

"The representative of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom says that Spain should be allowed to settle her own destinies in her own way. The representative of France said, *inter alia*, that the Spanish people are no longer sole masters of their own destiny. So we come back to the point we have in mind, the welfare and independence of the people of Spain. This does not mean acres, cities, and harbours, but the welfare of the people—men, women, and children. The people are our concern; they are their own concern.

"We would fain ask that a committee of the Council be set up to act forthwith, but we have been assured that the Non-intervention Committee will go beyond the matter of non-intervention: it has been said that the Governments of Europe cannot be satisfied until the objectives of the Non-intervention Committee have been realized, until the last foreigner has been withdrawn from Spain, and until that unhappy country has been allowed to settle her own destinies in her own way.

"Could we then from this Council table ask the Non-intervention Committee definitely to extend its powers? Could we ask that the Non-intervention Committee, while endeavouring to secure the cessation of hostilities by the withdrawal of foreign combatants forthwith, in accordance with the hope so admirably expressed here, should also endeavour to restore peace and good order, and then have again a democratic expression of opinion by the Spanish people?

"I repeat that the future welfare of the Spanish people is their own concern and, speaking as a democrat, I express the wish that the desires of the Spanish people should be consulted. Would it be within the power of the Council to operate directly, or through the Non-intervention Committee so that, the cessation of hostilities having been achieved, the people of Spain could be assured of their own form of Government and that for a while the League might offer to assist in order that peace may be restored the more quickly? Having secured the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of foreign combatants, could it not be left to the people of Spain to decide? That is to say, could there not be a consultation with the people, whose business it is?

"Surely we all agree that this matter could better be settled by reason than by guns. We should like a direct approach to those concerned asking that they cease hostilities, because only by reason and not by force can peace be maintained. The earth is being menaced by the danger of an attempt to govern by force. The only satisfactory form of Government is a Government elected by the people—when a Government occupies its position at the request of the governed.

"Surely there is ingenuity enough in the League of Nations, and sincerity and ability enough among the peoples of Spain, for such a proposal to be put into operation. If we cannot do this, we cannot do something bigger. If, however, the people of Spain could be consulted, when once the horror of war has been removed, there would be some hope of happiness, peace and security for their lives and homes."

M. Sandler, the representative of Sweden, considered that the appropriate method would not be to set in motion a procedure parallel to that of the Non-intervention Committee set up in London. His Government were of the opinion that the Council should rather seek to reinforce that committee's work by giving it the support of the authority of the League of Nations. If the discussions that were taking place in the London Committee could contribute to the preparation of a situation such as would enable the Spanish nation to decide its own destiny in complete liberty, then that was a result that would be welcomed by his Government with the greatest relief and the most profound satisfaction. In conclusion, he said that the Swedish Government was prepared by its vote in the Council to support any humanitarian efforts that the circumstances might justify.

After the adjournment the members of the Council, Spain excepted, met in secret in the Secretary-General's room to discuss informally the position in regard to a resolution on the Spanish situation. The text of a draft resolution was submitted by the United Kingdom representative. After some discussion the resolution was amended.

At a secret meeting held on Saturday morning prior to the private meeting, the Spanish delegate, M. del Vayo, put forward a resolution which he suggested the Council might adopt. This was discussed at length, with no conclusion reached, and it was finally decided to leave the question of a resolution to a committee of three—Messrs Eden (United Kingdom), Sandler (Sweden), and del Vayo (Spain). This committee reached agreement on the following lines:—

"The Council,

"After hearing the observations made before it—

"I.

"Confirming the principles and recommendations set forth in its resolution of December 12th, 1936, and, in particular, 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—

"(1) Observes with regret that the development of the situation in Spain does not seem to suggest that the steps taken by the Governments on the recommendations of the Council have as yet had the full effect desired;

"(2) Notes that an international scheme of supervision of the non-intervention undertakings assumed by the European Governments is now in force;