I am going to suggest to you tonight that we shall make our best progress toward the objectives stated in Article 2 if we are willing to look beyond the North Atlantic Organization for areas and opportunities of non-military collaboration. There is nothing in our Treaty to suggest that NATO is the only means by which we are to build our community. Quite the reverse. Indeed the adherence of all of us to the United Nations itself is reaffirmed in the very first article of the Treaty. Let me explain what I have in mind:

In building up our community, as good neighbours, we have many different jobs that must be done. We shall build most quickly and most surely if we use the right tool for the job in hand. There are already many tools available; we should seldom have to take time off to fashion new ones. This is specially true in the economic field where there are many well-oiled tools ready to our hands. If we, North Atlantic countries, want to co-operate in affairs of, say, civil aviation, we would not normally look to NATO in Paris; we should look to the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal. The fact that the membership of ICAO is wider than NATO is no disadvantage; indeed, it is a positive advantage, because we want our aeroplanes to fly all over the world. If we want to promote worldwide trade, should we not more normally work together in the organization under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, GATT — rather than in NATO? If we have financial matters to discuss which run beyond the bounds of our membership, which has naturally been determined largely by the immediate needs of defence, should we not normally look to the International Bank and Fund?

Even in those economic affairs which affect North Atlantic countries most of all we may promote our ends through other organs as well as in NATO itself. The Organization for European Economic Co-operation is a well-established and efficient body, with a tried and able staff and with interests that, in many ways, are closely parallel with those of NATO. Many of us have welcomed the recent initiatives of the United Kingdom and United States Governments to ensure a fuller use of the OEEC for certain very important work that we have in NATO. Thus, at this minute, the OEEC is pressing forward with an examination of national economies which will provide the essential basis for NATO's annual review of build-up of forces. In fact, these two operations in OEEC and NATO have been planned by much the same people with an eye to maximum efficiency and minimum waste.

What I am suggesting is that, in other than military affairs, and particularly in economic, social and cultural matters, we members of NATO should try to co-operate, not solely, or even primarily, through the machinery of NATO when there are already in existence other international bodies with more appropriate organization and membership.

By no means do I intend to imply that, in this non-military field, there is no place for NATO. One very important activity of the Council, for instance, is that of "political consultation", the provision of an intimate, friendly forum where problems of foreign policy can be discussed; here substantial progress has been made, even in these past few weeks. Again, one should, I think, contemplate the possibility, under special circumstances and for particular purposes, of NATO considering problems normally within the sphere of other international bodies - where, let us say, a stalemate has been reached and where discussions, in a group such as the North Atlantic Council with its continuous and wide-ranging contacts, might serve the common good. For in the NATO forum, with the Soviet menace ever actively present in our minds, there may well be a greater will and a greater willingness than elsewhere to press forward towards agreement. Therefore, while the opportunities for "non-military co-operation" may, in fact, be more frequent outside NATO than within, we must certainly not miss any chances that may arise inside. We who have been especially concerned with this vital element in our association are heartened by the frequent references to these matters by our Secretary-General. I have no doubt that, as time

October, 1952

343