

Halted Widening War, Sought Negotiated Settlement

Tet Destroyed Johnson's Illusion Of 'Victory'

BY E. W. KENWORTHY
New York Times News Service
NEW YORK — Amid the shock and turmoil of the Tet offensive in February, 1968, the Pentagon study of the Vietnam war discloses, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Gen. William C. Westmoreland sought to force President Lyndon Johnson a long way toward national mobilization in an effort to win victory in Vietnam.
But, the study shows, this pressure by the joint chiefs and

the commanding general in the field set off a last, bitter policy debate in the administration that culminated in the opposite of the military's desires.
For the first time, the study explains, President Johnson squarely faced the prospect that he had sought adamantly to avoid during three years of steadily widening war: "A full-scale call-up of reserves" and "putting the country economically on a semiwar footing." And, the Pentagon study goes on,

Johnson confronted this prospect "at a time of great domestic dissent, dissatisfaction and disillusionment about both the purposes and the conduct of the war."
Finally the President relieved General Westmoreland of his command in late February, and on March 31, 1968, exactly two months after the opening blows of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese offensive at Tet, Johnson announced his decision to limit the American operation

Eighth in a series of nine articles
in Vietnam. He cut back the bombing of North Vietnam to the 20th parallel and sent to South Vietnam a token troop increase: one-tenth of the 206,000 men his generals had requested to achieve "victory."
HAVING announced these steps as a hopeful prelude to a negotiated settlement of the

war, the President, citing a wish to ease the "paritisan division" racking the country, would not seek re-election.
This period of the turnaround in policy as a result of the Tet offensive forms another phase of the Pentagon study and of its presentation by the New York Times. Previous articles have covered the growth of the Amer-

ican air and ground combat roles under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations through late 1967, when high civilian officials began to press for reduced bombing.
The Pentagon study, prepared by 30 to 40 officials and analysts at the Defense Department in 1967-68, was ordered by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara to explore the history of United States involvement in Indochina. The final report consisted of 3,000 pages of analysis and 4,000 pages of supporting documents — a total of 2.5 million words.
The enemy offensive during Tet, the Lunar new year, began on Jan. 31 with an attack on the United States Embassy in Saigon; for a day enemy guerrillas held the embassy compound. The attacks spread rapidly to almost all the cities and major towns of South Vietnam. Hue, the ancient capital of central

(See LBJ: A-4, Col. 1)

Americans Agree With Court Ruling On War Archives

PRINCETON, N.J. — Prior to the Supreme Court's recent ruling on the publication of the Pentagon papers, the public had reached the same judgment. In a survey completed last Monday, 58 per cent of those familiar with the case said the newspapers did the right thing in publishing the articles, while 30 per cent said they did the wrong thing.

Few issues of recent times have provoked such deeply-felt opinions, as evidenced by comments in the survey.

"The people have the right to know" — this is the theme of most comments given by those who think the newspapers did the right thing in publishing the Pentagon papers. A 40-year-old black mechanic from New York City exclaimed

"People should know what the hell is going on in this country. Why do things always have to be so hush-hush. The Pentagon's not worried about national security — they're afraid of being embarrassed."

A 51-YEAR-OLD machinist from Norfolk, Va. remarked "We are a democracy and I like to believe that the government is leveling with us." And this from a retired 66-year-old tool-and-die maker from Evansville, Ind.: "If the newspapers don't publish the true facts, how are we going to know? I think the public is being kept in the dark too much."

Those in the survey who feel the newspapers were wrong to publish the articles most frequently argue that secret information should not be divulged. Here is what a 58-year-old corn farmer from Iowa said "This is

Gallup Poll

top secret material. The government hasn't changed that classification and it certainly isn't up to the newspapers to change it on their own."

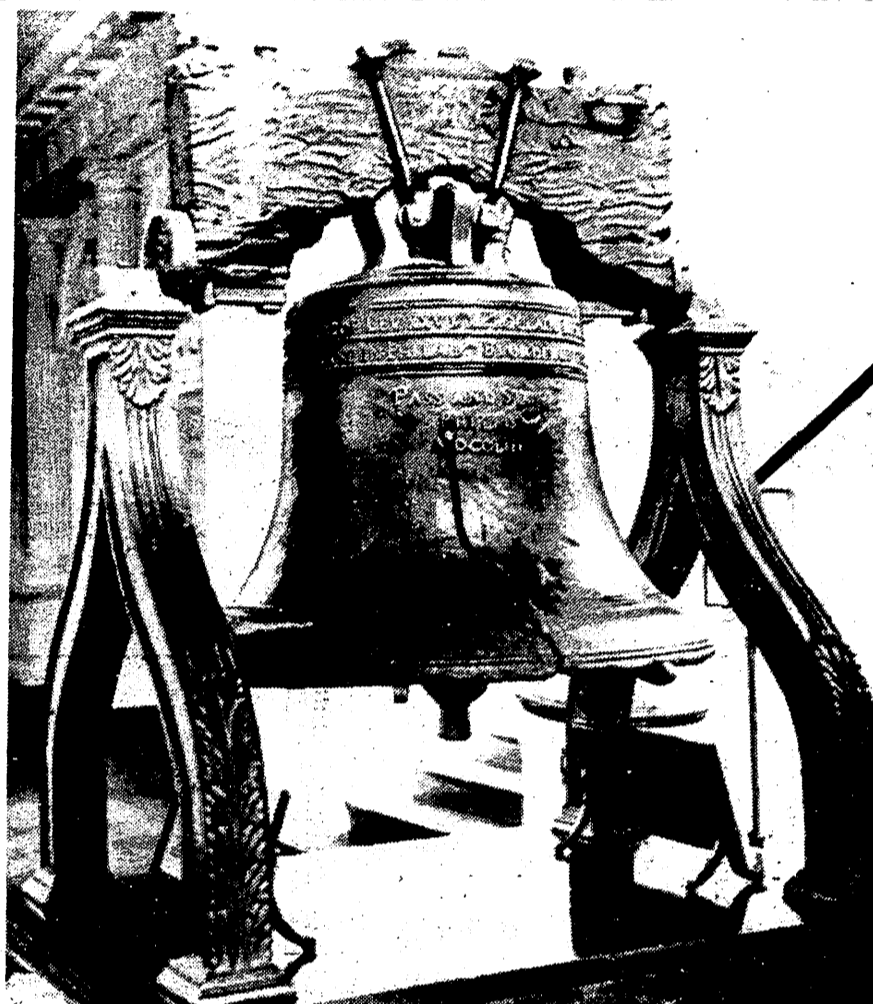
A 59-year old banker from Virginia was irate "Those papers were stolen. It's a case of treason pure and simple and I think Ellsberg ought to be thrown in jail."

Others in the survey think the unauthorized publication of the Pentagon papers will hurt our image abroad. A 64-year-old gas station manager from Colorado had this to say: "Other nations must be laughing at us. We splash top-secret international documents across the front page as if they were comic strips."

THE NATURE of the case — and the legalities involved — have limited the proportion who have followed the debate. In fact, 45 per cent at the time the survey was conducted admitted that they had not heard or read about the Pentagon papers.

The division of opinion among persons following the debate closely parallels the vote in the Supreme Court. By a vote of 6 to 3, the Supreme Court ruled on June 30 that "The New York Times and The Washington Post were free to publish articles based on a secret Pentagon study of Vietnam policy because the Government had not proved that its reasons for wanting the articles stopped outweighed the

(See Public: A-2, Col. 3)



AP Photo

'Proclaim Liberty Unto All'

The Liberty Bell, displayed in Philadelphia's Independence Hall, achieved its fame as a symbol of American freedom slowly. It was not rung to celebrate American Independence on July 4, 1776, but four days later along with other bells in the city. And, it was not known as the Liberty Bell until abolitionists started

using it as a symbol in 1839. It cracked while tolling for the funeral of John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States. The inscription reads: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereto." See Holiday Stories On A-2, B-1.

Taylor Claims Pentagon Study Damages Nation

WASHINGTON (AP) — Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor said Sunday publication of the Pentagon papers has damaged the nation because the material was disclosed "in an atmosphere that suggests there was conspiracy by governmental officials to deceive the nation . . ."

But Sen. Mike Gravel, D-Alaska, who used his subcommittee as a means of making portions of the top-secret papers public, said what the public thinks of its leaders is not the issue.

Taylor was interviewed on the ABC television-radio program "Issues and Answers" and Gravel appeared on the CBS program "Face the Nation."

Taylor, former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, former ambassador to Vietnam and military advisor to Presidents Johnson and Kennedy, said the papers' release "damages us, it hurts us internally."

HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL
"These are highly controversial issues . . . Certainly there's been a great deal of damage, potential damage, in our relations with other nations and, as I mentioned before, damage to ourselves."

Taylor said there was no conspiracy to deceive the public but added "The over-all impression, I fear, is that . . . the government was caught doing things that nobody ever knew about."

"But this is old stuff. This is nothing but the language going on in the huddle between the players. What was important was the play, the game, the outcome."

"Here we're seeing nothing but what the coaches talked about in the dressing room."

Taylor conceded the government sometimes does overdo its classification of documents. But he said declassification "can't be done by the roughshod way that it's being done now, of the media trying to ride their way

(See Taylor: A-13, Col. 1)



Gen. Taylor Study Harms U.S.



Sen. Gravel Disagrees

Significant Talks

Kissinger, Thieu Explore Pullout

SAIGON (AP) — Presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger and President Nguyen Van Thieu mapped out an allied reply to the new Communist peace proposal Sunday and explored ways of speeding U.S. troop withdrawals from Vietnam, informed sources reported.

The 2½-hour strategy meeting at Independence Palace was one of the most significant of the Indochina war, the informants said. Although details of the session were kept secret, aides to Kissinger described the conference as "fruitful."

The importance of the meeting was underscored by its length. The sources said they could not recall Thieu spending as much time with any other visiting dignitary.

The government-operated national television network, in a newscast Sunday night, said Thieu and Kissinger discussed three main subjects: the peace negotiations, the war situation in Vietnam and South Vietnam's national economy. It gave no details.

WAR FADES

The war faded for the time being, with only a series of patrol skirmishes reported, none of them significant.

Just the same, U.S. B52 bombers kept the pressure on North Vietnamese forces massed in the northern quarter of South Vietnam below the demilitarized zone and along the Laotian border.

VA Faces Distressing GI Drug Problem

'Can You Cope?' 'I Don't Know'

BY KELSO GILLENWATER
Daily News Staff Writer

SALISBURY — It was Big Charles' last day in the hospital and he was telling his buddies in group therapy just how it was going to be for him on the outside.

"I'm going to Chicago soon as I can. I can start all over up there. They won't know how I was down here. I won't be 'Smithville' Charles any more, I'll be Chicago Charles."

His psychologist, Dr. Robert Bragg, was quick to point out to this tall, intense black man that the remedy for emotional prob-

Second In A Series.

lems can be found only "between your ears," — not in a different town. Nevertheless, Bragg and the other Veteran's Administration doctors and social workers were delighted with Charles' state of mind.

Charles, whose home is not "Smithville" but is a North Carolina border town, left the VA Hospital here Friday with his head held high, his hand steady and with an optimistic grin on his face. Nobody, he had said earnestly the day before, was

going to mess him over again. No, not even his mother. Nobody.

CHARLES IS PART of a distressing new trend in this VA facility where psychological disorders are a specialty. His arrival here a month ago coincided with that of several other young veterans with serious narcotics problems. Six months ago such cases were unheard of here. Today one in four of the Vietnam-era veterans here has a

(See VA: A-2, Col. 4)



Era Veteran Back Home

Drugs, Trauma, Injuries: Just 3 Of Vets' Problems

BY KELSO GILLENWATER AND MARK WHICKER
Daily News Staff Writers

The Vietnam veteran is bringing home three major types of problems, each of which promises to be magnified as troop withdrawals accelerate.

Many of the young men are seriously disabled. Many others have serious drug problems they will need help terminating. Others have suffered severe psychological and emotional problems.

The physical injuries are being handled as effectively today as in the past by the system of Veterans Administration hospitals across the country. There are four of these hospitals in North Carolina.

The other two areas, however, pose bigger problems because the forms they are assuming are

new. Old methods of treatment are no longer adequate.

IT HAS BEEN well known for some time that drug use is widespread among American troops in Vietnam. But like a pebble thrown into the middle of a pond sending off tiny waves toward the bank, the impact of that drug use is only now beginning to be felt.

Another article accompanying this one tells of the dramatic increase in VA drug cases in Salisbury just in the past four weeks. Six months ago such cases were unheard of.

On instructions from the White House, the VA has launched a plan calling for the opening of 27 new drug treatment centers across the country. The nearest one will be Salem, Va.

This should help to ease the burden now borne by existing VA facilities and by private programs that surfaced here and

elsewhere where government agencies had failed to step in.

IT IS APPARENT that on many levels of government, the once common refusals of public figures to acknowledge that serious drug problems exist among veterans are not so common anymore. You still hear it now and again, though.

One employment official, for instance, told the Daily News' Bonnie Jordan that the drug problems have been overdramatized. He said in his experience with many Vietnam returnees he has not seen "one concrete case of a veteran with a drug problem."

Although as far back as two years ago a Greensboro judge complained that the military was sending back overly violent veterans who had not been adequately "do-briefed," there still

(See Vietnam: A-2, Col. 7)



Staff Photo by Larry Tucker

Ready To Leave Hospital

Big Charles stands in his hot, sparsely-furnished room and looks out across the lawn of the VA hospital. Two months after his last heroin injection and 30 days into a new period of self-confidence, Charles feels that this time he's going to make it on the outside.

Nixon To End Vietnamization Nov. 1 - Javits

NEW YORK — Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., said Sunday he believes President Nixon will announce Nov. 1 "that Vietnamization has been completed and that we are getting out just as rapidly as our troops and material can be redeployed."

Javits, interviewed on television, added that he thought this would mean that the United States would be disengaged from Vietnam "some time well around the middle of 1972."

He said also that he still feels the United States ought to announce a specific withdrawal date, "especially . . . (because of) . . . the renewed declaration of the North Vietnamese that as soon as we announce a date of withdrawal, they'll begin to release the prisoners of war."

Asked to estimate whether the North Vietnamese offer was sincere, the senator replied: "Well, we can never find out unless we try it . . ."

He said he had arrived at the November 1 date because the President "has said that he will make a definitive announcement on that date, and because of what he called "the whole confluence of events."

This Morning

Mostly Clear

Expected High Today, 85
TEMPERATURES SUNDAY
High 81, Low 58
Other Data Page A-2

Today's Chuckle

The most welcome surprise a man can give his wife on their wedding anniversary is to remember it.



SOMETIMES I FEEL ALL THE GOOD-T-V SHOWS ARE ON WHILE I'M SLEEPING!

ROBBERY — Two masked gunmen make off with over \$35,000 in cash and valuables in Eden, B-1.

SUNDAY VICTORS — Bobby Isaac wins Daytona's Fire-cracker 400 and Lee Trevino defeats Art Wall in a sudden-death playoff for the Canadian Open title, B-2.

SURRENDER — Pair of hijackers surrender quietly after holding jet liner for two days, A-2.

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