



A Latin American Common Market?

By SIDNEY DELL, *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*. This study reviews the steps already taken by the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Central American Common Market, and discusses the outlook for these groupings. While essentially concerned with Latin America, the book throws light on the general problems of underdeveloped countries in forming larger and more viable economic units. *R.I.I.A.* 2 maps, 12 tables. \$8.80

The Passing of French Algeria

By DAVID C. GORDON, *American University of Beirut*. In 1930 it seemed possible for Algeria peacefully to become a part of France, but during the thirty years of bitterness and fighting that followed, this hope proved vain. Dr. Gordon analyzes the struggle for an Algerian identity during this period and examines France's new vision of playing a creative role in the *tiers monde* that emerged from her African empire. \$6.75

The Process of Planning

A STUDY OF INDIA'S
FIVE-YEAR PLANS 1950-1963

By A. H. HANSON, *University of Leeds*. In this study of the interaction between "objective" and "ideological" factors in economic planning, Professor Hanson assesses the impact of the three five-year plans on Indian society. The Indian experience is used to draw some conclusions which could be helpful to planners everywhere. *R.I.I.A.* 35 tables. \$16.80

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**OXFORD
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PRESS**

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

ACCORDING to prevailing American opinion, the well-publicized troubles of NATO all come from the stubbornness of an old man who might have been great in his day and who still clings obstinately to power—Charles de Gaulle. The whole thing is far more complex as far as de Gaulle is concerned, and it dates from the very first years of NATO, as Edmond Taylor sets forth on the basis of his long observation of alliance affairs.

LOOKING BACK on it, the day in 1951 when Britain granted effective independence to its Gold Coast colony was a historic event. Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's example spurred a drive for nationhood throughout the other colonies of black Africa and plunged the continent into a continuing turmoil. The tyrannical rule of "His Messianic Dedication" soon came to exemplify the worst abuses of independence in Africa. Now that he is gone, Claire Sterling reports, there is a good chance that the once-bright promise of that country can be redeemed, but only if its people work hard enough and receive the help they need. . . . Tom Feelings has just returned to the U.S. after spending eighteen months in Ghana. . . . The major thrust of the war on poverty has been in the cities, while programs to help the rural poor have lacked both funds and a coordinated policy. Yet, as Bill Kovach and Nat Caldwell point out, the problems are linked because tensions in places like Watts often are aggravated by the influx of desperate families from the impoverished hinterlands. The authors are both reporters on the Nashville *Tennessean*, where Mr. Caldwell won a Pulitzer Prize for national-affairs reporting in 1962. . . . Australia's rapid postwar growth has placed a strain on available resources and manpower. Now the nation's increasing awareness of the need for better defense forces presents the new Prime Minister, Harold Holt, with a dilemma in the unpopular choice

between development and security. Denis Warner writes from his home base in Melbourne. . . . William E. Leuchtenberg, professor of history at Columbia University, won both the Parkman and Bancroft prizes in 1963 for his *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940*. Here he brings the historian's approach to President Johnson's Great Society. . . . In this issue, Fernando Krahn goes hunting.

GWYN THOMAS's short story is about men, potatoes, and women—and the passions they arouse in the course of a long wet Welsh summer. Mr. Thomas is a novelist and playwright whose latest book to appear in this country is *A Welsh Eye* (Stephen Greene Press). . . . When the New York City Opera moved into its new home in Lincoln Center it perforce changed its personality as well as its locale. Roland Gelatt reviews its first season in the New York State Theater. Mr. Gelatt is the editor of *High Fidelity*. . . . Walt Disney has often been called a genius. A. A. Milne was less often so-styled, which perhaps gives room for thought about the changing values of words and critics. Be that as it may, Winnie-the-Pooh has recently been Disneyfied and according to Gerald Weales you can now get neither for the price of one. Mr. Weales is himself a writer of children's books, *Miss Grimsbee is a Witch* and *Miss Grimsbee Takes a Vacation*, both published by Atlantic Monthly Press. . . . Robley Wilson, Jr., teaches at the State College of Iowa. . . . A specialist in Renaissance history and a Junior Fellow of the Society of Fellows at Harvard, Werner L. Gundersheimer is the editor of *The Italian Renaissance* (Prentice-Hall). . . . Alfred Werner's *Barlach* will soon be issued by McGraw-Hill. . . . Marcus Klein, who is on the faculty of the State University of New York at Buffalo, is the author of *After Alienation*, available in Meridian paperback.

Our cover is by Gustave Nebel.

Statements from the

U. S. Senate Vietnam Debate, 1966?

"Victory is possible, certain, and almost immediate if, right away . . . Vietnamese officials will resolutely launch into the necessary political and social reforms and correct their mistakes."

—Deputy René Kuehn. *Journal Officiel*: October 27, 1953*

No!

To speak of negotiations "is the surest means of raising the morale of the adversary and of demoralizing our own troops."

—Deputy Raymond Dronne. *Journal Officiel*: October 23, 1953.*

French arguments made before

the fall of Dien Bien Phu

"I think that [withdrawal] . . . would be more criminal than the war itself . . . the Vietnamese soldiers . . . would be exposed to a massacre. These people have placed confidence in us.

We want to return their freedom to them."

—Deputy André Denis. *Journal Officiel*: January 28, 1950.*

"I have shared the existence of those fighters. . . .

I am thinking today of the harm we may be doing to their morale.

May they know, those glorious fighting troops . . .

the entire nation salutes with emotion their courage and sacrifices!"

—Deputy Henri Laforest. *Journal Officiel*: October 23, 1953.*

"You have gotten yourself into an adventure and you don't know how to get out."

—Deputy Robert Chambeiron. *Journal Officiel*: January 27, 1950.*

"We must choose . . . outside of the military solution, outside of the

solution of force, there is but one possibility: negotiation. . . .

Have we the means to avoid this outcome after having made it

inevitable by our errors and mistakes?"

—Pierre Mendès-France to the Chamber of Deputies, November 22, 1950.*

*These quotations from the pages of **LOST SOLDIERS** highlight the political context in which the French military establishment was ordered to fight and win. Doggedly engaged in wars in which it had neither the allies nor the active sympathy of much of its own population; furnished neither the means, nor the desperately needed political direction; thwarted in its mission, confused and misunderstood, the Army moved dangerously toward direct conflict with its legitimate master, the civil government.

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Tactical Missiles: A report from General Dynamics

Evening the odds against surprise attack:

Even for those who weren't there, newsreels of World War II and the Korean War have made this scene familiar:

Troops are moving along a road or field. Suddenly, an enemy plane swoops out of the sky with machine guns and cannons blazing. Troops scatter for cover. A few fire at the disappearing plane—but in vain.

Today, the foot soldier does not have to head for cover. He has an equalizer. Now the scene would go like this:

An enemy plane is seen in the distance. An infantryman shoulders a weapon that resembles a bazooka. Through an eyepiece he sights the plane, squeezes a trigger and a missile whooshes out of the tube. Seconds later, the plane explodes.

Such a weapon is now moving into the hands of field troops. It is made by General Dynamics and called Redeye. It is a tactical guided missile designed to be used by one man.

The bullet that gets a second chance:

A bullet or shell is affected by gravity and wind, but, by and large, once fired it continues in the direction it was originally pointed.

A sharp eye, a steady arm and an accurate gun are all you need to hit a stationary target.

A moving object has to be "led"—the

gunner judges where the moving object will be in a few fractions of a second and points his bullet there.

But to "lead" an airplane traveling at the speed of sound, miles high and able to change its direction in a hurry, you need a guided missile.

An effective surface-to-air weapon must be capable of fast reaction. Its warhead must be powerful enough to destroy an attacking plane. Its speed and range must be enough to reach the attacking aircraft before the plane's offensive weapons can be launched against ground troops.

But the real key is in the word *guided*.

The guided missile, like its evasive target, can be steered and sometimes steer itself. In fact, you might call a tactical guided missile a "bullet that gets a second chance."

Let's take a look at three produced by General Dynamics—Terrier, Tartar as well as Redeye—to see how some tactical missiles work. All are essentially defensive weapons.

Terrier and Tartar are supersonic, solid-fueled missiles used by the United States Navy. Both have what is known as "semi-active homing" guidance. This involves a complex of shipboard radar and computers, combined with sensing, computing and controlling devices within the missile itself.

When search radar aboard a ship finds an oncoming target, a radar illumination beam, controlled through a central computer, seeks out the attacking plane. The radar waves reflected from the airplane are picked up by a sensor in the nose of the missile, which

will chase its target to intercept even if the plane changes course several times.

Terrier:

Terrier is the bigger of the two. On its launcher aboard a Navy cruiser, it is about 27 feet long. The first 15 feet are the missile proper. The second 12 contain a booster rocket for propulsion.

Terrier is always ready to go. Almost within the instant that the illumination beam fastens on the approaching aircraft, Terrier is triggered.

The booster blasts the missile off the launching rack. The finder is already receiving the reflected beam from the target. Two small charges within the missile have already ignited. Their burn-



Terrier (27 feet)

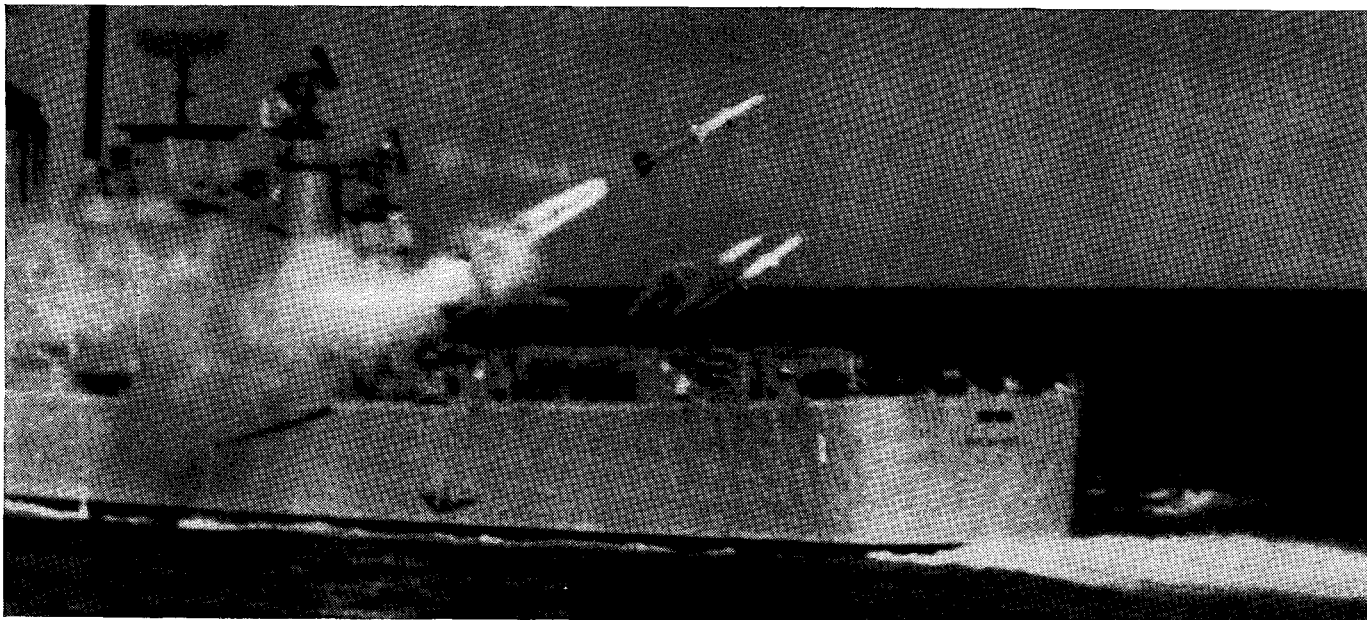
ing gases turn two small turbines. One provides power for the guidance and control systems. The other operates a hydraulic pump whose fluids move the small guidance fins on the missile's tail.

As the booster burns out and then drops away, a sustainer rocket within the missile proper commences firing to continue necessary velocity to intercept.

Tartar:

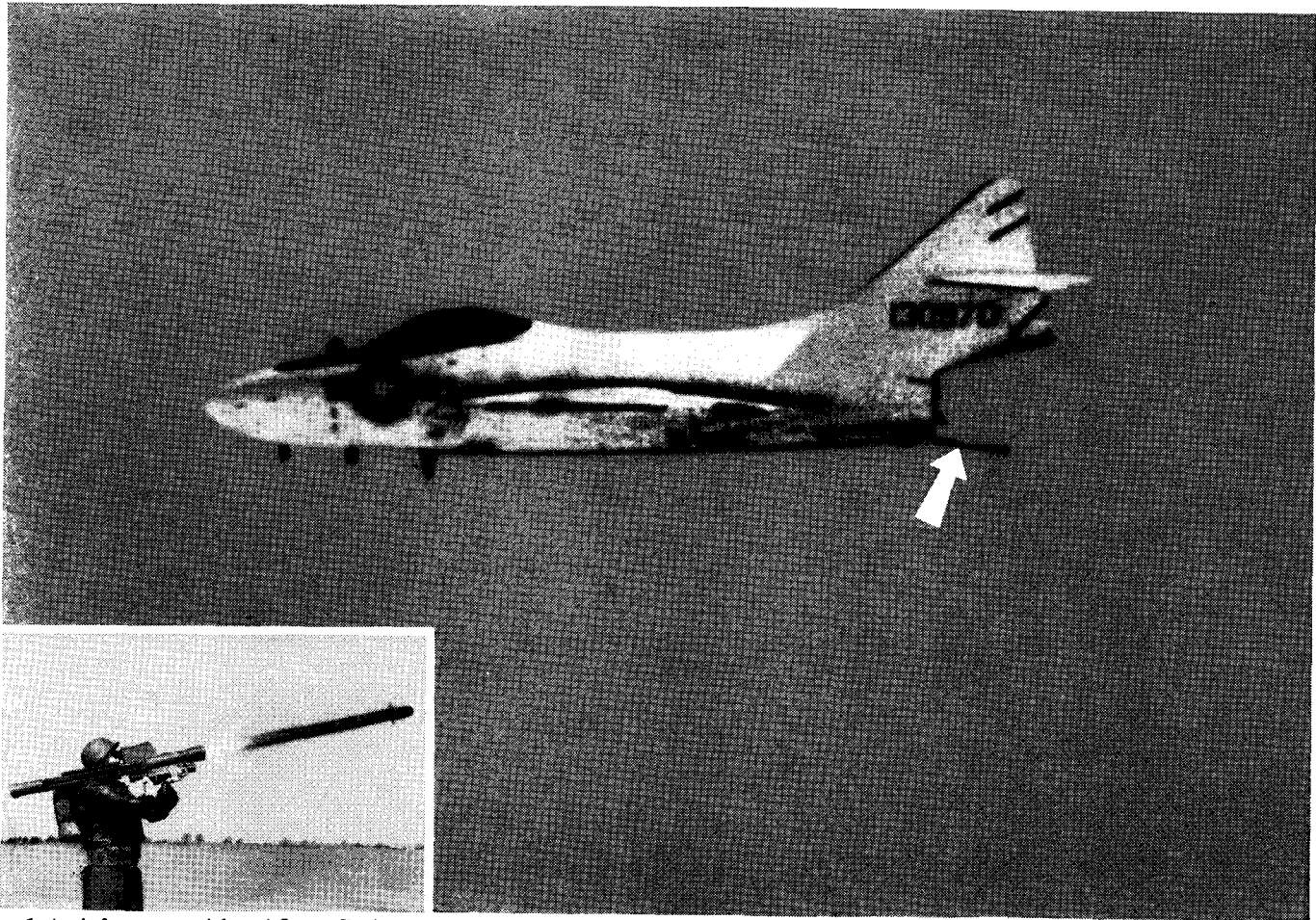
Tartar is similar to Terrier, but more compact (15 feet long and about 1,200 pounds compared to 27 feet and about 3,000 pounds for Terrier).

Its booster and sustainer are combined into a single-rocket engine. When



Above: Cruiser fires a Terrier. **Right:** Diagram shows radar waves sent from a ship and reflected from a plane being received by sensor in nose of the missile. Even if the plane takes evasive action, the missile will change course to intercept.

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1. An infantryman (above) fires a Redeye missile at a target drone airplane.

2. This is an actual photo of a Redeye missile (arrow) entering the jet exhaust of a drone airplane. Immediately after this photograph was taken, the plane exploded.

Tartar gets its signal, the engine generates high initial thrust to shoot aloft, then reduces its force to provide the long sustained velocity to reach and chase a distant target.

Both Terrier and Tartar, in spite of their size, can be fired repetitively almost as fast as a bolt-operated rifle.

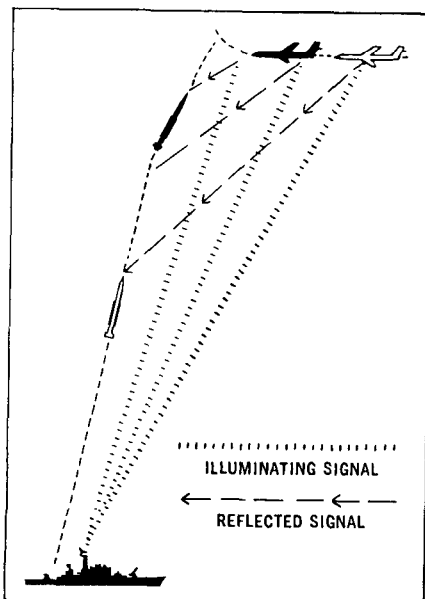
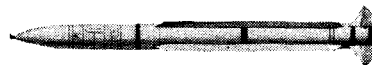


Diagram shows how missile changes course as the target changes course.

Stored in automated magazines, they can be lifted onto a launcher, hooked into the central computer radar control and fired within seconds.

Ships equipped with Terrier or Tartar can defend themselves against an armada of attacking aircraft today far more ef-



Tartar (15 feet)

fectively than would have been possible against a single aircraft ten years ago.

Redeye:

Redeye is designed to destroy low-flying aircraft rather than high-altitude supersonic attackers. Four feet long and three inches in diameter, it weighs only 28 pounds complete with its launcher.

Redeye's heat-seeking guidance is wholly self-contained. Reaction time is little more than it takes the soldier to lift the launcher to his shoulder, find the attacking aircraft in the sighting scope and squeeze the trigger. By that time, Redeye's infrared sensor has locked onto the source of heat it must follow.

A small charge projects the missile from its launching tube. At a distance far enough to protect the soldier from rocket blast, a fuse lights the major

rocket charge. Miniature computer circuitry within the missile directs a set of



Redeye launcher



Redeye missile (4 feet)

steering fins which enable Redeye to change direction as necessary and chase the target at supersonic speed until it intercepts it.

During the long history of combat, the advantage of surprise has almost invariably lain with the attacker. The modern tactical missile now more than evens the odds for the defender. At General Dynamics we are already developing newer ones with still more punch.

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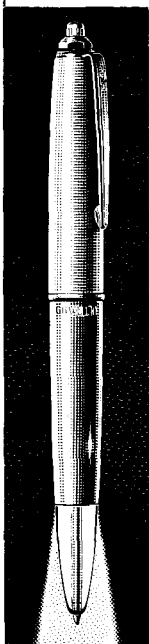
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CORRESPONDENCE

VIETNAM

To the Editor: Your editorial "On Hawks and Doves" (*The Reporter*, March 24) cuts through all the nonsense and simplistic babblement that are popular substitutes for thinking on foreign policy. Your thoughts are clear and well stated. I hope they are widely read.

The dedication of Dean Rusk is to be preferred to the "men still cherishing the great future lying in their past." I believe it was the redoubtable John L. Lewis who many years ago described these same people in the State Department as "intellectual poodles." Now more than ever we can do without the jejune phrase-making phonies. We need people like Rusk who have convictions, knowledge in depth, and the perseverance to insist upon a rational approach in coping with the Hydra-headed problems of our age.

THOMAS H. PATTEN, JR.
Professor of Management
and Sociology
University of Detroit

To the Editor: You accurately reflect the mounting frustration in attempting to think and speak clearly about Vietnam policy. However, as frustrating as the "Great Debate" may be, criticisms [of administration policy] . . . are more than mere verbiage.

With deep explorations of news events, *The Reporter* has always aided the search for clarity of public issues. Why, then, in respect to the present foreign-policy confusion on Vietnam, do you evidently wish an end to even the most responsible debate? Are all the complicated and nebulous issues suddenly now settled? Or is it simply that quiescent national self-righteousness is the preferable attitude for the governed masses?

DAVID T. BUSSARD
Ann Arbor, Michigan

CUBA

To the Editor: I found the article by Paul Bethel ("The Havana Conference," *The Reporter*, March 24) interesting, informative, and accurate. I hope that it will be read by many Americans, both North and South.

The wave of militant subversion endorsed by the Havana Conference will not hasten the day when social progress in Latin America will improve the lot of the millions who now live at a substandard level. Anything which destroys or reduces the confidence of the people of a country or of prospective investors from without in the ability of the government to maintain law and order discourages investment in the country. Without such investment, the necessary economic basis for social progress is denied. Without such a basis, the governments are powerless

to provide the social progress which is so much needed.

B. L. AUSTIN
Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy
Chairman, Inter American
Defense Board
Washington, D. C.

To the Editor: Paul Bethel's article is really excellent. We were especially glad to have this valuable material at this time because we are programming right now on the ORIT [inter-American regional workers' organization] conference, just concluded in Lima, Peru, which met to formulate plans to counteract the subversion plans hatched at the Havana Solidarity Conference. I have given the *Reporter* article to our scriptwriters and our policy people both in New York and in Munich, all of whom found it very helpful for commentary and news programs.

HORST S. PETZALL
Deputy Director for News
Radio Free Europe

To the Editor: I found Mr. Bethel's article to be of great importance. I shall have it translated in order to make it known to the Ecuadorian government.

GUSTAVO LARREA
Ambassador of Ecuador
Washington, D. C.

To the Editor: I have read with great interest the article by Paul D. Bethel on the First Conference of Solidarity of Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, held in Havana in January of this year.

Not only do I think that it was well written but also that your magazine should be congratulated for publishing it and thus bringing to the attention of the world the nefarious plans laid for subversion operations in the Western Hemisphere.

RICARDO A. MIDENCE
Ambassador of Honduras
Washington, D. C.

To the Editor: I congratulate *The Reporter* for Paul Bethel's excellent article on the Tricontinental Conference.

FRANCISCO CUEVAS CANCINO
Permanent Representative
of Mexico to the United
Nations

To the Editor: As Paul Bethel indicates, the Tricontinental Conference aroused great concern throughout Latin America and elsewhere and as a result has led to a better understanding of Communist designs and actions. Unfortunately the affair received all too little attention in the United States—probably due in part to the fact that U.S. reporters were denied permission

to go to Havana by the Cuban government.

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN
Ambassador at Large
Washington

To the Editor: I have read Paul Bethel's "The Havana Conference" with great interest, and think that his analysis is thoughtful and perceptive.

I am considering placing this article in the *Congressional Record* so as to bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

THOMAS J. DODD
U.S. Senate

MISSISSIPPI

To the Editor: Foster Davis's analysis of the situation in the Mississippi Delta ("The Delta: Rich Land and Poor People," *The Reporter*, March 24) was an informative if overly optimistic account of a critical problem.

I would like to take exception to the tenor of Mr. Davis's remarks about the Delta Ministry. For knowledgeable people, the significant contributions of the Delta Ministry in its work among the sharecroppers and the field workers of the Delta speaks for itself and needs little defense. . . . It may be difficult for the white moderate in Mississippi to realize that he is no longer in a position to determine the direction and pace of social change in the state. If the moderates of whom Mr. Davis speaks have been forced to face the fact that the field workers in the Delta are able to assume major responsibility for reshaping the future of their lives, it is too bad, but perhaps this awakening was necessary if the white moderate and the field worker are to work together as equals for the good of all. It is true that the strikers in Tent City were doomed to lose the strike from the start, but they have gained something in terms of self-respect and dignity which no labor settlement could have given them.

(REV.) LORENZ SCHULTZ
Hughes Memorial Methodist
Church
Portland, Oregon

SUPPORTING LOCAL POLICE

To the Editor: Hal Bruno, in his article "Chicago's Scholarly Cop" (*The Reporter*, March 24), notes that few large cities have had better police and civil-rights relationships. To this observation I wish to add a substantiating story.

Al Raby, head of a local civil-rights group, Chicago Council of Community Organization, recently met with the president of the Chicago Patrolmen's Association and learned that the Chicago police were pressing city hall for higher wages. During their talk Raby suggested that members of his group could picket Mayor Richard J. Daley's office for higher police wages, and later Raby and company actually did. How's that for good relations?

DONALD JONJACK
Chicago

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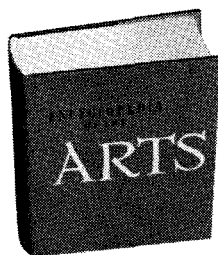
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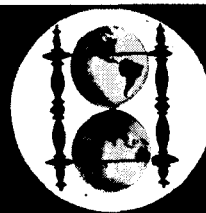
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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Article 19 Again

Last August, when the United States officially halted its effort to deny the French and the Soviets the right to vote in the General Assembly for failure to pay their United Nation debts, the air was full of rumors about a tacit *quid pro quo*: by dropping its insistence that the delinquents be penalized under Article 19 of the U.N. Charter, the United States had freed the Soviets from a humiliating threat and thus made it possible for them to make a "voluntary" contribution without loss of face. No one cultivated this line of argument more assiduously than the Russians themselves.

This formula permitted the Assembly last September to vote—with our concurrence—to drop the Article 19 issue and to function "normally," while encouraging voluntary contributions to help the organization out of its financial hole. The French and the Russians, as Ambassador Arthur Goldberg has observed, have responded to the last of these recommendations with a "thunderous silence." In looking back over the Soviet position prior to last September's agreement, it turns out that rather than define the circumstances under which they would pay, the Soviets simply enumerated those under which they would not pay—and while these circumstances have been changed to suit the Russians, they still show no signs of clearing up their arrears.

Where does that leave the U.N. so far as its present debts and its future operations are concerned? The answer involves a profusion of committees that have been reformed, reconvened, and occasionally even reincarnated; but they have now settled into two principal bodies. One is the Committee of 33, which, under various names, has been laboring at this thing for five years now and which reportedly is

reluctant even to discuss the Secretary General's guidelines for the controversial peace-keeping missions that may arise in the future. The Committee members are reportedly afraid that such discussion would only provoke the Soviets and discourage them from making any voluntary contribution.

The other is the Committee of 14—a brand-new group which was created to deal strictly with the organization's present and future *financial* situation. It has met and even got some serious work done. It is composed of experts in the field of U.N. financing and was set up partly in answer to the French complaint that the budgetary processes of the U.N. left a good deal to be desired and therefore must be straightened out so the French could study the matter properly. On March 28, the Committee released a report on the U.N.'s current deficit based in large part on what has been called the Secretary General's "dead pan" presentation of the organization's unmet obligations and the funds it can expect to receive this year. The "dead pan" part refers to the fact that U Thant had delicately declined to call the delinquents by name in listing \$126 million in unpaid "assessments." What all this added up to was an approximation of the amount of money that would be required to meet the U.N.'s short-term solvency problem. That figure is somewhere between \$32 and \$53 million.

There is not much optimism that the French and the Russians will now leap to contribute money to help wipe out the \$32-53-million deficit. The Russians, for example, are feared to have yet another possible fiddle-faddle up their sleeve: namely, revealing that they will be happy to pay a small share provided the United States pays a considerably larger one—all this taking at face value the polite fiction that the amount owing is not part of