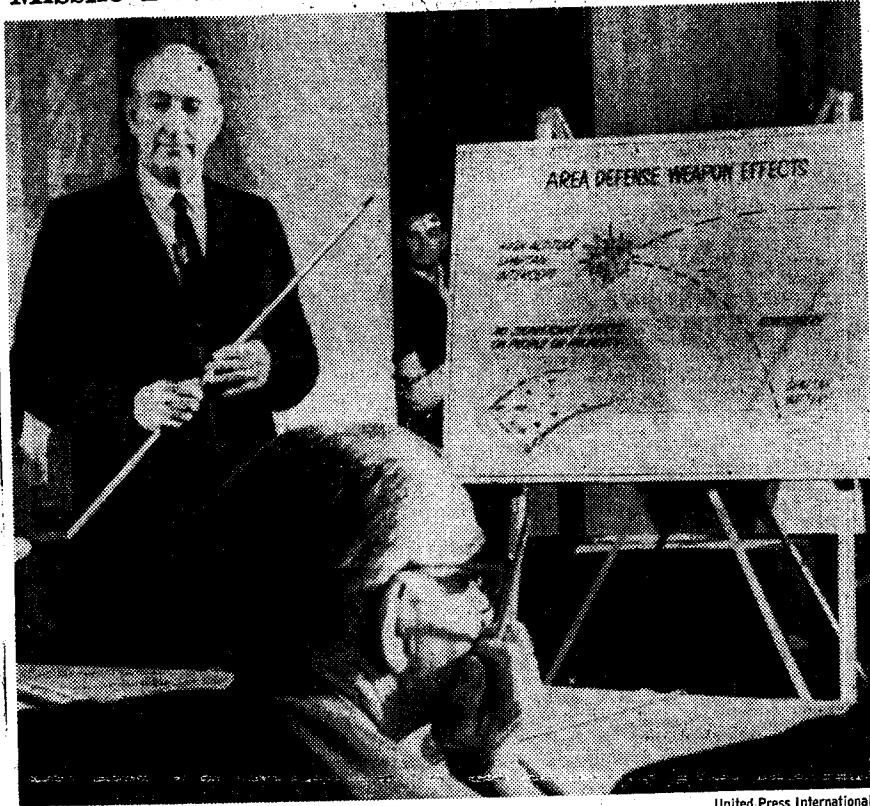
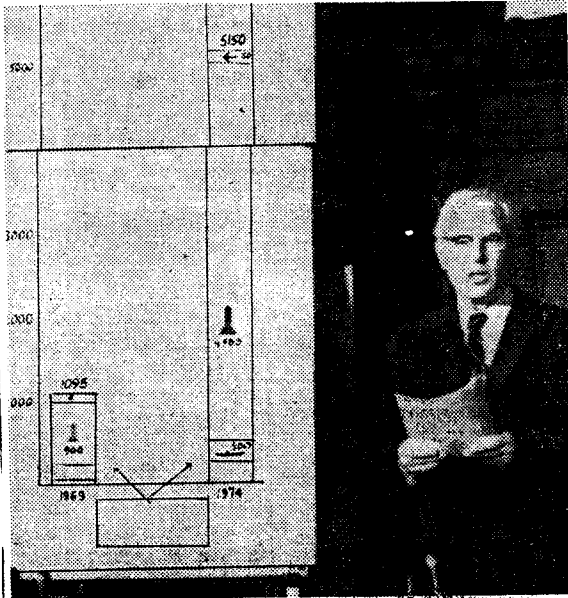


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Missile Debate Turns Into a Battle of the Charts



United Press International
 David Packard, Deputy Secretary of Defense, defends the Administration on antimissile system. Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of Foreign Relations Committee, in foreground.



Paul Conklin for The New York Times
 Senator Albert Gore, Tennessee Democrat, uses chart to show U.S. need not fear Soviet "first-strike" capability.

PACKARD DISPUTED AT MISSILE INQUIRY

Foes of Defense Plan Say U.S. 'Overkill' Capability Blunts Soviet Threat

By JOHN W. FINNEY
 Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26—The opposition to the Administration's antimissile defense took a new tack today by seeking to demonstrate that the United States had so strong an "overkill" capacity that it need not fear the build-up in Soviet missile strength.

The debate on the antimissile system turned into an unusual battle of charts before the Senate Foreign Relations Disarmament Subcommittee.

Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, who was kept waiting in the wings last week by the subcommittee, was finally given an opportunity to present the Pentagon's carefully drawn charts. They showed that the Soviet Union was reaching parity with the United States in land-based and submarine-based missiles.

Commitment From Packard

From this development, Mr. Packard once again drew the Administration's conclusion that the Soviet Union was seeking to achieve a "first-strike" capability and that the United States therefore, must protect its Minuteman missile force with the Safeguard system.

The subcommittee also obtained a commitment from Mr. Packard that the Administration would not proceed with the Safeguard system, using left over funds, until it had been authorized by Congress. Because authorization bills will not come before Congress until late spring, this gives the opposition about two months to build an intensive "educational" case against the Safeguard system.

There was a new feeling of optimism among the opposition Senators that by this spring

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Continued From Page 1, Col. 4 they could round up enough support to block the Safeguard system.

Mr. Packard had not sooner finished his "chart talk" than Senator Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, the subcommittee chairman, asked him "to lend me your wand" and unveiled charts that he and his staff had sat up until midnight preparing.

The Gore charts were designed to demonstrate that, in terms of deliverable nuclear warheads, the United States would retain so strong an "overkill" capacity that it need not fear the Soviet Union would acquire a "first strike" capability.

"First strike" capability is the ability to launch so devastating an attack on an adversary's missile and bomber forces that the adversary cannot retaliate. "Overkill" is the capacity to launch an attack far stronger than is necessary to achieve the objective.

In his first solo appearance before a Congressional committee, Mr. Packard, a former West Coast electronics manufacturer, may have stubbed his toe to the potential embarrassment of the Administration in the antimissile debate.

Talk Called 'Casual'

Pressed by Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas as to whether non-Pentagon scientists had been consulted in the Administration's review of the antimissile system, Mr. Packard finally mentioned Wolfgang Panofsky of Stanford University. A leading authority on radar, Dr. Panofsky helped develop the Klystron tube, a key component in the high-powered radar that will be used in the Safeguard system.

Dr. Panofsky, who entered the hearing room as the session was closing, told reporters that he had had only a "casual" conversation with Mr. Packard. Furthermore, he said, "I have some very serious engineering criticism of the [Safeguard] system."

Dr. Panofsky was so agitated over the Packard statement that he asked permission to testify to "straighten out the record." Senator Gore then announced that the scientist will be the lead-off witness at a hearing Friday.

Criticism Is Reported

With Dr. Panofsky the subcommittee may have gained a foothold in the inner councils of the Administration and may be able to demonstrate that there was dissension among President Nixon's science advisers over proceeding with

the Safeguard system.

Dr. Panofsky reportedly served on the panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee that reviewed the proposed Safeguard system. Congressional sources say that the panel submitted a critical report questioning the engineering design and feasibility of the \$6.6-billion system.

Senator Gore said that, on the basis of Defense Department figures and projections, the United States now has "a larger overkill capability" than the Soviet Union and will have it into the next decade.

As of today, he noted, the United States has 2,400 strategic warheads and the Soviet Union about 1,100. By 1975, when both sides have developed multiple warheads for their missiles, he estimated the United States would have about 8,000 and the Soviet Union 5,000.

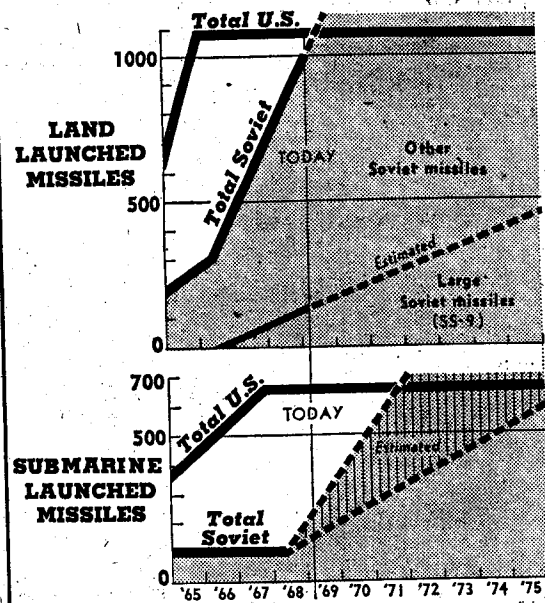
To destroy 50 large cities, he postulated, would require about 250 warheads pointing his "wand" toward the graph showing the growth in warheads over the next six years, he said:

"This is all overkill. And yet we want to build another weapons system. This is madness. If we keep on going this way, we will blow the whole world up."

Senator Gore's argument was that, with such an American "overkill" capability, the Soviet Union could not hope to acquire a "first strike" capability.

Senator Gore's argument was never directly answered by Mr. Packard, who reiterated his

COMPARISON OF MISSILE FORCES



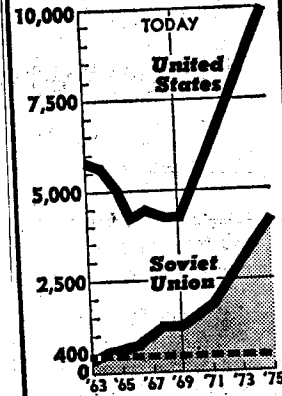
Source: Dept. of Defense

The New York Times

March 27, 1969

PENTAGON'S CHART: Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard used a chart, adapted above, to argue that the Soviet is nearing missile parity with the United States.

DELIVERABLE WARHEADS



Source: Scientific American

The New York Times

March 27, 1969

SENATOR'S CHART: Albert Gore relied on the chart adapted above to show U.S. lead in warheads, 400 of which are said to equal "unacceptable" damage.

argument that the United States was only trying to protect its retaliatory capability.

Opponents of the Safeguard system also began developing another argument — that the best way to protect the Minuteman force and deter the Russians would be to make clear that the Minuteman missiles would be fired before attacking Soviet warheads could reach their targets.

Mr. Packard replied that such "automatic" quick retaliation would drive the United States toward "a form of doomsday machine." Before ordering retaliation, he said, the President might want to check the facts rather than shoot from the hip.

Clarification on Submarines

Mr. Packard also said that the Soviet Union had not yet deployed any missile-carrying atomic submarines off the United States. This was contrary to the impression left by defense officials in testimony last week.

He said, too, that the SS-9, the large Soviet intercontinental missile, would become a "first strike" weapon only when equipped with multiple warheads. Equipped with its estimated 25-megaton warhead, therefore, the missile would not have such a capability.

The estimate that the SS-9 has a 25-megaton warhead was not based on any "hard" intelligence information but rather on a presumption based on the payload capacity of the missile, Mr. Packard said.

Warning From Moscow

MOSCOW, March 26 (AP)—Reports that the Nixon Administration plans to use the Safeguard system as a "trump card" in negotiations with the Soviet Union are "quite alarming," a Communist party newspaper said today.

Sovetskaya Rossiya, published by the party central committee, warned that "such tactics will lead to no good for Washington politicians."

Nixon's Foreign Aid Advisers Pressing Him to Set Amount

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26—An interagency panel has urged President Nixon to decide soon whether the United States is to contribute its share toward economic development of poorer countries or is to limit its foreign aid to a token or holding operation.

United States economic aid in all forms has been running at about 0.5 per cent of national income in recent years. This country has dropped to seventh place on the list of donor countries, based on total official aid as a percentage of national income.

The objective of the Organization for Economic Cooperation

and Development, of which the United States is a member, is 1 per cent of national income, a level this country has not reached since 1965.

The report, now under study by the National Security Council projects separate minimal levels of economic foreign aid in the fiscal year beginning July 1.

The first option suggests an aid authorization of \$1.3-billion, or about the amount Congress appropriated for the current year. The second calls for

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SPEAK JAPANESE. You'll be understood at 630 Fifth Ave. Japan Air Lines—Advt

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

\$2.1-billion. That amount is nearly \$250-million less than that requested by President Johnson in his Budget Message to Congress last January.

Both approaches contemplate an additional authorization for military assistance ranging from \$350-million to \$375-million in the new year, apart from any appropriation for military credit sales.

The estimate for military grants also excludes amounts earmarked in the defense budget as military aid to Vietnam, Laos and Thailand and infrastructure costs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Known as National Security Memo 4, the report was compiled by representatives of the Departments of State, Defense and Treasury, the Export-Import Bank, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Agency for International Development. It was filed with the Security Council last week.

Even if the President adopted

the higher of the two economic aid estimates and asked Congress to appropriate that amount for the new fiscal period, it would be the lowest such request in this country's history of foreign aid.

If he elects to propose the lower figure, however, the report makes it clear that the foreign aid program could no longer be considered an instrument of United States foreign policy.

Because the \$1.3-billion would be concentrated in eight or nine developing countries, the report observed, economic aid would no longer be a factor for directing the revolution of rising expectations along peaceful channels.

The report also suggests that if economic aid is cut to the lower level, defense expenditures may ultimately have to rise disproportionately because military power would, in that event, have to fill the void created by the absence of a meaningful contribution to economic development.

To a surprising degree, the interagency report reflected the thinking of President Johnson's General Advisory Committee on Foreign Aid.

Warning Recalled

In its final report last Janu-

ary, that group warned the new Administration that violent upheavals would beset the underdeveloped countries unless economic aid was increased substantially over the level of recent years.

Headed by James A. Perkins, president of Cornell University, the advisory group said:

"The committee feels compelled to point out that it would be dangerous for the United States to ignore the development concerns of the less developed countries.

"In American cities we have seen the costs of permitting the frustrations of poverty to drag on.

"Looking ahead to the long future, the committee does not believe that the United States can live securely in a world in which the poor countries are unable to raise living standards at least as rapidly as the rich countries — whatever the absolute gap in incomes."

Development experts familiar with the interagency report said that limiting economic aid to eight or nine countries would have a staggering if not fatal impact on the Alliance for Progress.

This course would also mean the virtual termination of development loans and grants to India and Pakistan and termination of all but food aid to Indonesia.

The Alliance for Progress which now embraces 18 Latin-American states, would have to be limited, in this view, to Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Bolivia and possibly to Peru, if aid is not terminated to that country as a result of its expropriation of United States petroleum properties.

U.S.-Spanish Pact On Military Bases Extended 5 Years

By BENJAMIN WELLES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26—

The United States and Spain announced agreement in principle today to extend for five more years the United States' military base rights in Spain.

Robert J. McCloskey, the State Department spokesman, made the announcement this evening. He said that Secretary of State William P. Rogers and the Spanish Foreign Minister, Fernando Maria Castiella y Maiz, had "reached agreement in principle on the nature of the arrangements for the new five-year period of the defense agreement, which, both Governments agree, should take place subject to the completion of the negotiations of the written documents that will express such arrangements."

The agreement was reached yesterday in private talks between Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Fernando Maria Castiella y Maiz, the Spanish Foreign Minister, according to the informants.

The military, economic and

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

BASIS OF PACT SET BY U.S. AND SPAIN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

political assistance that the United States will ultimately furnish Spain in return for the "joint" defense facilities will be the subject of protracted bargaining in the coming months.

Foreign Minister Castiella, who flew here over the weekend, proposed the extension of the negotiations yesterday. It was said, and his offer was immediately agreed to by Mr. Rogers. Mr. Castiella stressed that Spain wished to continue close defense cooperation with the United States.

Today Mr. Castiella spent nearly an hour with President Nixon and several of his advisers. The Spanish official, who is of Basque origin and who likes to recall that he had a grandmother born in Texas, took pains to deny reports that Spain was turning isolationist.

Following the meeting, other sources said that Mr. Nixon had selected Robert C. Hill, a former Ambassador to Mexico, Costa Rica and Salvador, as Ambassador to Madrid. Mr. Hill, a former executive of W. R. Grace & Co., served as an Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations during the Eisenhower Administration. He will succeed Robert F. Wagner, former Mayor of New York, who recently resigned.

Silent on Amount
In an interview in the Span-

ish Embassy here, Mr. Castiella declined to forecast the amounts of the value of United States military hardware — jet aircraft, Hawk antiaircraft missiles, radar picket ships, tanks and other materiel — that Spain was seeking or expected to receive.

Last summer United States sources put the original requests at \$1.2-billion — later reduced to \$700-million before the talks were broken off. The United States offer, it was stated, had been approximately \$400-million in fresh arms over the next five years, plus military and other economic benefits.

Speaking in Spanish, Mr. Castiella said that after the September breakdown, he agreed with the then Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, to continue the recessed talks at the military level. He said that the chamber United States and Spanish military representatives began negotiations.

However, he indicated the latest United States offer, which he declined to disclose, was complicated by the officials' last Friday, five days before the end of the month negotiations. Under the circumstances, the Spanish negotiators, with too little time for adequate response, he indicated.

Had the two Governments not agreed to continue, Mr. Castiella said, Spain would have been asked today to request that the United States to remove its materiel and 15,000 servicemen and families within a year from the \$500-million complex of bases.

CIVIL RULE GOAL, PAKISTAN IS TOLD

But No Date Is Set for Shift
—Yahya Says Military
Acted to Save Nation

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

KARACHI, Pakistan, March 26—The new military regime in Pakistan promised today to make way for a constitutional government chosen on the basis of universal suffrage. But it set no deadline for its own departure.

Gen. Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, the 52-year-old army commander to whom President Mohammad Ayub Khan handed over power last night, assured the nation in his first radio address: "I have no ambition other than to create conditions conducive to the establishment of a constitutional government."

There were no public protests anywhere in Pakistan against the takeover, which canceled the promise of a return to parliamentary democracy next year after 10 years of President Ayub's autocratic rule. Nowhere did the regime seek to make a strong show of force.

Diplomatic analysts here saw no indication at this stage of a shift in Pakistan's foreign policy as a result of the military takeover. They felt such a shift would have been likely only if an elected Government had come to power.

In Dacca, the capital of the

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

East Pakistan, a detachment of 400 troops was stationed in the center of the city, hidden behind the walls of a stadium. It was Dacca's first day in more than three months without any shouting of slogans, demonstrations or strikes.

Students and teachers have gone back to colleges and universities after having stayed away for about three months. Sit-down in offices and factories have stopped and industries have begun to function normally.

East Appears Resigned

East Pakistanis, whose movement for provincial autonomy was thwarted by the takeover, appeared to resign themselves to the new order. But in private there were many who said it had destroyed the last chance to prevent an eventual parting of the ways between the two parts of Pakistan, which are divided by language and culture and by almost a thousand miles of Indian territory.

The 73,000,000 Bengalis of East Pakistan, the smaller of the two areas, account for more than half of the 128,000,000 population. But the country has been governed from the West by an élite, including the higher echelons of the armed forces, that is almost entirely from West Pakistan.

General Yahya and the five martial law administrators he has named are all from the West.

"This is the end of Pakistan," a young Bengali declared. "It may take 10 years or 15 years, but this is the end."

Sheik Bars Comment

Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, which demands autonomy, was until last night widely considered a likely Prime Minister in Pakistan's next Government. Today, he refused to be interviewed at his home in Dacca. "My hands are tied," he said. "They may come for me at any time."

As reporters turned to leave, he called out from his porch. "My people are with me, no one can suppress me."

Karachi apparently welcomed the takeover, if only because it promised a spell of calm after months of turmoil.

The political expectations of many people here appeared to have been satisfied a month ago by President Ayub's announcement that he would quit when his term ended.

The first action of the new

regime was a series of harsh decrees outlawing strikes, agitation and criticism of any of the government's actions. The measures did not ban political parties.

The decrees, issued under the martial-law proclamation last night, prescribed penalties ranging from 30 lashes to 14 years in prison for acts designed to create "despondency" or "dissatisfaction toward the armed forces."

Under the decree, such acts could be "by word of mouth, or in writing, or by signals, or otherwise." Smuggling, looting, arson, or damage to public property can all be punished by hanging.

Criticism of the imposition of martial law or its administration can be punished by up to 10 years' imprisonment; the maximum sentence for striking is 14 years. Violators of the martial-law regulations are to be tried by special military tribunals. Death sentences will require General Yahya's approval.

General Explains Step

The army commander, who becomes the new head of state under the title of Chief Martial Law Administrator, said the "extreme step" of a military takeover had become necessary to save the country from "utter destruction."

Speaking slowly in English with a marked English accent, the general was stern and solemn as he recounted the conditions of lawlessness and economic deterioration that he said had forced the army's decision. "The nation has to be pulled back to safety," he said.

The situation described by General Yahya arose in parts of East Pakistan following President Ayub's promise on Feb. 21 to make way for a democratic government. The rioting claimed more than 250 lives.

General Yahya did not mention East Pakistan specifically in connection with the violence nor did he offer any estimate

of how widespread it had become. He said only that the military had concluded that the situation was deteriorating and beyond the control of the civil authorities.

General Yahya assured students, workers and peasants that he was sympathetically aware of their needs, even though he found it necessary to curtail their right to protest in the interest of order.

Unlike Marshal Ayub, whose farewell address stressed the need for a strong central government, the general said nothing about the need for a new constitution for Pakistan. That is for the people's representatives, not the military, to decide, he declared.

U.S. Withholds Judgment

By PETER GROSE

WASHINGTON, March 26—The State Department withheld judgment today on the future of United States relations with Pakistan. But it noted with relief the absence of significant anti-Americanism and of anti-Indian sentiments. The initial assessment of United States officials is that

the downfall of President Mohammad Ayub Khan, after 10 years of strongman rule, was a result of accumulated domestic frustrations and that major foreign policy questions were not at issue.

The State Department spokesman, Robert J. McCloskey, said that the Administration had not yet faced the question whether new diplomatic recognition would be necessary for the military regime headed by General Yahya.

He said the United States Ambassador in Rawalpindi, Benjamin H. Oehlert Jr., was maintaining routine contact with authorities and no "untoward" incidents involving the 4,600 Americans in Pakistan had been reported.

Pakistan is a member of the United States Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Baghdad Pact, and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

These alliances were intended by President Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, to stand with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a security cordon to "contain" Soviet and Chinese Communist power.

Succession of Political Crises in Pakistan Reflect Deep Divisions

By THEODORE SHARAD

Pakistan, a Moslem country carved out of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, is an unusual experiment in nation-building by their common religion. The two components, West Pakistan and East Pakistan, are so opposite in natural setting, history, cultural background and way of life that their clashing interests have precipitated a succession of political crises.

THE ISSUES

Although 60 per cent of the total population lives in East Pakistan and its jute exports provide at least half of the country's exports, the East charges that the national government puts a disproportionate share of investment funds in the economic development of the West.

East Pakistanis complain that few of them reach senior official positions in the national government and that the resulting imbalance tends to focus national concerns on West Pakistan.

Because of these disparities, East Pakistan has increasingly developed separatist tendencies and pressed for national elections as a vehicle to greater regional autonomy.

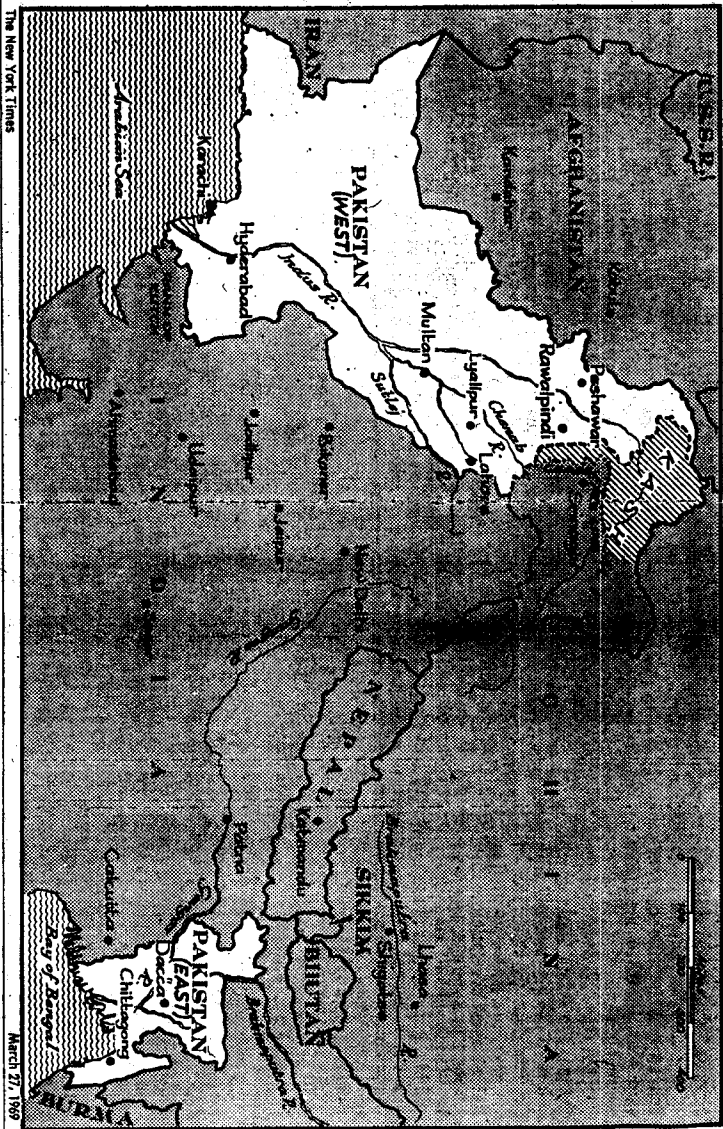
THE NATURAL SETTING

West Pakistan, with an area of 310,000 square miles, five-sixths of the national territory, is a land of snowcapped mountains and arid deserts in which irrigation is essential

for economic development. The main source of water is the Indus River.

By contrast, East Pakistan is a humid, tropical region situated mainly among the wide-fung arms and channels of the combined delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers. While West

Pakistan depends on costly irrigation systems for its almost constantly awash, especially after the summer monsoon rains.



The New York Times

March 27, 1969

of 22-Year-Old Country

POPULATION & LANGUAGE

Exposed for centuries to the culture of the Persians, the 55 million people of West Pakistan speak a Persianized, Moslem form of Hindustani, which they write with the Arabic script from right to left. Regional differences have produced the subcultures of the Punjabis, the Pushtu, the Sindhis and the Baluchis.

East Pakistan, with its population of 73 million (or three-fifths of the national total), is inhabited by Bengalis, a more cohesive ethnic group that shares one of the great languages and cultures of the Indian subcontinent with their Bengali neighbors in India. The Bengalis use a distinctive script written from left to right.

Three-fourths of the population of Pakistan derives its livelihood from agriculture. In West Pakistan, wheat is the principal food crop, and cotton and sugar cane are the main cash crops. Livestock raising for hides, meat and wool is also an important economic activity.

East Pakistan's humid tropical environment is most suitable to the cultivation of rice, which is the staple food

of its population. The arms of the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta and tidal inlets of the Sea of Bengal make East Pakistan a major fish-producing area, and fish a key item in the East Pakistani diet.

INDUSTRY

Most of Pakistan's limited mineral resources, coal, iron ore, chromite, natural gas and building materials, are found in West Pakistan, which has also most of the country's large-scale industry. This includes cotton mills, sugar refineries, tanneries and small chemical plants.