

*Article 2. (General Welfare)*—The parties will encourage cooperative efforts between any or all of them to promote the general welfare through collaboration in the cultural, economic and social fields. Such efforts shall, to the greatest possible extent, be undertaken through and assist the work of existing international organizations.

We have been doing our best to include in the draft some positive reference to economic and social collaboration between the signatory powers in order to broaden the basis of the agreement beyond that of a mere military alliance. This paragraph is the best we have been able to secure as yet, though we hope that there will also be a reference to economic and social collaboration in the preamble. Mr. Wrong, however, will continue his efforts to strengthen this article in second reading, possibly by the inclusion of some such words as “The parties agree to make every effort in common to eliminate conflict in their economic policies and to develop the great possibilities of trade between them.”

*Article 3. (Mutual Aid)*—In order better to assure the security of the North Atlantic area, the parties will use every endeavor, severally and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, to strengthen their individual and collective capacity to resist aggression.

The only change that we have suggested to the above is the substitution of the words “individually and collectively” for “severally and jointly” (the latter are used in the Brussels Pact).

*Article 4. (Consultation)*—The parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them

- (a) The territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened; or
- (b) There exists any situation which constitutes a threat to or breach of the peace.

This is a useful article and covers the possibility of “indirect aggression”. The obligation, you will note, is one merely of consultation.

*Article 5. Paragraph 1 (Mutual Assistance)*—

(1) The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them occurring within the area defined below shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith such military or other action, individually and in concert with the other parties, as may be necessary to restore and assure the security of the North Atlantic area.

This is the heart of the draft. The text seems generally satisfactory and goes further than we had thought the Americans would agree to. We should, I think, attempt to maintain this text, though I have a feeling that the Americans may try to water it down somewhat as a result of their discussions with Congressional leaders. The obligation is, of course, a specific one to come to the help of a country attacked, but the determination of what constitutes aggression in any particular case