

# Ramparts Urges Inquiry Into Colleges' Policy Role

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—A Congressional investigation of the role of American universities in carrying out the nation's foreign policies was urged today by the editors of Ramparts magazine.

Warren J. Hinckle 3d, executive editor and associate publisher of the liberal monthly, said that a formal demand would be made in an editorial in the next issue.

The decision, made at a staff conference on Friday, resulted from reaction to an article published in the April issue, which came out last week. It named Michigan State University as having provided the cover and the support for the Central Intelligence Agency's operations in South Vietnam from 1955 to 1959.

"One of the shocking after-effects of the publication of the Michigan State story," Mr. Hinckle asserted, "was the matter-of-fact acceptance by many people at Michigan State of the existence of the C.I.A. cell."

"If there is a segment of the academic community that believes there is nothing questionable about opening their doors to intelligence agents, then we must ask the question, Just how widespread is this sort of practice? It can be answered effectively only by a large-scale Government investigation."

## School Programs Cited

Mr. Hinckle said that Michigan State's Office of International Programs had 13 major aid projects abroad, "a majority in countries with military dictatorships or governments of the totalitarian right—for instance, Taiwan, Brazil, Turkey, Colombia."

Both Mr. Hinckle and Edward M. Keating, the magazine's editor in chief and publisher, declared there was "not one inaccuracy" in the article. Prof. Ralph Smuckler, acting dean of the Office of International Programs, had charged that the article was marked by distortions and untruths.

The article was written by Stanley K. Sheinbaum, a consulting editor. He coordinated the university's Vietnam project and now is an economist at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara.

The article cited the C.I.A.'s involvement in support of charges that Michigan State and other universities "on the make" were lending scholars to Government agencies in exchange for lucrative assignments and exciting overseas assignments. It charged, among other things, that at least five men given "faculty rank" operated in Saigon in "counter-espionage and counterintelligence" assignments.

"We are prepared to defend the article in a court of law and win the case," Mr. Keating

said. "We have substantive proof. If anyone wants to take us on I suggest they file a bill of particulars."

Mr. Hinckle declared; "We didn't specifically want to expose Michigan State University but to start a nationwide debate on the role of universities in foreign policy and on changing the state of an American university from an academic citadel to a cut-rate service station."

The Vietnam issue has been one of the leading concerns of Ramparts, which was founded by Mr. Keating in 1962 as a Roman Catholic lay magazine to provide a platform for Catholic writers and intellectuals. Although not hesitating to "take on" the church's hierarchy, the magazine has broadened its scope to cover most of the social issues of the day, such as civil rights, at home and abroad. If the Catholic Church is involved, Mr. Keating said, it is because "the church is part of our society."

"We started the Vietnam debate," he continued, "with an interview with Senator Frank Church [Democrat of Idaho]. He and I had been students at Stanford University together, so I phoned him one day and he said he was disturbed over Vietnam. The subsequent interview was picked up by the newspapers with page one display."

There was no mystery about the C.I.A.-Michigan State article, he and Mr. Hinckle insisted. The basis for the story had been lying around for years and Mr. Sheinbaum had been making speeches about it, they said. Robert Scheer, foreign editor of Ramparts, heard of it when he did a pamphlet, "How the U. S. Got Involved in Vietnam," published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institu-

tions about 18 months ago. Ramparts worked intensively on its article for the last five months.

Mr. Keating, Mr. Scheer and Mr. Sheinbaum are now running for the Democratic nomination for Congress in three different California districts.

Mr. Keating said Ramparts had no connection with the Santa Barbara center, two of whose staff members, Mr. Sheinbaum and Paul Jacobs, author of the autobiographical "Is Curly Jewish?", are consulting editors of the magazine. Ramparts, he said, enjoys "a good relationship" with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. Marcus Raskin, the institute's co-director, is on the magazine's board of directors. He used to be an assistant to McGeorge Bundy, a former adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

"We give stress to Vietnam because if there is no rational solution to Vietnam we may have no country left," Mr. Hinckle said.

"We have not called for unilateral withdrawal," Mr. Keating asserted. "We want de-escalation of the war and we want out of Vietnam. The best way to get out is to recognize the Vietcong. But the Administration says no."

"We refuse to take a political position; we are more concerned with moral dimensions," he continued. "In the social spectrum we are to the left, at least we are certainly not conservative and we don't want the status quo."

Mr. Hinckle, a 27-year-old former reporter on The San Francisco Chronicle, wrote in a statement of purpose that Ramparts "represents an extraordinary experiment in modern mass communications: the utilization of the traditional 'slick' methods of commercial magazines by a serious-minded publi-

cation of dissent and social criticism."

Mr. Keating indicated that he was not so much concerned about ideologies subscribed to by staff members as about how these ideologies were used.

"We had a Bircher at one time among our associate editors," he said. "We dropped him when he let his beliefs interfere with his writing. Cuba wouldn't give me permission to go there and North Vietnam denied Scheer permission. They considered us anti-Communist."

Mr. Hinckle reported that Ramparts had been getting 2,000 unsolicited subscriptions a month for the last three or four months. About 90,000 copies of the April issue were printed. Its sales two years ago, he said, were 7,600.

Circulation sights have been set at from 300,000 to 400,000 copies in the next two years, and there are plans to "publish books, a Sunday newspaper in San Francisco in the next year or two and possibly other types of magazines."

Several advertising agents, businessmen, a university professor, a physician and other investors are on the board of directors.

Mr. Keating financed the start of the magazine. New money, all of which, a spokesman said, was from individuals, was brought in last fall.

Mr. Keating declined to identify the investors. Two months ago he said that about \$200,000 more was needed to put Ramparts on a "break even" basis. Now, with circulation sights raised, the need has been put at \$400,000.

Mr. Hinckle said present capitalization was \$1,142,000, of which "the majority is represented by stock ownership at \$10 a share; approximately one-third of the sum is represented by loans to the corporation."