

minimum. No doubt most of the members of the Council realized the responsibility which lay on their shoulders, that no word should be uttered which might fan the flame. There was also the knowledge that two of the Great Powers—Italy and Germany—were not represented in Geneva; but they had entered into the Non-intervention Agreement and were represented at meetings of the Non-intervention Committee in London—in short, that if anything could be done, London was the place where it might be achieved. At length a motion was framed and this was submitted to a meeting of the Council held in the evening. It reads as follows:—

“The Council,—

“After hearing the observations made before it,—

“I.

“Noting that it has been requested to examine a situation which, in the terms of Article XI of the Covenant, is such as to affect international relations and to threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends,

“Considering that that good understanding ought to be maintained irrespective of the internal regimes of States,

“Bearing in mind that it is the duty of every State to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of other States, a duty which, for members of the League of Nations, has been recognized in the Covenant,

“Affirms that every State is under an obligation to refrain from intervening in the internal affairs of another State :

“II.

“Considering that the setting-up of a committee of non-intervention and the undertakings entered into in that connection arise out of the principles stated above,

“Having been informed that new attempts are being made in the Committee to make its action more effective, in particular by instituting measures of supervision, the necessity for which is becoming increasingly urgent,

“Recommends the members of the League represented on the London Committee to spare no pains to render the non-intervention undertakings as stringent as possible, and to take appropriate measures to ensure forthwith that the fulfilment of the said undertakings is effectively supervised :

“III.

“Views with sympathy the action which has just been taken on the international plane by the United Kingdom and France with a view to avoiding the dangers which the prolongation of the present state of affairs in Spain is causing to peace and to good understanding between nations :

“IV.

“Notes that there are problems of a humanitarian character in connection with the present situation, in regard to which co-ordinated action of an international and humanitarian character is desirable as soon as possible,

“Recognizes, further, that for the reconstruction which Spain may have to undertake international assistance may also be desirable,

“And authorizes the Secretary-General to make available the assistance of the technical services of the League of Nations should a suitable opportunity occur.”

It was accepted by the Spanish delegate, who said:—

“This morning I accepted the concluding paragraph of this resolution in its present form, and I accepted it all the more gladly because the exchange of views between members of the Council showed clearly, in conformity with the constant practice of the Council in matters of international collaboration, that any international action in Spanish territory could only be at the request of the Spanish Government.

“I would like to add that as the action taken by the Council in the present instance does not exhaust the question which has been raised, the Spanish Government reserves the right, should circumstances make it necessary, to ask the Council to pursue its examination of this question.”

He was followed by the President of the Council, M. Edwards, speaking in his capacity as the representative of Chile. M. Edwards pleaded for the safety of those who had taken refuge in Embassies and Legations in Madrid.

In reply, the Spanish representative said:—

“I am fully prepared to consider, direct with each Government concerned, the problem constituted by the persons who have taken refuge in the way referred to, taking into account all the diverse aspects of the situation.”

The motion quoted above was then put to the vote and passed unanimously.

In reply to the question, “What has been achieved?” I can only answer “Little.” The Spanish Government has warned the world of the possible international consequences of the civil war; the seriousness of the position has been emphasized by the calling together of the Council; the obligation