

The Weather
Today—Sunny, high in the middle 80s, with a 10 per cent chance of rain through tonight; fair tonight, winds calm. Saturday — Fair and warm. Temp. range: Today, 65-85. Yesterday, 60-80. Details on Page C7.

The Washington Post

Times Herald

FINAL

96 Pages—4 Sections

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94th Year No. 195

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FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1971

Phone 223-6000

Circulation 223-6100
Classified 223-6200

15c Beyond Washington,
Maryland and Virginia

10c

Documents Reveal U.S. Effort In '54 to Delay Viet Election

First of a Series

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Eisenhower administration, fearful that elections throughout North and South Vietnam would bring victory to Ho Chi Minh, fought hard but in vain at the 1954 Geneva Conference to reduce the possibility that the conference would call for such elections.

But the following year it was South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, far more than the American government, who was responsible for the elections' not taking place. Diem flatly refused even to discuss the elections with the Communist regime in Hanoi.

These are among the facts emerging from sections of the Pentagon study on the origins of the Vietnam war, made available to The Washington Post.

The chief architect of the American policy of opposition to elections, as was well known at the time, was President Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. But it was Eisenhower who had insisted on allied support if he were to ask Congress for authority to use American military force to save the French army in Indochina in early 1954. The United States did not get that allied support.

The origin of the idea of holding an election in divided Vietnam, called for in the Geneva accords of 1954, remains obscure. But there is nothing obscure about Dulles' attitude.

In July of 1954, he sent a cable to various American diplomats then struggling with the problem. It said in part:

"... Thus since undoubtedly true that elections



Dwight D. Eisenhower with John Foster Dulles, architect of America's anti-Vietnam election policy, in 1954.

might eventually mean unification Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh this makes it all more important they should be held as long after cease-fire agreement as possible and in conditions free from intimidation to give democratic elements best chance. We believe important that no date should be set now and especially that no conditions should be accepted by French which would have direct or indirect effect of preventing effective international supervision of agreement ensuring political as well as military guarantees."

Dulles went on to call attention to a joint statement by President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Churchill in June, especially that part which spoke of achieving "unity through free elections supervised by the UN."

Later in July, shortly before issuance in Geneva of the "final declaration" of the long conference, a declaration that included the statement that "general elections shall be held in July 1956," Dulles cabled his unhappiness at the impending outcome.

He sent Walter Bedell

Smith, the Under Secretary of State who had returned to the Geneva Conference to limit as much as possible what Dulles foresaw as the disastrous outcome, a cable that said in part:

"While we don't want to take responsibility of imposing our views on the French, I feel particularly concerned about provisions of paragraph 6 which gives the Control Commission constituted as per SECTO 666 authority also to control the general elections. The ink is hardly dry on the Declaration of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Churchill of June 29 to the effect that 'in the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections supervised by the UN' to insure that they are conducted fairly. It is rather humiliating to see that Declaration now so quickly go down the drain with our apparent acquiescence."

About a week before the above cable, and after French Premier Pierre Mendes-France had asked that Dulles return to Geneva and before Dulles agreed to send Smith as his stand-in, Dulles cabled some of his unhappiness to Mendes-France via the American Embassy in Paris.

Dulles complained to Mendes-France of "a whittling-away process, each stroke of which may in itself seem unessential, but which cumulatively could produce a result quite different from that envisaged" in a seven-point minimum program, agreed upon by Britain and the United States, that he then was trying to sell France.

See DOCUMENTS, A16, Col. 1



Rep. Bob Eckhardt announces legal action in Times case.

Times' Stand Wins Wide Hill Support

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Opinion from a broad political spectrum of Congress supported The New York Times yesterday in its publication of the secret Pentagon documents on the war in Vietnam.

Senators ranging from liberals like Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) to the conservative Carl Curtis (R-Neb.) insisted that The Times had a right to publish the documents.

In the House, 62 congressmen, all but four of them Democrats, defended The Times and called on the Nixon administration to release the full Pentagon study from which the newspaper already has published extensive excerpts.

In addition, an unusual legal action was announced by Rep. Bob Eckhardt (D-Tex.) on behalf of 21 congressmen. He said the legal move would be designed to guarantee continued publication of the Pentagon papers on grounds the congressmen are being denied necessary information on the war's background.

He said he and Rep. Abner J. Mikva (D-Ill.) would file a petition in U.S. District Court in New York seeking permission to intervene in the case in which the Justice Department is attempting to block further publication.

See REACT, A8, Col. 3

Mack Weighs Plant in Russia

The administration may have already given approval for Mack Trucks to build a \$700 million manufacturing complex in the Soviet Union — at least Mack seems to be counting on it.

Details on Page A2.

End-War Bid Fails; Doves Gain in House

By Richard L. Lyons
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House refused yesterday to order a faster end to the Indochina war, but anti-war forces mustered their largest vote to date in losing, 254 to 158.

The issue came up on an amendment offered by Reps. Lucian N. Nedzi (D-Mich.) and Charles W. Whalen Jr. (R-Ohio) stating that no funds authorized by a \$21 billion military procurement bill could be used to fight in Indochina after Dec. 31.

The House then passed the defense procurement bill, 331 to 58, and sent it to the Senate.

Both Nedzi and Whalen admitted that their provision would not have ended the war this year, because little if any of the money for items such as ships and planes covered by the bill would be spent in Indochina next year.

The House germaneness rule prevented them from offering a tough end-of-the-war amendment such as the Senate defeated on Wednesday.

See PULLOUT, A7, Col. 1

Times Lists But Retains Viet Papers

By John P. MacKenzie
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, June 17—The New York Times voluntarily gave the Justice Department a list of secret Pentagon papers in its possession today but refused on constitutional grounds to show the government the documents themselves.

Prodded by Federal District Judge Murray I. Gurfein to help narrow the issues in the unprecedented suit to block further publication of military archives, The Times provided an inventory that included as yet unpublished documents.

The newspaper kept possession of the documents which, lawyers disclosed in court, are Xeroxed copies of the 7,000-page study of the Vietnam war. The lawyers said the papers contain handwritten notations that would help federal agents trace the source of the material.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Michael D. Hess told the judge he was more interested in knowing "with precision" what the documents were so that he could show in court "why it will hurt the national interest to have them published."

In these and other comments in two court appearances today, Hess indicated that the government may not rest its case solely on the "top secret" classification given to much of the study. Instead, he suggested, the government may argue before the judge at least about selected documents in dispute to show the reasonableness of continued secrecy and censorship.

Judge Gurfein, who issued a four-day restraining order Tuesday forbidding further publication after three articles had appeared, has given himself until 1 p.m. Saturday to decide whether to permit the series to resume. Whichever side loses is considered certain to appeal.

Hess said he expected major portions of Friday morning's hearing to be in the chambers of Judge Gurfein to preserve the secrecy of the sensitive papers.

The judge added a separate reason for maintaining the secrecy of the documents—the likelihood that The Times would still want to publish the papers first if anybody has the right to publish them at all.

Floyd Abrams, a Times attorney, told the judge that the newspaper "will control" the government's basic change that the documents are wrongfully in the newspaper's possession. "That makes a difference," said the judge, apparently surprised that The Times would not concede that much.

Abrams offered an affidavit by Times Foreign Editor James L. Greenfield detailing reasons for its resistance to producing the documents.

The handwritten notations on the copies "would facilitate identification" by the government "of the confidential source of the material which has been the basis for the articles published" and to be published, said Greenfield.

See TIMES, A8, Col. 6



DANIEL ELLSBERG
... sought in leak

FBI Seeking Ex-Pentagon Aide in Leak

By Ken W. Clawson
Washington Post Staff Writer

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., June 17—Two FBI agents tried unsuccessfully today to interview Daniel Ellsberg, 40, a former government economist who was a member of the federal task force that prepared a secret study of the Vietnam war that has been leaked to The New York Times.

The FBI agents left the Ellsberg residence on a shady, tree-lined Cambridge street when no one responded to their knock at the door.

Neither the FBI nor the Justice Department would comment, but it was learned that efforts to find Ellsberg were intensified when he was not available this morning.

Ellsberg was publicly named as the source of the secret documents Wednesday night by a former New York Times reporter, Sidney Zion. On a local New York radio show, Zion identified Ellsberg as the person who leaked the documents and said his information came from "impeccable sources."

The New York Times declined to comment on Zion's allegation.

See SEARCH, A9, Col. 1

Sharp Defends Canada's Role

Canadian Foreign Minister Mitchell Sharp, in a report of the House of Commons yesterday, defended the involvement of Canadian diplomat J. Blair Seaborn as an intermediary for the transmission of messages between Washington and Hanoi.

Details on Page A22

HHH Opposed Stepup In Vain, Ex-Aide Says

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

A former member of Hubert H. Humphrey's vice presidential staff yesterday offered the first detailed account of Humphrey's private efforts to moderate the Vietnam policies of the Johnson administration—a record which he said shows Humphrey to be "an honest man" who supported the American role in Vietnam but opposed many of the steps to escalate the conflict.

Ted Van Dyk—a top Humphrey speech writer and adviser from 1964 to 1968—said Humphrey was "systematically excluded" from Vietnam policy talks for most of 1965, after strongly expressing his personal opposition to the escalation policies in the first meetings he attended as vice president.

The recollections Van Dyk poured forth in a two-hour interview constituted his rather poignant farewell salute to the

See HUMPHREY, A9, Col. 5

Nixon Seeks National War On Drug Use

By Carroll Kilpatrick
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Nixon said yesterday that the drug menace has reached the dimensions of "a national emergency" and that an all-out effort is needed to prevent it from destroying the country.

In a special message to Congress, he asked for an additional \$155 million to fight drug abuse and for authority to establish a central office in the White House to direct national attack on the problem.

While the emphasis in the past has been on law enforcement, the President said that the major portion of the new funds, which would bring the total to \$370 million in the fiscal year beginning July 1, would be for rehabilitation programs.

Another principal aim is to enlist more cooperation from foreign governments since heroin used by American addicts is produced abroad.

"If we cannot destroy the drug menace in America," the President said, "then it will surely in time destroy us."

In New York City, he said, more people between the ages of 15 and 35 die from narcotics use than from any other single cause.

See DRUGS, A6, Col. 3

Prosecutor Links Bobby Baker To Ring Accused in NW Thefts

By Sanford J. Ungar
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Northwest Washington home of Robert G. (Bobby) Baker, former secretary to the U.S. Senate Democratic majority, was used in 1969 to store the proceeds of a burglary ring that stole \$250,000 worth of property from prominent Washingtonians, the government charged yesterday.

Baker purchased some of the stolen goods, prosecutors said. The proceeds of a dozen burglaries—including a clock that originally belonged to Daniel Webster and was stolen from a house on Reservoir Road NW—were recovered from a bomb shelter in Baker's basement during an FBI investigation.

These charges, and others that connect Baker to the interstate burglary ring, were revealed for the first time in U.S. District Court yesterday, as the government opened a criminal conspiracy case against Paul Enten, 42, an interior decorator with a large clientele in Georgetown.

Baker, a long-time protégé of former President Johnson, is now serving a 1-to-3 year prison sentence at the federal penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pa., as a result of his 1967 conviction for tax evasion, theft and conspiracy. He is not charged



PAUL ENTEN
... accused as "fence"

with any crime in the Enten case.

Enten, of 3626 Prospect St. NW, is named in a grand jury indictment as the "fence" who transported and resold silver, antiques and family heirlooms collected by the

See ENTEN, A18, Col. 1

burglars from the homes of the rich.

The key government informer in the case was James Scouloukas, a former Washington policeman who Fairfax County police said committed suicide in South Alexandria last week.

He allegedly used his position at the police station in Georgetown to "gather intelligence" for members of the burglary ring, tipping them off to the names and addresses on a police list of wealthy people away on vacation.

Among the homes burglarized were those of Judge Roger Robb, of the U.S. Court of Appeals here; the estate of the late George Preston Marshall, owner of the Washington Redskins, and Norma Lewis, a Georgetown social figure and neighbor of Enten who is addressed as Lady Lewis because her husband was knighted by the Queen of England.

See ENTEN, A18, Col. 1

Cities Lose U.S. Funds For Summer Lunches

By Nick Kotz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Agriculture Department has informed big cities throughout the country that they will not receive expected funds to feed hundreds of thousands of poor children this summer.

The children were to receive free meals, starting next week, under a federally supported summer program to feed poor children in day care and recreation programs. During the school year, the children are helped by the national school lunch program.

City officials in Baltimore, Detroit, Los Angeles and other cities charged in interviews yesterday that the department has precipitated a crisis in ghetto areas by renegeing on promises of food aid.

Agriculture Department officials said 11 cities, including Washington, D.C., have planned programs for 425,000 children at a federal cost of

\$11 million, while only \$4.7 million is available to fund summer programs throughout the country.

The District has planned a \$1 million program for 50,000 children but is scheduled to receive only \$145,000 for both summer and full-year programs.

Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) disclosed the crisis in summer lunch programs and asked Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin to take immediate action to meet the problem.

Richard Lyng, assistant secretary of agriculture, acknowledged in an interview that needed funds are not available and that department officials improperly promised such funds to the cities.

"I just don't see how we can satisfy the requests of all these cities," Lyng said.

See LUNCHES, A4, Col. 1



Okinawa Pact

Secretary of State Rogers signs Okinawa treaty in Washington while Japanese Ambassador Ushiba looks on. In the back-

ground are, from left, Adm. Moorer, Army Secretary Resor, Undersecretary Johnston and Defense Secretary Laird. Story, A20.

Associated Press