

Columnist's Action

New Challenge To Secrecy-- U.S.-India Papers

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Washington

Syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, in a major challenge to the secrecy of American policy in the Indo-Pakistani war, last night gave the Washington Post the full texts of three secret documents describing meetings of the National Security Council's Washington Special Action Group.

The documents indicate that Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's national security adviser, instructed government agencies to take a harder line with India in public statements and private actions during last month's war on the Indian subcontinent.

The release by Anderson came after Kissinger charged Monday at the western White House in San Clemente that the columnist, in stories based on the documents, had taken "out of context" remarks indicating that the administration was against India.

INVITATION

Anderson said he would make the documents available to other members of the press today and invited Senator J. William Fulbright (Dem-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to use them as the basis for an investigation of U.S. policy in south Asia.

Fulbright, out of Washington during the congressional recess, could not be reached for comment on Anderson's invitation.

The Justice Department acknowledged yesterday that the FBI is investigating the

The three secret documents on Pages 10, 11 and 12.

nature of the security leak which put dozens of such documents in the columnist's hands.

Pentagon sources said a similar investigation was under way by Defense Department security agents. They said the scope of the investigation will be narrow because "very few people" have access to minutes of Washington Special Action Group meetings.

INTERVIEWS

Anderson, in an interview with the Washington Post, said he also has copies of cables from the U.S. ambassadors to India and Pakistan, as well as numerous other documents bearing on American policy.

He showed this reporter a briefcase with approximately 20 file folders, each containing some of the documents.

Anderson declined to name his sources, but suggested that they hold high positions within the Nixon administration.

"If the sources were identi-

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fied," he said, "it would embarrass the administration more than it would me. It would make a very funny story."

CONTROVERSY

Since the controversy last year over release of the Pentagon papers, a top-secret history of American policy in Vietnam, Anderson said his sources have become more, rather than less, willing to make public classified material.

Many of the statements in the three documents made available last night have already appeared in Anderson's column, which is distributed to 700 newspapers.

But the full texts provided substantially more details of the back-and-forth discussion at the Washington Special Action Group meetings among representatives of the White House, State and Defense Departments, Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Council, Joint Chiefs of Staff and Agency for International Development.

MEETINGS

The documents covered meetings held on December 3, 4 and 6.

The first of the three meetings was held December 3, the opening day of full-scale hostilities between India and Pakistan. That was the day that Pakistani aircraft attacked Indian airfields on the western border. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi immediately proclaimed her country to be on a "war footing."

By the second meeting, December 4, Indian troops were pouring into East Pakistan against retreating Pakistani forces. The following day, Mrs. Gandhi announced India's recognition of Bangladesh as a sovereign country.

Anderson gave the Post typewritten copies of photocopies of the documents in his possession.

Anderson's copies, which were inspected by a representative of the Post, show that the original documents were on the stationery of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and of the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, G. Warren Nutter.

Each page was stamped "secret sensitive" at both top and bottom, and the first page of each document carried an indication of how long it would remain classified under the government's security regulations.

affairs) stated that the United States cannot permit a third country to transfer arms which we have provided them when we, ourselves, do not authorize sale direct to the ultimate recipient, such as Pakistan."

• "Mr. (Joseph) Sisco (assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs) suggested that what we are really interested in are what supplies and equipment could be made available, and the modes of delivery of this equipment. He stated that from a political point of view our efforts would have to be directed at keeping the Indians from 'extinguishing' West Pakistan."

Another document prepared by Kay, concerning the December 4 meeting, included this item:

"Dr. Kissinger said that whoever was putting out background information relative to the current situation is provoking presidential wrath. The President is under the 'illusion' that he is giving instructions; not that he is merely being kept apprised of affairs as they progress. Dr. Kissinger asked that this be kept in mind."

Anderson said he intended his columns on the Indo-Pakistani situation, and now the release of the documents, as an opportunity for a "showdown" on the government security classification system.

He said he had been "timid" at first about quoting from the documents, but later quoted more extensively when he became convinced of the "colossal blunders" in American policy.

His sources initially provided only a few documents, Anderson said, but he eventually "talked them into compiling for me what I considered to be a complete set. I wanted all of them so I could do my own selection."

Invoking his own view of what might harm national security, he said he would not release the exact texts of cables, "just in case they would be useful to cryptographers."

STATEMENTS

The document describing the December 6 meeting, signed by Navy Captain Howard N. Kay of the office of the Joint Chiefs, included these significant statements:

• "Dr. Kissinger also directed that henceforth we show a certain coolness to the Indians; the Indian ambassador is not to be treated at too high a level."

• "Dr. Kissinger then asked whether we have the right to authorize Jordan or Saudi Arabia to transfer military equipment to Pakistan. Mr. (Christopher) Van Hollen (deputy assistant secretary of state for South Asian

The columnist said no government agents had yet contacted him about the documents, but that his sources told of investigations proceeding at the State Department, Defense Department and the White House, allegedly under the coordination of Robert C. Mardian, assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Internal Security division.

"If Mardian's investigating me," said Anderson, who took over the "Washington Merry - Go - Round" column from the late Drew Pearson, "I'm going to investigate him."

"I have an idea I'll know more about him that he knows about me. He can take his to a grand jury, and I'll take mine to the public."

A Justice Department spokesman said, however, that "assistant attorney generals don't coordinate investigations." If any prosecution were initiated, he added, that might fall into "Mardian's bailiwick."

The spokesman stressed that he "cannot comment on a matter under investigation."

State Department officials denied that any investigation was under way there. Other State Department sources said that no one there had yet been required to take lie detector tests, as in some previous security investigations.

There was no comment from the White House.