on Nov. 22, 1963, in Dallas.

Among the persons under surveillance in New Orleans was a weird figure named David W. Ferrie, about 45, an adventurer and air pilot who (supposedly to conceal disfigurement as the result of an explosion) wore a red wig glued to his bald head, mascara eyebrows and false eyelashes. He also had an arrest for allegedly molesting young boys and was widely re-

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JAMES ARONSON  
Editor

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CEDRIC BELGRAVE JOHN T. McMANUS: (1904-1961)  
Editor-in-Exile General Manager, 1948-1961

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Letters must be limited to 250 words. If letters are longer, indicate permission to the editor to reduce without altering the sense of the letter.

Reflecting society  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Recently radicals have been criticizing American universities by pointing to the heavy financial backing by the government and the military establishment, and the resulting production of weapons, projects, and theories useful in the prosecution of American foreign policy (for example, Michael Klare's article in the Feb. 4 GUARDIAN, some thinking in the Students for a Democratic Society, etc.). This criticism generally implies that the close relationship between government, business, and the universities is basically a perversion of the normal or traditional goals of the university, and marks a departure from some previous golden age of academia.

I think it would be more realistic to admit that universities have never been and probably should not be isolated, ivory towers, and that the university in any society is basically an institution which reflects that society and tends to preserve and perpetuate its needs and values. Thus the research and teaching current in American universities accurately reflect what is wrong in American policy, domestic as well as foreign. This reflection exists in all fields, non-scientific or scientific, and in fact the atmosphere of the American status quo affects the general style and quality of all life in the university environment.

Presumably medical research would take precedence over weapons research in a better society, and room would also be made within the university and the society for the kinds of radical thinking, investigation, and creating that now go unsupported, if not attacked, by the American Way of Life. The problem, once again, is how to get from here to that better society; combating the involvement (open or covert) of the universities with government and business must be seen within this context.

Like Vogel

Douglass's role recalled  
MEXICO CITY

I read the Negro History issue of the GUARDIAN in Mexico City. I liked the article by Eun-tan on Du Bois and the piece on Malcolm X. But I was maddened to see that a leading American progressive paper did not have a

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REPORT TO READERS

On death in New Orleans

(Continued from Page 1)

ported to be constantly in the company of known Latin homosexuals.

Ferrie had been questioned by the District Attorney's office a few days after the assassination, on his circuitous route back to New Orleans from a most unusual "goose hunting" trip to Texas with two other men undertaken the day Kennedy was murdered. Ferrie had been given a "clean bill" by the FBI, but there are 56 pages of testimony about him in the mass of material produced by the Warren inquiry, 40 of which are barred to the public in the National Archives in Washington.

FERRIE WAS KNOWN to be a rabid anti-Castroite and to have said that Kennedy "ought to be shot" for bungling the Bay of Pigs operation in 1961. He is known to have been associated with important Cubans in the exile movement in New Orleans, among them one man in particular who moved from New Orleans to Dallas before the assassination, and who has been frequently mentioned in connection with the assassination. At various times Ferrie said he had been involved in the Bay of Pigs fiasco and was reported by New Orleans witnesses to have flown several times to Cuba; but he told a Washington Post reporter that he had never been in Cuba.

There are discrepancies in the motel registration forms of Ferrie and his companions in Galveston and Houston on the "goose-hunting" expedition which—if the group did leave New Orleans Nov. 22—took them a good 1,000 miles on a week-end, leaving precious little time for the geese.

There are witnesses who said that Oswald had served under Ferrie in a civil air patrol unit in New Orleans (where Oswald had lived for six months prior to the assassination). Ferrie said he had never met Oswald, did not know who he was; then said Oswald had served in the air patrol, but in another unit. (There were also conflicting police reports that Ferrie and Oswald had been picked up together in 1963.)

ON THE MORNING OF FEB. 23, about 11 o'clock, Ferrie was found dead in his bed. Even in death the contradictions followed. Garrison said that Ferrie had killed himself. The coroner, after reading a paragraph from a letter left by Ferrie which sounded much like a suicide note (he refused to read more than one sentence), said that Ferrie had died of a ruptured blood vessel in his brain—a natural cause. The coroner put the time of death sometime the previous night. When a Washington Post reporter disclosed that he had been with Ferrie from 11 o'clock the previous night to 4 a.m. Feb. 23, the coroner decided that the death could have been after 4 a.m. In any case, he said, it was of no consequence.

In his bachelor room, cluttered beyond belief, were scores of books, articles, charts and diagrams concerning the assassination of Kennedy. Garrison said that the newspaper disclosures and the death of Ferrie had set back his investigation considerably. His comments released another barrage of derisive press comment. But whatever else it accomplished, Ferrie's departure added another name to the growing list of unexplained deaths of persons involved in the assassination investigation. Here is an incomplete list:

James F. Koethe, a staff writer for the Dallas Times Herald, who had visited Jack Ruby's apartment soon after he had killed Oswald—found dead in his apartment the victim of a karate

"place of exile." When I answered, she reciprocated by saying with great simplicity: "And I am Basque. I live in Russia." As if she were just another guest

attack. Killer never found.  
Bill Hunter, former resident of Dallas, a prize-winning reporter for the Long Beach (Calif.) Independent Press Telegram—shot to death in a police station in California. Killer was a local officer. Hunter was with Koethe at the Ruby apartment.

Tom Howard, an attorney for Ruby who accompanied the two reporters to the apartment—dead of a heart attack in Dallas.

Dorothy Kilgallen, a Hearst reporter who broke the Ruby testimony before the Warren Commission and who was critical of the handling of Ruby and other aspects of the investigation—found dead in her bed in New York.

Thomas Henry Killam, husband of a stripper in Ruby's night club, who left Dallas after the murders for Florida. Constantly hounded by "agents," he was found dead—his throat slashed—behind a broken plate-glass window in Pensacola. The verdict—suicide. His brother said: "Did you ever hear of a man committing suicide by jumping through a plate-glass window?" Two days earlier, Killam had told the same brother: "I'm a dead man. I've run as far as I'm going to run."

Jack Ruby himself, dead of a remarkably quickly discovered cancer after he had lain neglected for weeks in his jail cell—just weeks before he was to have faced a new trial and questioning by a new group of attorneys determined to unearth any facts that would throw new light on the assassination of Kennedy and Oswald.

Also dead: A witness shot through the head and another who was reported to have hanged herself in a Dallas jail cell. There are other whose deaths may or not be suspicious, and still others who were threatened after Nov. 22.

FROM ROME, THE GUARDIAN'S correspondent Phyllis Rosner reported on a press conference with Mark Lane, author of the best-selling Rush to Judgment (just published in Italy). Lane told the reporters:

"I hope Garrison is strong because there are powerful and ruthless forces in the U.S. who seek to prevent a full exploration of the facts. . . . What impressed me is that Garrison has initiated his investigations on the basis of his studies of the Warren Report and the investigations seem to flow from evidence in this Report. If the matter is reopened it will be reopened in New Orleans. If Garrison indicts people for complicity in the assassination, it seems unlikely to me that President Johnson could hold off the appointment of a new commission of inquiry until after the 1968 elections."

Lane said he was prepared to go to New Orleans and put in Garrison's hands all the information he had. He supported Garrison's refusal to present his evidence to the Commission: "It is quite justified in not wishing to share his evidence with those who have falsified the facts. Asked about the role of Robert Kennedy in the inquiry, Lane said:

"He is in a delicate political position. If I were to say that the Report (which he says I have not read) were false, it would split the Democratic Party. Robert Kennedy believes that to become President is the most important thing. I think it is more important to find out the truth about the death of his brother."

Lane said he believed that the Warren Commission Report was false, "which is worse than no report at all." To all other questions, he said another must be added: "Why did the Warren Commission issue a false report?"

AROUND THE WORLD, every piece of new information is front-page news because most persons abroad have rejected the Report. In the U.S., more and more persons evidence skepticism about the official findings. The press cannot ignore the new revelations but devotes much of its space to interviews with counsel and friends of the Commission seeking to tear down any new evidence. The Washington Post, whose reporter on the scene was the last man known to see David Ferrie alive, has printed columns of news on New Orleans—a large part of them unashamed sniping and ridicule of District Attorney Garrison.

But the troubled ones continue to search, determined that one day the truth will be revealed.  
—THE GUARDIAN



DAVID FERRIE  
Was he a suicide?

that great face are still there.  
Tana de Gám  
Tana de Gám  
of Like a River of Lions an  
The Yoke and the Star.

How crazy can you get dept.

Twelve former presidents of the National Student Association said yesterday that they had retained "the utmost vigilance and independence of judgment" while receiving as much as \$400,000 a year from the Central Intelligence Agency to operate their international program.

—New York Times, Feb. 26  
One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original slip with each entry. Winner this week: R. N., New York, N.Y.

single mention, in this issue, of Frederick Douglass, whose sesquicentennial is being celebrated this February.

He was born a slave in Maryland, February, 1817. I need not tell you that Douglass was the father of the present protest movement of the Negro people, and this fact is being more clearly recognized. I finished a tour of colleges and universities speaking at meetings honoring Douglass's sesquicentennial, and I would like the readers of the GUARDIAN not to forget this event. Writing in EBONY magazine in 1953, Mary Church Terrell, the leader of the Negro women's movement, called Douglass "the most illustrious Negro leader, and to my mind the greatest of all Americans." Events since 1953 have only added to Douglass's stature.

Philip Foner  
Philip Foner is the author of the biography Frederick Douglass, published by Citadel Press, New York.

A second sub

SILVER SPRINGS, MD.  
I would like to enter a second subscription for the GUARDIAN. Several friends like to read it and I often find that my one copy has disappeared.

Wicky Carpenter  
A good idea. A better one would be to persuade your friends to subscribe and get the paper regularly themselves. Editor.

Meeting La Pasionaria

NEW YORK, N.Y.  
Congratulations to Alvah Bessie for his excellent review of They Shall Not Pass, by Dolores Ibarruri, La Pasionaria. I read the book in its Spanish original published in 1963.

I met La Pasionaria in 1964 during my last trip to Cuba. It was my first day in Havana and her last there. She had been visiting the island as a guest of the revolutionary government. I was introduced to her at a farewell reception in the Casa de las Americas. As Mr. Bessie undoubtedly knows, Northern Spaniards are often amused by an Andalusian accent. Doña Dolores reacted to mine and immediately asked which was my