

# Soviet Details 'Conspiracy' Behind Pentagon Papers

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Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, July 14—Soviet readers, still curious about how it was possible for several American newspapers to publish secret Pentagon papers on Vietnam without the Government's approval, were today given a conspiratorial explanation that reflects some current Soviet thinking about America.

Literaturnaya Gazeta devoted almost an entire page to a detailed answer to the question: "Why did The New York Times begin to talk?" It accompanied the article with an illustrated map of the United States linking some newspapers to major monopolies that it said controlled the country.

The thesis of the article was that the Pentagon documents were published as the result of a split within the ruling American monopolies, which the literary newspaper said, were united at the time the war began but which are now at each other's throats. This thesis was first expressed in general terms by Pravda, the Communist party newspaper, two weeks ago, and has been repeated in other publications since then.

### Three Major Sectors

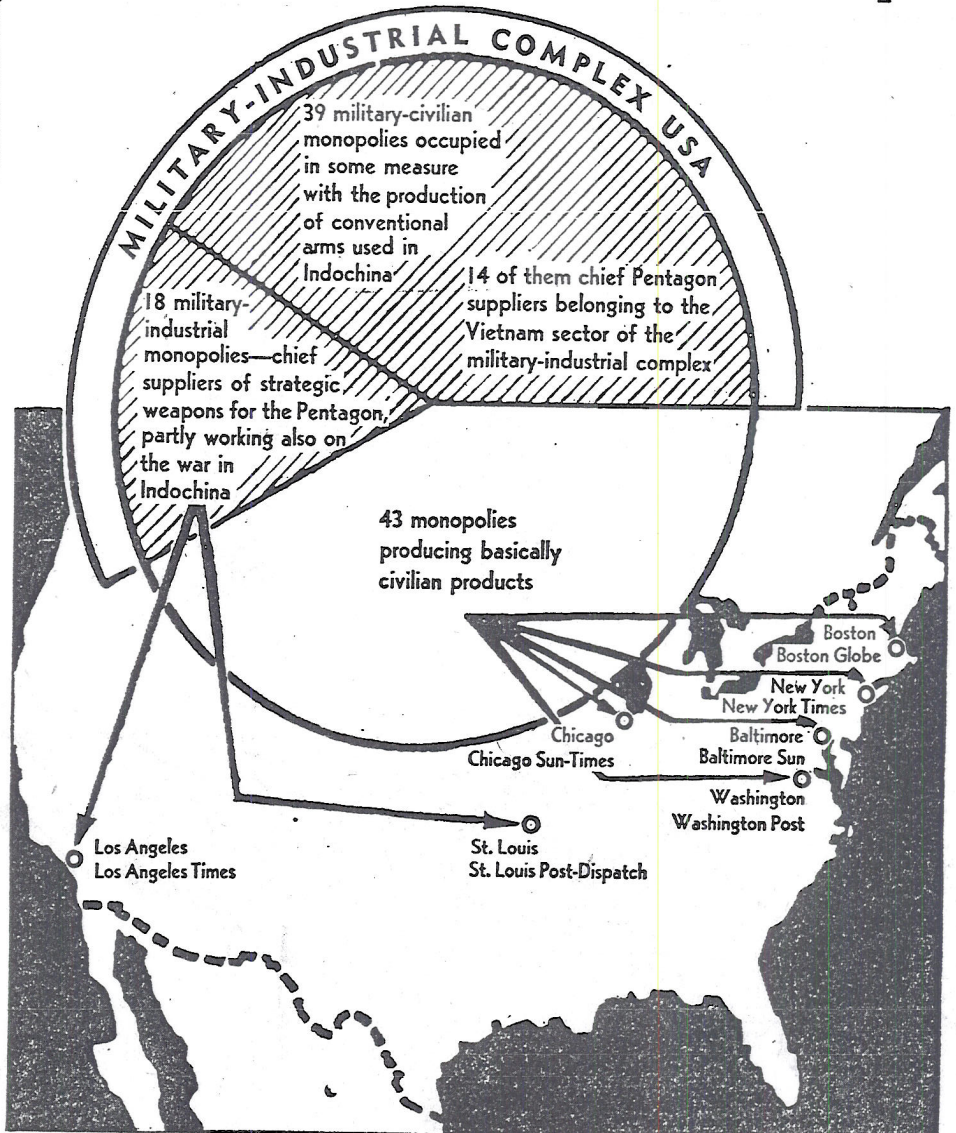
But Literaturnaya Gazeta tried to detail which monopolies were lined up on which side and how they were linked to the press. Many of the points made in the article would appear absurd to an American, but they represent, in a sense, sophisticated Soviet Marxist thinking on how America is ruled. Similar articles are printed regularly in scholarly Soviet journals dealing with Western countries.

The article contended that the United States could be divided into three main economic sectors—the military-industrial, based in the Southwest, the military-civilian, based in the Northeast, and the civilian, in the Northeast and Middle West. Within the military-industrial and military-civilian sectors, the paper said, there

was formed a special "Vietnam sector" that reaped big profits.

But now, the paper continued, the civilian sector monopolists and the non-Vietnam sector military monopolists have become alarmed at falling profits and smaller Government allocations, and have "lost interest" in the Vietnam war.

"Only by taking into account these contradictions," Literaturnaya Gazeta said, "can one understand the important economic, political and social



Above diagram from Literaturnaya Gazeta is reproduced with text in English translation

phenomena in the United States and in particular those which led to and were connected with the publication of the secret documents of the Pentagon by such a representative of the American monopolies as the publisher and owner of The New York Times, Arthur Sulzberger."

"The action by Sulzberger in no way can be regarded as unprecedented or as having anything to do with freedom of the press," it added.

#### Why It Was Done

He decided to publish the documents, Literaturnaya Gazeta contended, because The Times—as well as such other papers as The Washington Post, The Boston Globe, The Baltimore Sun and The Chicago Sun-Times—had "very close relations with the very large old monopolies not involved in the Vietnam sector of the economy." All these papers except The Sun published original articles based on the Pentagon study.

These papers were linked in-

stead to the monopolies of the civilian sector, such as General Motors, the Ford Motor Company, Standard Oil and the Chrysler Corporation, "which are interested mainly in foreign economic expansion, in the penetration of the economies of developed and developing countries and the development of the civilian production in the United States."

Soviet writers often describe General Motors as part of the military-industrial complex, but Literaturnaya Gazeta said that this was not accurate since General Motors devotes only 2 per cent of its output to military purposes.

The Los Angeles Times and The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which also published some articles based on the documents, were linked to the strategic arms sector of the military-industrial sector, which had been chafing because of a loss in allocations due to Vietnam priorities, the article said.

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