

M'NAMARA'S GLOOM ON WAR REPORTED

Paper Says Pentagon Study Shows Him Disappointed Over Pacification

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The New York Times is restrained by Federal court order from publishing further articles in its Vietnam series. These dispatches are based on articles in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch and The Chicago Sun-Times and were distributed by The Associated Press to all its newspaper, radio and television subscribers.

ST. LOUIS, June 25 (AP)—The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said today that former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara labeled the pacification program in South Vietnam "a bad disappointment" in 1966 and told President Johnson he saw "no reasonable way to bring the war to an end soon."

The newspaper, quoting from what it said were secret Pentagon documents, said Mr. McNamara told President Johnson in a memorandum dated Oct. 14, 1966, "Pacification has, if anything, gone backward." The private memorandum was said to have been written about 18 months after the pacification program got under way.

"As compared with two or four years ago, enemy full-time regional forces and part-time guerrilla forces are larger; attacks, terrorism and sabotage have increased in scope and intensity; more railroads are closed and highways cut; the rice crop expected to to market is smaller; we control little, if any, more of the population," the former defense chief was reported to have said.

The Post-Dispatch's Washing-
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Study Is Said to Depict Gloom Of McNamara on Pacification

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ton bureau said Mr. McNamara gave the President his bleak assessment in private at a time when both men were speaking confidently in public of progress being made in the American military escalation that had begun in the spring of 1965.

Mr. McNamara also reportedly told the President that the first year and a half of the bombing of North Vietnam had failed to stem infiltration or crack Hanoi's morale and he proposed leveling off the troop build-up at 470,000.

"This important war must be fought and won by the Vietnamese themselves," The Post-Dispatch quoted Mr. McNamara as having said in the memorandum. "We have known this from the beginning. But the discouraging truth is that, as was the case in 1961 and 1963 and 1965, we have not found the formula, the catalyst for training and inspiring them into effective action."

The Post-Dispatch said the memorandum was quoted in full in parts of a secret Pentagon history of United States involvement in Vietnam, which was obtained by the newspaper's Washington bureau.

The Post-Dispatch said that while other parts of the history quoted by other newspapers in the last two weeks have been described as top secret, the several hundred facsimile copies it received carried no security classification.

"Each Xeroxed page had a blank space at the bottom, however, where a strip of paper had been laid over the place where a security label usually is stamped," The Post-Dispatch said.

Mr. McNamara's memorandum was quoted as having said, "He [the enemy] apparently has adjusted to our stopping his drive for military victory and has adopted a strategy of keeping us busy and waiting us out."

"The infiltration routes would seem to be one-way trails to death for the North Vietnamese," The Post-Dispatch quoted Mr. McNamara as saying. "Yet, there is no sign of an impending break in enemy morale and it appears that he can more than replace his losses by infiltration from North Vietnam and recruitment in South Vietnam."

The Post-Dispatch said the narrative history by unidentified Pentagon analysts noted that Mr. McNamara's memorandum "was a clear no" to military leaders pushing for expanded bombing and major ground-force increases.

"But it was a negative with a difference," The Post-Dispatch quoted the history as saying.

The Post-Dispatch said the options offered in Mr. McNamara's memorandum included installation of a counterinfiltration barrier across the northern part of South Vietnam and intensified pacification with increased attention to physical security, to be provided by having military forces remain in an area after clearing it of enemy troops.

"I believe we should consider terminating bombing in all of North Vietnam, or at least in

the northeast zones, for an indefinite period in connection with covert moves toward peace," The Post-Dispatch quoted Mr. McNamara as having said.

The newspaper said the Defense Secretary proposed a bombing halt "without fanfare, conditions or avowals" and then to "see what develops, retaining freedom to resume the bombing if nothing useful was forthcoming."

In a subsequent memorandum by Mr. McNamara, drafted on Nov. 17, 1966, for the President, the defense chief took a somewhat more optimistic view of the results of both the military build-up and the bombing of North Vietnam, The Post Dispatch said, but he once again painted a gloomy picture of the pacification program, aimed at securing the South Vietnamese countryside from enemy control.

He reportedly gave figures from a 14-month period in 1965 and 1966 that indicated the South Vietnamese had gained control of areas containing one and a half million people, an increase of 8 per cent in the total population. But, he reportedly said in the November memorandum, those figures were based on available reports of questionable validity.

"It is highly likely that these figures are grossly optimistic," The Post-Dispatch quoted Mr. McNamara as saying.

"It should be noted that about 30 per cent of the reported gains by the South Vietnamese Government probably resulted from movement of refugees into cities and towns," he reportedly said in the memorandum.

Reports in Chicago Paper

CHICAGO, June 25 (AP)—The Chicago Sun-Times reported today that a secret policy to eliminate Communist control in Hanoi and reunite North Vietnam and South Vietnam under a pro-United States government was established in 1958 by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In a copyright story in its early Friday editions The Sun-Times said a National Security Council document had shown that Mr. Eisenhower directed the Government to work toward the "weakening of the Communists of North and South Vietnam in order to bring about the eventual peaceful reunification of a free and independent Vietnam under anti-Communist leadership."

The document, dated April 2, 1958, showed that President Eisenhower's decision came at a time when the Central Intelligence Agency was advising him that the North Vietnamese leader, Ho Chi Minh, "as a symbol of Vietnamese nationalism," had overwhelming popular support in both halves of the country, the newspaper said.

The Sun-Times said its article was based, in part, on a secret Pentagon study. Parts of that study have been published in The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Boston Globe, the 11 Knight newspapers and The Los Angeles Times.