



Blaðaúrklippur varðandi NATO, Berlínar deiluna, Sovét togara o.fl.

Bjarni Benediktsson – Stjórnámál – Alþingismaður – Ritstjóri – Úrklippur – *Washington Post* –
Varnarmál – Utanríkismál – NATO

Tekið af vef Borgarskjalasafnsins

bjarnibenediktsson.is

Einkaskjalasafn nr. 360

Stjórnámálamaðurinn

Askja 2-24, Örk 3

©Borgarskjalasafn Reykjavíkur

The Berlin Crisis

Lippmann Calls for New Charter Putting City in Trust With U. N.

This is the third in a series of four articles by Mr. Lippmann on "The Two Germanys and Berlin."

By Walter Lippmann

The preceding articles have made the point that for the indefinite future the



two German states cannot be reunited in one German state with its capital in Berlin. There will be the German Federal Republic of the West with its capital at Bonn.

And there will be the German Democratic Republic of the East with its capital at Pankow, which is a part of East Berlin. These two German states now deal with one another in many economic and technical matters.

Thus, for example, for some considerable time West German traffic to West Berlin has been controlled by the East German government. With the assent of Bonn it exercises the right not only to stamp the identification papers but

actually to inspect the cargos.

There is every reason to suppose that there will be an increasing intercourse and communication between the two German states. But they do not recognize each other as legal and legitimate sovereign states.

We must, therefore, accept the fact that for years to come—it might be for a generation or more—these two German states will have to live side by side with a frontier on the line fixed by the armistice which ended World War II. From the frontier of East Germany to the city of Berlin is a distance of 110 miles. The basic problem is how to protect the future of the West Berlin community, which consists of two and a half million people. They must expect to live for an indefinite future, perhaps for the rest of their lives, in the heart of a Communist state.

Flaws in Standing Pat

In my view, the future of West Berlin cannot be secured adequately by a determination to stand firm on a policy of standing pat. No doubt, we can prevent the Soviet Union and the East German government from blockading West Berlin. We can threaten to go to war if they do. But that is not good enough. West Berlin lies in a strategic trap, and its security cannot be protected adequately by military measures alone. It can be secured against blockade and outright aggression. But it cannot be made secure against harassment and a perpetual war of nerves and the feeling that there is no hope.

West Berlin is a highly complicated economic and political community. It enjoys the institution of private property. There is free enterprise in investment and in banking and in the management of capital. If the division of Germany is to last for the indefinite future, we must find ways to provide the West Berlin community with a dependable order of

Continued on page 20, column 5

INDEX

| | Sec. | Pg. | | Sec. | Pg. |
|------------|------|-----|-------------|------|-----|
| Alsop | 1 | 24 | Lippmann | 1 | 1 |
| Auctions | 2 | 6 | Lost, Found | 1 | 2 |
| Books | 1 | 25 | Marine | 3 | 13 |
| Bridge | 2 | 2 | Movies | 1 | 22 |
| Classified | 2 | 4 | Music | 1 | 22 |
| Comics | 3 | 5 | Obituaries | 1 | 20 |
| Crosby | 2 | 1 | Puzzle | 2 | 5 |
| Drummond | 1 | 25 | Real Estate | 3 | 4 |
| Editorials | 1 | 24 | Rogers | 3 | 6 |
| Education | 2 | 3 | Red Smith | 3 | 1 |
| Employment | 2 | 5 | Science | 2 | 4 |
| Fashions | 2 | 1 | Society | 2 | 3 |
| Financial | 3 | 6 | Sports | 3 | 1 |
| Food | 2 | 2 | TV, Radio | 1 | 21 |
| Hy Gardner | 1 | 23 | Theaters | 1 | 23 |
| Kaseow | 3 | 5 | Torre | 1 | 21 |
| Lawrence | 1 | 25 | Ventura | 2 | 3 |

um, electrons flow from the uranium through the gas. Such a cell operates at 3.8 volts but

He was a member of the annual convention of the Edison Electric Institute.

shift than the gay scale. "The Phi

Lippmann

(Continued from page one)

things. We cannot expect the West Berliners to depend for their whole security upon what over the course of a generation or more we may be able and willing to do with our Strategic Air Force.

The West Berliners cannot go on for years waiting to hear what the Pentagon will say about going to war whenever an East German official harasses them. There has already been some considerable flight of capital since the Khrushchev note of last November, and the economy of West Berlin will wither if, whenever there is a sign of trouble, the best we can do for it is to threaten World War III.

New Status Urged

My conviction is that the future of West Berlin must be protected not by standing pat, but our insisting that West Berlin needs and is entitled to have a new status. When Mr. K. tells us that the present status of Berlin is obsolete, it is a mistake for the West to act as if any departure from the status quo would be a defeat and surrender. It might be an improvement. At present the status quo is from our point of view extremely unsatisfactory. The right answer to Mr. K. is to propose that we negotiate a new charter or statute in which West Berlin is guaranteed an ordered future by the presence of Western troops acting under international auspices.

A new statute for Berlin is needed because the existing arrangements were improvised, rather incompetently, by men who regarded them as temporary. Nobody planned them for a long future. Nobody supposed that there would be two German states with Berlin in the middle of one of them. Only last week

we had an example of how ramshackle are our agreements about access to Berlin, when Soviet fighters buzzed an American plane, which was flying, apparently for the first time, above the customary ceiling of 10,000 feet.

Conquest View Decried

In negotiating a new statute, we should begin by establishing the principles under which we have a right to be present in West Berlin and to participate in determining its future. For some extraordinary reason we have chosen to argue that our rights in Berlin rest upon the right of conquest. That is, if I may say so, a poor reason for the defenders of civilization to invoke. If we choose to stand on the right of conquest, we shall live to regret it. It will boomerang. For where would we be if the Soviet Union, which is also a conqueror of Germany, chose to invoke for itself the right of conquest? The whole of Germany was surrendered to the conquerors, and if there is a right of conquest, it is not limited to West Berlin.

There is no need for us to resort to so primitive and brutal and repellent a principle as the right of conquest. We have good and sufficient civilized reasons for being in Berlin and for remaining there. We are in Berlin because it is the capital of Germany. We are entitled to stay there until it is once again the seat of a united German government. During our stay in Berlin we have in the course of time acquired a special moral obligation to the two and a half million inhabitants of West Berlin. This obligation we intend to honor and we could well say to Mr. K. that he would despise us as we would ourselves if we did not honor it.

For us, negotiation must start from these two fundamentals: the need for a long future of steadfastness and

stability, and the need for a change which reflects the new realities. This can best be done if a new statute is negotiated in which the future of Berlin is put in trust with the United Nations. The new charter or statute should begin with an explicit declaration that the United Nations trust will last until the two German states agree to restore Berlin as the capital of a reunited Germany.

Then, in the new statute the right of access, the conditions of co-existence, the relations between the two Berlins and the two Germanys, the presence of Allied and United Nations token military forces, should be spelled out. Though it is a complicated thing to do, it is not an impossible thing to establish a city within a city and within a foreign state. The most striking example which could well be used as a suggestive model, is the treaty signed in 1929 between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Italy. This was the Lateran Treaty which established Vatican City.

Signs "Not Unfavorable"

The State of the Vatican is a quite separate sovereign juridical entity although it is in fact entirely surrounded by the Italian city of Rome. The treaty regulates the whole problem of access across Italian territory, and it does so with a precision which any one must envy who knows something of the fuzziness of our position in Berlin.

I think I have reason to say that a solution of this sort would be acceptable in West Berlin. Whether the Russians would accept it there is no way of knowing until we try to negotiate it in concrete terms. But the signs are not altogether unfavorable. Mr. K. has mentioned the U. N. in connection with Berlin, he has acknowledged that the West

has right... Berlin, and he has not rejected the idea of a Western military presence.

Both sides have much to gain from such a settlement. For us it would mean that the West Berlin community was guaranteed physical security under a new and much more authoritative statute than exists today. It would mean also that the future was not foreclosed, and that the prospect of Berlin's becoming again the capital of Germany would be reaffirmed with the sanction of the world society. The West Berliners would have a reason for carrying on. For they would have hope, which, in affairs of this sort, is as important as hydrogen bombs.

The Russians for their part would get a good deal, too. They would get, as we would get, the relief that comes from straightening out a dangerous muddle. They would get a provisional but durable acceptance of the fact that there are two Germanys. Since a United Nations statute would have to be agreed to both by the Soviet Union and by the Pankov government, they would get a de facto recognition of the East German state by the U. N. This might mean much to them in that it would help to stabilize their situation in Eastern Europe.

Neither side would "win." But neither would "lose." Each side would hold within its sphere of influence what it now holds, and neither would surrender to the other any territory or any people. But we would get a new legal, political and moral foundation and framework which takes account of the hard facts of life—that there will long be two Germanys and that Berlin must be protected in a special way while Germany remains divided.

©1959, N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.

The final article will appear tomorrow.

Some Bet Against NATO in '49

SIGNING, From Page E1

Necessarily So" and "I Got Plenty of Nothin'."

THERE WERE scoffers at the time who were betting that NATO would never have much in the way of armed strength.

Well, after 10 years and contributions of more than \$25 billion by the United States in support of its allies, NATO (according to the State Department) has "nearly 100 active and reserve divisions, more than 1000 combat vessels and air units operating nearly 5000 modern aircraft."

Those who ought to know

say that this gives a picture of strength which could be misleading. They note, for example, the words "nearly 100 active and reserve divisions," and point out that many of the "reserve" divisions could not be mobilized speedily.

UNHAPPILY, Russia's military power today, relative to NATO's power, is believed to be greater than it was 10 years ago. The Russians have always maintained huge ground forces and have been reinforcing these in the satellite countries.

But more worrisome than

this is the spectacular progress Russia has made in the field of rockets and missiles. The Pentagon acknowledges that if the Russians build all of the ocean-crossing ICBMs they're capable of building in the few years ahead, they will outdistance the United States. That's what is being called the "missile gap."

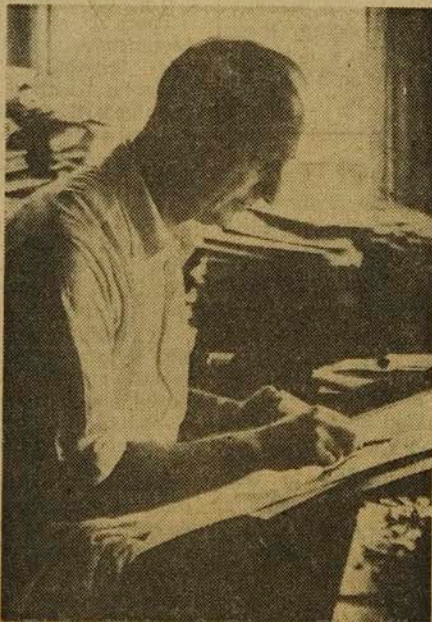
In a way, it is a strange atmosphere into which the foreign ministers will move when they come to Washington this week. What makes it strange is the role President Eisenhower is playing now, in contrast to the role he was playing as Gen. Eisenhower back in 1950-2.

Then, as Supreme Commander of NATO, he was eager to impress upon Congress the need of building up American and allied arms and erecting in Europe what he called a "Wall of Peace."

Now he is engaged in a battle with those Democrats in Congress who want to spend more than he does on arms. He has even gone so far as to accuse them of being "hysterical" and going off "half cocked."

Queen's Delight

COLLIES ROSE to fame among dogs after Queen Victoria expressed admiration for them, according to the National Geographic Magazine. Later efforts to beautify the breed resulted in a long-muzzled, beruffed dog with a variety of colors, including the tawny shades common in America.



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

VOLUME 51 NO. 103

© 1950, THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLISHING
All Rights Reserved

Economics or...?

Soviet Trawlers Fish World Seas

By Paul Wohl

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

What are Soviet fishing fleets doing off Newfoundland, Scotland, Alaska? Western security agencies anxiously scan this new line of activity of the no longer landbound Soviets.

The United States is at a special disadvantage in hampering such incursions because it claims as territorial waters only a narrow three-mile strip in contrast to Communist claims of a 12-mile zone. This allows Soviet trawlers to come within easy seeing distance of American coasts. Canada, which is in the same predicament, already has had to extend its right to police fishing on the Grand Banks off Newfoundland, which are outside Canadian territorial waters.

But this does not prevent the Soviets from sending their fishing fleets to the Grand Banks or from fishing along the Alaska coast.

Soviet trawlers and refrigerator ships, which today are a common sight in the world's major fishing grounds, are coming in ever greater numbers. By 1965 the Soviets expect to be the leading fishing nation in the world.

Last year their fish catch was approximately equal to that of America and second only to that of Japan. Despite relatively poor refrigeration, their per capita consumption of fish is almost twice that of the United States.

Soviet Advantage

At the same time they are among the world's largest importers of fish. Fish canning also is a big business for the U.S.S.R. In 1957 the U.S.S.R. exported more than 57,000,000 cans of fish products.

No wonder Western fishery interests are concerned!

Richly endowed fishery and oceanographic research gives the Soviets many advantages. In undersea exploration the Soviets have made so much progress that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries recently decided to set up a joint center for coordinated exploration of the ocean grounds.

Officially Soviet research in this field seeks only to shed new light on ocean currents and on the formation of the ocean bottom in their relation to the feeding and breeding habits of fish.

In the interest of what the Soviets call an exclusively scientific research project, the Soviet

coordinated with those of the Navy.

If Western security services recently have become concerned over the U.S.S.R.'s distant fishing ventures, it looks as though they will have even more reason for concern in the future.

At the 21st Communist Party Congress, Soviet Planning Chief and Deputy Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin announced that his country intended to extend its sardine and tuna fishing to the coasts of Africa. Soon Soviet trawlers and factory ships also will ply the Indian Ocean.

Already the Soviet Union is believed to have the largest number of modern heavy-duty fishing vessels in the world. Under the current plan the building of fishing vessels and refrigerator and factory ships is to be stepped up sharply. Khabarovsk in the mouth of the Amur River is to become the Far Eastern construction and repair center for the Soviet fishing fleet.

Targets Largely Met

The Soviet planning record in ocean fishing has been relatively good. Targets set under the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans (1946 to 1950 and 1951 to 1955) were 80 and 90 per cent attained, giving the U.S.S.R. in 1955 third place among the fishing nations of the world—ahead of Norway and Britain.

Apart from military reasons about which nothing definite is known, there are two economic reasons for the swarming of Soviet fishing fleets over the seven seas:

1. Insufficient meat production, which forced the government to supplement an inadequate meat supply with more and more fish;

2. The pollution of the country's major rivers and of part of the Caspian and Azov Seas.

In ocean fishing the Soviets encountered few of the difficulties with which they still have to cope in livestock raising. Large, modern fishing fleets apparently lend themselves better to state management than collective farms, where many peasant instincts remain.

Fisheries Depleted

But the Soviets probably would not have invested so heavily in ocean fishing, had their once-so-lucrative freshwater fisheries not been decimated by complete disregard of their own plans. In the early

Navy has equipped at least two long-range submarines with heavy plate - glass windows, powerful projectors, and electronic sounding gear and has stationed laboratory surface vessels for many months at various points in the Atlantic, in the South and Central Pacific, and the Indian Oceans.

Efforts Interwoven

But no one knows what the Soviet Fishing Ministry has up its sleeve.

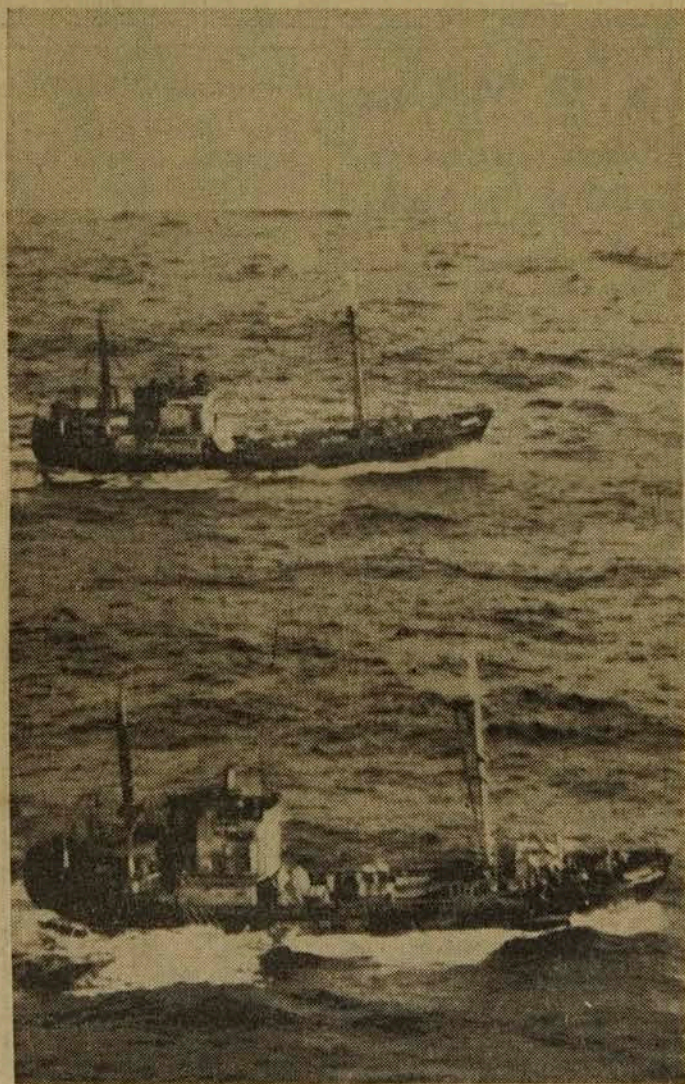
Taken at face value, active participation of the Soviet Navy in fishery research is not in itself an indication of hidden military purposes, since in Communist countries it is a point of honor for the armed forces to assist in civilian projects.

But it also is true that military and civilian endeavors are interwoven, and few observers doubt that the activities of the Soviet fishing fleet are carefully

180's nearly two-thirds of the Soviet Union's total fish catch of about 1,300,000 tons consisted of fresh-water fish and fish from the land-locked Caspian Sea.

According to data published by the Soviet Academy the Caspian basin with its tributaries alone averaged 536,000 tons of fish between 1929 and 1932. In 1957 the fresh water and Caspian fish catch had dropped from about 700,000 tons to 480,000 tons. Fisheries in the Sea of Azov, which in the early 1930's yielded more than 250,000 tons a year, also have shrunk.

Losses suffered by fresh-water fisheries through river pollution and through the blocking of the Volga by power dams, which prevent the fish from reaching their breeding grounds in the upper river, were estimated in 1957 at around 200,000,000 rubles (\$50,000,000 at the official rate of exchange) a year.



Associated Press Wirephoto

SOVIET FISHERMEN MOVE IN: This United States Navy aerial photo shows two Soviet trawling boats in the Bering Sea off Alaska's Bristol Bay, where a Soviet fishing fleet is reported concentrating, to the dismay of American and Canadian fishermen. This picture was made on a "routine" Navy patrol flight. Protests are being registered by both American and Canadian fishermen, who charge that their own fishing will be impaired.

Mans Peace Offensive

NATO Is 'Flourishing' on Its 10th Anniversary

What It Needs Now Is Sense Of 'Oneness'

By Paul-Henri Spaak

Three times Prime Minister of Belgium and four times its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Spaak was president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1946 and has been secretary general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since 1957. The following article, an evaluation of NATO on the eve of its 10th anniversary, is condensed by special permission from Foreign Affairs, April, 1959. Copyright by Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., New York.

I DO NOT intend to set forth once again the historical and political considerations which necessitated and to this day justify the existence of the Atlantic Alliance. At the most I should like only to state that NATO today seems to me to be every bit as essential as it was in 1949, and perhaps more so.

During the 10 years which have elapsed, the Communist world has not grown weaker. The threat which it represents to the free world has, indeed, been aggravated in that it is now economic as well as military and is spreading far beyond the borders of Europe to Asia and Africa. With each passing day I am more convinced that the surest and perhaps the only way to resist it successfully is to develop among the countries belonging to the Alliance a sense of oneness based on mutual understanding and loyalty.

Fortunately NATO is not, as some people think, in a state of crisis. On the contrary, it is flourishing.

No one can deny that the Alliance has been wholly successful in its essential purpose of halting the expansion of Soviet imperialism in Europe without the need to resort to force. Soviet imperialism, which chalked up one conquest after another in the period from 1939 to 1948, has made no further progress in Europe since the day the Atlantic Alliance was formed. . . .

'Monty' Says It Looks Too Much Inward

By Field Marshal
Viscount Montgomery, K. G.

Viscount Montgomery retired last September as Deputy Supreme Commander of NATO.

LONDON—On April 4, 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington by the foreign ministers of the 12 powers which were the original members. Greece and Turkey joined the alliance Feb. 18, 1952, and Federal Germany on May 9, 1955. The total of nations in the organization then became, and remains today, 15.

It is worthwhile to cast back in history and clear our minds about the origins of NATO.

By May, 1945, we had won the German war militarily but had lost it politically vis-a-vis Russia. The United States and Britain then withdrew the greater part of their armed forces from the continent of Europe. In the case of Britain, the people were exhausted after the war and the soldiers wanted to get home.

We also ran down our armament program and turned over industry to the art of reconstruction. The Soviet Union did not follow suit. It maintained its forces in Europe on a war footing and kept up its armament production.

As time went on it proved impossible to reach agreement about the four-power control of Germany and the drafting of peace treaties with former enemy states. The climax was reached at the end of 1947 when the Soviet representatives walked out of the Allied Control Council in Berlin. Thus was let down the iron curtain which split Europe, indeed the world, in twain.

In the face of all these troubles there was, in fact, nothing to stop Russian forces from overrunning Western Europe, if they ever wished to do so—except possibly the possession by Amer-



Less Than Definitive

IF THIS is true, then surely it would be the utmost folly to dissolve or even weaken the Alliance. To do so would be simply to restore the conditions which made the gains of Soviet imperialism possible. This consideration should be a signal to the policy-makers to proceed with caution.

It would be a serious mistake, however, to think that the great success achieved by the Alliance is definitive or even sufficient. As is always true in politics, the future is much more important than the past. Nothing is more dangerous than to take too much satisfaction in what has already been accomplished.

Fortunately the statesmen of the West are aware that attention should be directed rather toward what remains to be done, and they have been endeavoring since 1956 to strengthen the Alliance's political structure through greater coordination of the foreign policies of the 15 member countries. Important progress has been

made along these lines during the past year, although the public generally is not yet aware of it.

Certainly it is not an easy thing to coordinate the foreign policies of the 15 countries comprising NATO, widely separated geographically as some of them are and in many cases differing considerably both in power and historical experience. . . .

Nevertheless, I maintain that we have almost succeeded in doing so. In any case, the present experiment is worth continuing. If it is successful, the posture of the free West will be

profoundly altered.

The Permanent Council of the Atlantic Alliance is today an important and extraordinarily active body. It met more than 70 times during the first nine months of 1958 and gave serious consideration to almost all the world problems which have arisen.

It was, of course, more successful in dealing with some problems than with others. While substantial policy agreement was reached regarding relations between the West and the Communist world, differences persist with regard to the policy to be followed in the

Middle and Far East. They have unquestionably been narrowed, however, and the exchange of views in the Council has led to greater understanding and closer cooperation.

Little by little, without fanfare or useless publicity, a sort of collective diplomacy is taking the place of the individual diplomacy that was for so long traditional.

The constructive results of this unremitting activity became apparent when the Foreign Ministers met last December. Faced with the grave and difficult problem of Berlin, the Min-

isters took less than three hours to reach agreement on a position which, although in no way provocative, is none the less firm and courageous. . . .

The Ministers showed logic and wisdom in asserting that the Berlin situation must be examined against the background of the German problem as a whole and that once the latter is solved the former will cease to exist. They were also right in expressing their willingness to negotiate on this basis.

It is here that the situation becomes
See NATO, Page E3, Column 1

ica of the atom bomb.

Churchill's Idea

IT WAS Sir Winston Churchill who, in a speech at Fulton, Mo., in March, 1946, first put forward the idea of a defensive alliance by peace-loving nations. At the time the idea was rather frowned on. But it was taken up in September, 1947, by Louis St. Laurent, then Foreign Secretary of Canada, who, in an address to the United Nations General Assembly, expressed concern at the complete inability of the Security Council to insure protection to the free world.

He added that the nations should seek safety for themselves by joining in an association of states willing to accept specific obligations in return for greater security. He was soon to be proved right.

It was that great man Ernest Bevin who then conceived the idea of a union in Western Europe which would be backed by the United States and the
See MONTY, Page E2, Column 5

The official emblem chosen by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to mark its 10th anniversary. (See flag identification on Page E3.)

Washington Ceremony April 4, 1949, Broke Two-Century Tradition

By Edward T. Folliard

Staff Reporter

TEN YEARS AGO this week, in a ceremony here in Washington, the United States broke sharply with a tradition of nearly two centuries and entered into a military alliance in peacetime.

The occasion was the signing on April 4, 1949, of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, which brought into being the most formidable coalition of its kind in all history.

Under the terms of the treaty, the nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are pledged to regard an armed attack on any one of them as an armed attack upon all.

The anniversary ceremony will take place Thursday morning in the same Departmental Auditorium where NATO was born 10 years ago. The foreign ministers of all 15 members of the great alliance will be on hand. The orator of the day will be President Eisenhower, the soldier-statesman who was the first supreme commander of NATO.

Always a Challenge

LOOKING BACK over the 10 years, one is reminded of the French saying, "Plus ca change plus c'est la meme chose." (The more it changes, the more it's the same thing.)

In 1949, even as the treaty with its red, white and blue ribbon was being signed by the foreign ministers, the Soviet Union of Joseph Stalin was blockading Berlin and trying to force the troops of the United States, Britain and France out of that largest of German cities. The blockade was smashed

by a massive American airlift which carried more than a million metric tons of food, coal and other supplies to Tempelhof Airport.

Now, a decade later, the foreign ministers of the Atlantic Community will be faced with another Russian-made crisis as they assemble in Washington Thursday. This is Premier Khrushchev's demand that the Big Three pull their troops out of West Berlin, leaving that city within the grasp of the Communist rulers of East Germany.

President Eisenhower has agreed to meet with Khrushchev at a summit conference but he has served notice that the United States "will not retreat one inch" from its duty in Berlin.

"We cannot try to purchase peace by forsaking two million free people of Berlin," he said March 16.

A Shield, Not a Sword

NATO IS A military coalition, but those who conceived it hoped that it would insure peace. True, it was brought into being because of Russia, but that was because Russia at the time was the only power which was threatening the peace of the world.

As the treaty was being signed in Washington, Moscow was crying out in its propaganda that the NATO pact was aimed at the Soviet Union and was "openly aggressive." President Harry S. Truman, standing on a stage before the massed flags of the Atlantic Treaty nations, said that this Russian claim was "absolutely untrue."

He called the pact "a shield against aggression." He said that if the North Atlantic Community, an area which had been engulfed by two world wars, could be protected against conflict in the

future—well, it would be "a long step toward permanent peace in the world." Mr. Truman said that the North Atlantic Treaty was a simple document, and added:

"But if it had existed in 1914 and in 1939, supported by the nations which

are represented here today, I believe it would have prevented the acts of aggression which led to two world wars."

Approximately 150 persons—diplomats, Cabinet officers, members of Congress and notable onlookers—were



Secretary of State Dean Acheson signing the North Atlantic Pact April 5, 1949. Standing are (left to right) the late Sen. Alben W. Barkley, President Truman and John Foley of the State Department.

crowded into the Departmental Auditorium that April day 10 years ago.

There were some in the audience, including newspapermen, who could remember the last great gathering of statesmen here—the Washington Arms Conference of 1921. And they were struck by the contrast.

On that earlier occasion in the Harding Administration, the statesmen said—and Americans and others hoped—that a new era of peace had been inaugurated by the agreement to scrap warships and to limit arms.

Almost everything was different at the 1949 ceremony. It was not merely that 12 nations (since increased to 15 by the addition of Greece, Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany) were now trusting to their arms and agreeing to pool them. The big difference was in the atmosphere.

There were hopes this time, too, but they were accompanied by realism and sophistication which would have been put down as cynicism in 1921.

'Woe Unto Them'

DEAN ACHESON, then Secretary of State, made a sober speech opening the ceremony and struck what was a sort of keynote for the occasion. Of the pact, he said:

"For those who seek peace, it is a guide to refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.

"For those who set their feet upon the path of aggression, it is a warning that if it must needs be that offenses come, then woe unto them by whom the offense cometh."

Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Sec-

retary at the time, sounded the same note, saying:

"Our peoples do not want war and do not glorify war, but they will not shrink from it if aggression is threatened."

A Defenseless Member

LITTLE ICELAND was represented by Foreign Minister Bjarni Benediktsson, who told the assemblage that none of the treaty countries was weaker than his.

"My people are unarmed and have been unarmed since the days of our Viking forefathers," he said. "We neither have nor can have an army. My country has never waged war on any country. . . . In truth we are quite unable to defend ourselves from any foreign armed attack."

He said that Iceland had some hesitation about joining the Atlantic Alliance. But he recalled that both Britain and the United States took over the defense of his country in World War II, and he said that Iceland wanted similar protection in case of a new war.

Other foreign ministers who spoke were Belgium's Paul-Henri Spaak, now Secretary General of NATO; Canada's Lester B. Pearson; Denmark's Gustav Rasmussen; France's Robert Schuman; Italy's Count Carlo Sforza; Luxembourg's Joseph Bech; the Netherlands' Dirk U. Stikker; Norway's Halvard M. Lange, and Portugal's Jose Caeiro da Matta.

The famous Marine Band, then led by Maj. William F. Santlemann, entertained the audience for a half hour before the treaty was signed. Among the selections it played (taken from Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess") were "It Ain't

See SIGNING, Page E5, Column 1