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PLANNING THE NEXT EXPOSE: In San Francisco office of Ramparts magazine are, from left, Warren Hinckle 3d, editor; Sol Stern, assistant managing editor and author of the article on C.I.A. links with student group, and Robert Scheer, the managing editor.

2-20-67
NYT

Ramparts: Gadfly to the Establishment

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 19 — Coatless, resplendent in pink shirt, red suspenders, deep blue and maroon striped necktie and suntans, Warren Hinckle 3d paced between the rolltop desks.

He lifted the telephone off its stand, a black-painted keg with the gold-painted hoops falling in rings on the floor. He talked to his pet monkey, Henry Luce by name, that was caged in the next room.

He talked, too, about his magazine. "Next month we have Stokely Carmichael on the origins of the Black Power movement," he said. "Then we're going to go out after

the world of the foundations, following up what we found out about the C.I.A. Just decided that today. Got to do it."

Mr. Hinckle, a pudgy six-footer with a flowing Edwardian mane of hair, is 28 years old and the editor of Ramparts, the splashy magazine that won front-page newspaper notice last week when it scooped itself.

It bought advertisements, which soon became news, to tell what its March issue would say about the Central Intelligence Agency's undercover relationship with the National Student Association.

This was the latest in a

series of publicity coups for Ramparts, which was founded in 1962 as a five-times-a-year journal aimed at liberal Catholic intellectuals.

The magazine's conversion into a busy gadfly on the liberal-to-left side of politics began two years ago. Two business consultants (who have since become stockholders) recommended a change in direction. And Mr. Hinckle, whose first connection with Ramparts was as a public relations man, was named editor.

The consultants, Howard Gossage and Dr. Gerald M.

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Ramparts: New Gadfly to the Liberal Establishment

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Feigen, have a company here called Generalists, Inc. "About a year and three quarters ago," Dr. Feigen said the other day, "they came to Howard and me to ask our advice. We told them that they should take an extra-environmental view."

Mr. Hinckle put it this way: "We decided," he said, "that we couldn't find enough liberal Catholics who wanted to read us, so when we went monthly from five issues a year, we wanted to be a magazine of opinions, but printed on good paper, with color and gloss rather than on cheap paper that made it all look cheap."

"We wanted to be kind of Catholic, kind of concerned about civil rights, kind of worried about lots of things."

Founder's Sway Reduced

The rise of Mr. Hinckle appears to have coincided with a decline in the power of the magazine's founder, Edward M. Keating, a wealthy convert to Catholicism.

Mr. Keating remains as publisher and as the largest stockholder. But the 100 per cent ownership that he held in the magazine's early years has been diffused.

Mr. Hinckle owns something less than 10 per cent of the corporation, which he says he acquired as part of his compensation. The Gossage-Feigen combination has been paid in stock, although no one will say how much.

And there are three stock blocks representing \$350,000 in new capital. Of this, Frederick C. Mitchell, now an assistant history professor at the University of Kansas at Lawrence, put up \$200,000 of money he had inherited, while he was a graduate student at Berkeley; Louis Honig, president of a San Francisco advertising agency, \$100,000, and Irving Laucks, an 85-year-old millionaire who is on the staff of the Center for Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, \$50,000.

'Getting Rid of Wars'

The information on stockholding came from sources close to the magazine's board. Ramparts management is willing to identify stockholders but not to disclose the size of their shareholdings.

Neither Mr. Mitchell nor Mr. Honig would discuss their holdings. Mr. Laucks spoke freely.

"My specialty is getting rid of wars," he said. He invested in Ramparts, he said, because it could be effective in helping me in my specialty. It reminds me of Everybody's Magazine. Now there was a muckraker—and it did a lot of good."

They are owners of a virtually bankrupt enterprise. Losses in the last year have been about \$400,000 and, according to sources close to the magazine, Mr. Keating alone might have dropped as much as \$750,000 in an effort to keep it afloat.

According to Mr. Hinckle, Ramparts has lost about \$1.2-million over-all. He said the annual budget runs about \$1-million, of which about \$250,000 goes for printing and at least



Wirephoto of The New York Times

Edward M. Keating, publisher of muckraking magazine.

as much for promotion and advertising.

The size of the latter figure might indicate why interviewers found it to be the consensus among Ramparts stockholders that the magazine would remain afloat and become financially successful.

A Flair for Publicity

The magazine's management has shown a decided flair for calling attention to the product—and they are willing to spend money to do it. The current C.I.A. fuss, for instance, was touched off by full-page advertisement in The New York Times and The Washington Post, which cost Ramparts a total of some \$10,000.

Ramparts is an anti-establishment voice, and it takes considerable savvy to get its name into pages read by the establishment. Part of this can be attributed to its Eastern public relations man, Marc Stone, who is the brother of I. F. Stone, publisher of the liberal I. F. Stone's Weekly, and part to Mr. Hinckle himself.

It was Mr. Hinckle who decided to give away his own story on the C.I.A. to the newspapers "so that we would establish our rights to the story," Mr. Stone said. "We started work on it in mid-December, and soon the word was all around. We were scared it would get out of hand, so we bought the advertisements and I called the foreign editor of the Post and the Washington bureau of The Times to tell them about the ads."

This was the second time that Ramparts has used a C.I.A. expose to win itself widespread public attention. Last April's issue, with a cover that cartooned Vietnam's Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu as a cheery Michigan State cheerleader, recounted charges that a university project in Vietnam from 1955 to 1959 was a cover for a C.I.A. operation.

Circulation Soars

The earlier story couldn't match the current one in weight. Essentially the same charges had been printed elsewhere earlier, but Ramparts packaged them attractively and publicized them aggressively.

The efforts have paid off in

circulation. According to Mr. Hinckle, it has risen in a year from 65,000 to a current total of 150,000—two-thirds on the mailing list, the other 50,000 in newsstand sales. When Ramparts went monthly in October, 1964, its circulation was 2,500.

There are "serious" attempts at fund-raising under way too with three or four wealthy persons, sources said. One of them is a self-made millionaire in real estate. The others inherited wealth and have shown willingness to support the sort of political and economic reporting and commentary in which Ramparts now specializes.

Mr. Hinckle sees the editorial product in these terms:

"We want to take a very critical look at all the major American institutions. This month it's the C.I.A. One of these days it will be the labor movement, which is moribund and lethargic. Then these's the literary establishment. We want to raise the facts to sharpen debate."

He balked at accepting the designation of Ramparts as a voice of the "New Left." The term, he said, refers to an amorphous collection of people with no complete agreement on anything.

"We have no connection with university activists, for example," he said. "Our basic position is that in this country there is a lack of free and stimulating debate that is based on fact."

An Influential Role

One of the influential forces in Ramparts's development in the last two years has been Robert Scheer, 31 years old, who was foreign editor and is now managing editor.

Mr. Hinckle told how he came to hire Mr. Scheer.

"His wife and my wife worked together in the financial district, and we had them over to dinner one night and he told me about this pamphlet he was writing about the war in Vietnam. I told him to write some of it for us and he did. He's been around since."

Mr. Scheer later translated his quarrel with American involvement in Vietnam into action. He ran as an anti-war candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress from the Oakland district represented by Jerry Cohelan, a liberal who had supported the United States position in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Scheer lost, with 45 per cent of the vote. Mr. Keating, the publisher, ran last year, too. He sought the Democratic nomination for Congress from the San Mateo Valley. He lost, too.

In their magazine, the crusade against American involvement in Vietnam is carried on.

First Big Splash

Ramparts scored the first big publicity splash of the new editorial regime—a story that fell in impact somewhere between their Michigan State story of last April and their current revelations about the C.I.A.—when they printed a story last February by a former Special Forces sergeant who had served in Vietnam and who said that he had been taught methods of torture.

Last month the magazine, after saying that it would

"document" the killing or wounding of a million children in Vietnam, printed a series of pictures of terribly burned children who, it said, were the victims of napalm dropped by American airplanes.

Subsequently a group was formed in New York to raise money to bring such children to the United States for treatment. Marc Stone is working for this group.

One of the magazine's directors, Martin Peretz, an instructor in social studies at Harvard University, suggested how, in a sense, the unpopularity of the war could help explain some of the popularity of the magazine.

"The independent liberals are aghast at the drift of American politics," he said. "They look to Ramparts as a muckraker who will give them facts. The 'turn-on' for a guy like me was this war and the fact that nobody gave us much of the real opposition to it. You know, political power is forced to be responsive to the electorate but opinion power is irresponsible. Ramparts will fill that need left vacant by the old-line opinion magazines."

Sometimes 'Smart Alecky'

But Mr. Peretz, who describes himself as "sort of an absentee intellectual for the rest of the board," did not give the magazine entirely plus marks. Sometimes, he said, he found it "smart alecky" and offensive "in that San Francisco 'hippy' sort of way."

The San Franciscans who dominate its operation have big plans for their enterprise.

"We're trying to build a media complex," explained Dr. Feigen, one of the men who helped broaden Ramparts's thrust beyond its Catholic-oriented beginnings. "We have a magazine and a weekly newspaper [Sunday Ramparts, with 15,000 paid circulation] and we want an advertising agency, a book publisher and we've got into a UHF television application."

It is an ambitious outlook for an organization that started in 1962 with a three or four-member staff in a suburb 28 miles outside the city.

Moved to North Beach

A year ago, Ramparts abandoned the suburb of Menlo Park (it was, said Mr. Hinckle, "a ridiculous place to publish a magazine") and moved to its current quarters at 301 Broadway in San Francisco's Bohemian North Beach area, a few blocks from the cafes where topless waitresses work.

The age of the current staff hovers at about 25. Members work in rows of cubicles divided by seven-foot partitions and in an atmosphere that combines something of the professional appearance of a business office and something of the happy haphazardness of a college humor magazine's quarters.

In those cluttered quarters, Mr. Hinckle was very serious as he talked about his magazine's editorial mission.

"We're coming up with factual situations that reflect and buttress our point of view," he said. "This is responsible journalism."

He talked on a bit and then he summed up his plans. "We want," he said, "to do more intellectual muckraking."