

On Today's Editorial Page
What The Welfare Bill Won't Do:
Editorial
Abetting Pakistan's Savagery:
Editorial

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

FINAL
Stock Market Down
Closing Prices Pages 28 and 38

VOL. 93, NO. 174

© 1971, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 1971

10c Home Delivery
Outside St. Louis, 15c

'NAMARA: PACIFICATION A FAILURE
Despaired In '66 Of Quick Victory, Papers Show

By the Washington Bureau
of the Post-Dispatch
WASHINGTON, June 25 — Secret
Pentagon documents obtained by the
Post-Dispatch show that Secretary of
Defense Robert S. McNamara was calling
the pacification program "a bad disappoin-
ment" a year and a half after the
massive U.S. buildup in Vietnam began.
" Pacification has it anything more
backwards," he said in a memorandum
to President Lyndon B. Johnson.
Fast signs of development of national
political institutions and a legitimate
civil government had not filtered down
to the provinces level or below, he wrote.
" As compared with two, or four, years
ago, enemy full-time regional forces and
part-time guerrilla forces are larger, at-
tacks, terrorism and sabotage have in-
creased in scope and intensity, more
routings are closed and highways cut;
the rice crop expected to come to harvest
is smaller; we control little, if any-
thing, of the population in the VC (Viet
Cong) infrastructure throves in most of
the country, continuing to give the enemy
his enormous intelligence advantage;
full security zones nowhere (not even
in a so-called U.S. marine) lines and in
Saigon), in the countryside, the enemy
has almost completely control the night";
he went on.
McNamara gave this bleak judgment in
private at a time when he and President
Johnson were speaking confidently in
more of progress being made in the

American military escalation that had
been in the spring of 1965.
" I see no reasonable way to bring the
war to an end soon," McNamara wrote.
He told Johnson also that the first
year and a half of the bombing of
North Vietnam had failed to even inflame
or to crack Hanoi's morale.
He proposed leveling off the troop
buildup at 475,000 and holding the bomb-
ing of the north at its current level. The
Joint Chiefs of Staff disagreed strongly on
both points, the documents showed.
" In essence, we find ourselves — from
the point of view of the important war
for the completion of the people — in
better, and if anything, worse off," Mc-
Namara wrote, comparing the situation
with that of 12 months earlier.
" This important war must be fought
and won by the Vietnamese themselves.
We have known this from the beginning,
but the discouraging truth is that we are
in the case in 1965 and 1966 and 1967, we
have not found a formula that indicates
for training and inspiring them into effective
action."
The memorandum was quoted in full in

parts of a Pentagon history of the United
States involvement in Vietnam obtained
by the Post-Dispatch, a 110-page book
parts quoted by other newspapers in the
last two weeks have been described as
top secret, the several hundred Xeroxed
pages obtained by the Post-Dispatch bore
no security classification.
Each Xeroxed page had a blank space
at the bottom, however, where a copy-
right had been laid over the place where
a security label usually is stamped.
Elaborating on his somber appraisal,
McNamara told President Johnson that
enemy morale had not been broken.
" The (the enemy) apparently has adjust-
ed to our stopping his drive for military
victory and has adopted a strategy of
keeping on busy and waiting an exit
strategy of attriting our national will,"
McNamara wrote.
He said that the one thing clearly going
for the United States in the Vietnam war
the previous year was the large number of
enemy killed in action in the big military
operations. He estimated enemy battle
deaths at more than 80,000 a year.
" The attrition rates would seem to be
one-way trails to death for the North
Vietnamese," he wrote. " Yet there is no
sign of an impending break in enemy
morale. The United States also has been
more than repaid by infiltration from
North Vietnam and recruitment in
South Vietnam."
The narrative history by unnamed Pen-
tagon analysts was compiled at the Mc-

Namara's memorandum was a clear no to
Gen. William C. Westmoreland, then the
U.S. commander in Saigon, Aug. 15, 1965.
Grant Sharp, then commander of the Pacific
Fleet, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in
their proposals for expanded bombing and
major ground force increases.
" But it was a negative with a differ-
ence," the historian wrote.
Among the options offered was installa-
tion of a counterinfiltration barrier a
secret northern South Vietnam, the de-
vice later known as the McNamara Line.
Another was an intensified pacification
program with increased attention paid to
physical security, to be provided by hav-
ing military forces remain in an area ad-
justing it of enemy troops.
At the proper time, McNamara said, " I
believe we should consider terminating
bombing in all of North Vietnam, or at
least in the northeast zone, for an indi-
vidual area."
Other articles relating to the
secret Pentagon report on Page
1C.



Secretary Robert S. McNamara



President Lyndon B. Johnson

Partial Texts
Of War Data

WASHINGTON, June 25—Following are excerpts
from secret Pentagon papers on United States involvement
in the Vietnam war that have been obtained by
the Post-Dispatch:

Test of a memorandum to
President Lyndon B. Johnson
from Secretary of Defense
Robert S. McNamara on
Oct. 14, 1966.

1. A Memorandum for the
President.
SITUATION. In the report of
my last trip to Vietnam almost
a year ago, I stated that the
enemy was about even with us,
even with the then-recommended
deployments, we would be
faced in early 1967 with a military
standoff at a much higher
level of conflict and with "pacifi-
cation" still stalled. I am in a
less pessimistic view now in
this respect. We have done more
what better militarily than I ant-
icipated. We have by and large
blended the Communist military
initiative — any military victory
in South Vietnam the Viet
cong may have had in mid-1966
months ago has been thwarted
by our emergency deployments
and actions. And our program
of bombing the North has ex-
ceeded a prior.



A GREY-CATERpillar co-worker and a relative of one of the miners trapped in the
Silver, Calif., water tunnel, seeping inside the entrance to the underground aqueduct.
Rescue efforts were being made in dense smoke today to recover the last
bodies of 17 miners killed in a natural gas explosion yesterday. There was one
survivor among the drilling crew 250 feet beneath the surface. (UPI Telephoto)

Addicts Eject Senator

NEW YORK, June 25 (AP)—
12th Street across from Harlem
Hospital.
Hughes was being flung
around by three other Senators,
all members of the special sub-
committee on alcoholism and
narcotics.
" I have been in a dangerous
situation," Hughes said after
getting out of the basement of
the freeway building, on West

WASHINGTON, June 25—The
Supreme Court agreed today to
hold a hearing on the Govern-
ment's attempt to restrain
publication of articles in the
New York Times and the Wash-
ington Post on a secret study
of the Vietnam War.

WASHINGTON, June 25—The
Supreme Court agreed today to
hold a hearing on the Govern-
ment's attempt to restrain
publication of articles in the
New York Times and the Wash-
ington Post on a secret study
of the Vietnam War.

WASHINGTON, June 25 (AP)—
12th Street across from Harlem
Hospital.
Hughes was being flung
around by three other Senators,
all members of the special sub-
committee on alcoholism and
narcotics.

Rules Medina
Must Stand Trial

FORT McPHERSON, Ga. June 25—A military judge refused
today to dismiss murder and assault charges against Col. Ernest
Medina, whose infantry company carried out the My Lai assault
in 1968.
The Army reclassified the
case, however, from a capital
to a noncapital court-martial.
Howard denied a series of 16
motions made by defense attor-
ney F. Lee Bailey. He granted
only two minor ones — permis-
sions for the defense to obtain a
copy of a classified report on a
military inquiry into the My Lai
massacre and an order to the
prosecution to provide the de-
fense with the names of its wit-
nesses.
More than 100 witnesses have
been subpoenaed, but the gov-
ernment has indicated that not
all of them will be called.
The murders are the same
that were involved in the con-
viction of Lt. William L. Calley
last winter.
" I do not find this case to be
perverted by the usual mil-
itary judge," the judge said in
the decision. " I do not find the
overall policy of the Army to
confer the accused a fair con-
sideration of the charges against
him."
The judge continued, " I do
not find this case to be per-
verted by the usual mil-
itary judge," the judge said in
the decision. " I do not find the
overall policy of the Army to
confer the accused a fair con-
sideration of the charges against
him."
The judge continued, " I do
not find this case to be per-
verted by the usual mil-
itary judge," the judge said in
the decision. " I do not find the
overall policy of the Army to
confer the accused a fair con-
sideration of the charges against
him."

Hottest Day
Of Year at 97

The mercury moved slightly upward to a scorching
97 degrees at 2:45 p.m. this
afternoon, making today the
hottest day of the year.
Last Saturday, when it was
still spring, the high temper-
ature was 95 degrees, the low-
est until today. The record
high for June 25 is 92 de-
grees in 1954.
The coldest it has been so
far this year was 54 degrees
in 1958.

High About 100
Official forecast for St. Louis
and vicinity: Clear and warm
today, low 75 to 80, sunny, hot
and humid again tomorrow,
high about 100, sunny, warm
and humid today; low in the
70s, high in the 90s, some in-
crease in cloudiness with
chance of thunderstorm Mon-
day; continued warm and
humid, showers ending Tuesday
and cooler, low in the 60s, high
in the 80s, high in the 90s.

AN ATTEMPT to weaken provisions
of the city's recently enacted
pawnebrower law drew
strong opposition today in the
House of Aldermen.
The measure appeared to be
headed for defeat in a floor
vote before it was returned to
the aldermen. Legislation
passed by the City Council in
May, Aldermen John L.
Kaiser Jr. (Dem.), Second
ward.

War GIs Confined In Drug Drive

CAN THO, South Vietnam,
June 25 (UPI)—All American
military personnel in the
Mekong delta area have been
confined to their bases for three
days in the largest narcotics
raid in the history of the
Vietnam War.
All cities, towns and villages
will remain off limits for mil-
itary personnel for an indefinite
period, sources said.
" The drive is not aimed at

Traffic Fines
To Be Hiked
Next Thursday

The highest cost of living has
reached the police court. Start-
ing Thursday, St. Louis municipal
judges have decreed, fines for
traffic offenses will go up
sharply.
Sixty-four violations, such as
running an electric traffic sig-
nal, will then cost 15¢ — up 10¢
from the present rate.
Less serious violations, includ-
ing making an improper lane
change and failure to yield to a
pedestrian, will carry a 10¢ fine —
double the present amount.
Even violations of minor offen-
ses will feel the pinch. Driving
without headlights, for instance,
will cost 15¢, up 10¢. The same
fine swears pedestrians caught
jaywalking.
Judge George W. Cady said
the decision to raise the cost of
fines resulted from a survey
taken of other traffic court op-
erations in the metropolitan
area. It presumably showed
that St. Louis was offering com-
petitive rates.

Holds A Minor Has
Right To Be Mother

LONDON, June 25 (AP)—
Her parents may object, but
pregnant girl under 18 must be
allowed to have her baby if she
wants it, the British Medical
Association told doctors today.
" Our legal advisers have
agreed that if a girl in fact
wishes to get pregnant, then
her wishes to have her baby
should override those of her
parents and any of the doctors
advocating her not to," the
association said.

Weather Information on Page 2

News Index
32 Pages
Editorials — — — — — 3C
Everyday Magazine — — — 14D
Financials — — — — — 24B
Obituaries — — — — — 38
Sports — — — — — 44C
TV-Radio Listings — — — 4D
Ward Ads — — — — — 44B
Religion — — — — — 12A