The item was not again discussed in public until the final meeting of the Council held on the morning of the 20th January, but in the meantime two informal meetings of the Council took place for an exchange of views. At the first of these the Chinese representative presented in concrete terms his request for assistance. After discussion the matter was referred to a small drafting Committee composed of representatives of the United Kingdom, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Latvia, and China, with M. Munters (Latvia) as Chairman. Although the draft as presented to the Council at its second informal meeting was described by the Chairman of the drafting Committee as unanimous, he led it to be inferred that unanimity was not reached without difficulty, and if the subsequent discussion which centred around the French translation of an English word which had been employed by Mr. Wellington Koo in his public speech is a guide, the difficulty must have been considerable.

As, however, no record is circulated of the proceedings at informal meetings of the Council, and as this report deals only with the proceedings of the private and public meetings of that body, it will suffice for me to state that the draft resolution which came before the Council at its final meeting on the 20th January was an agreed draft. I draw your attention to it by quoting it in full:—

"The Council-

"Referring to its report adopted on September 30th, 1938, relating to the appeal of the Chinese Government;

"Recalling the resolutions adopted by the Assembly on October 6th, 1937, and by the

Council on February 2nd, and on May 14th, 1938;

"Recalling in particular the terms of the Assembly resolution of October 6th, 1937, which expresses its moral support for China, and recommends that members of the League should refrain from taking any action which might have the effect of weakening China's power of resistance and thus of increasing her difficulties in the present conflict, and should also consider how far they can individually extend aid to China; and the terms of the resolution of February 2nd, 1938, which expresses the Council's confidence that those States represented on the Council for whom the situation is of special interest will lose no opportunity of examining in consultation with other similarly interested Powers, the feasibility of any further steps which may contribute to a just settlement of the conflict in the Far East;

"Having heard the statement of the Chinese representative in regard to the present situation in the Far East, in which he rejected the claim of Japan to establish a new order

in the Far East and outlined certain proposals of the Chinese Government;

"Taking note of the fact that a number of States have been taking individual action

in aiding China;

"Invites the members of the League, particularly those directly concerned in the Far East, to examine in consultation, should this appear appropriate, with other similarly interested Powers the proposals made in the statement of the representative of China before the Council on January 17th, 1939, for the taking of effective measures, especially measures of aid to China." (Document C. 57. 1939, VII.)

Here we need concern ourselves only with the concluding paragraph, the effective part of the resolution. However, this paragraph offers something, if the rest of the resolution merely recites history, as I stated when I spoke on it. It was introduced by M. Munters, who briefly explained the circumstances which had given rise to it. He was followed by the representatives of France, New Zealand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Great Britain, and China. The representatives of France and the United Kingdom supported the draft resolution, of course, and they expressed their countries' sympathy with China. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics definitely associated himself with the requests which had been advanced by Mr. Wellington Koo at a previous meeting, but confessed that, unhappily, the draft resolution did not go as far as it should if it were to meet the needs of China. In my speech I endeavoured to retrace the more important of the Chinese representative's requests in an effort to show how far short of them fell the invitation to "the members of the League, particularly those directly concerned in the Far East, to examine in consultation, should this appear appropriate, with other similarly interested Powers the proposals made in the statement of the representative of China before the Council on January 17th, 1939, for the taking of effective measures, especially measures of aid to China." I also drew attention to the imperative necessity of continuing the help to China of a medical nature, if only on sanitary grounds alone.

Mr. Wellington Koo, while appreciative of the words of sympathy and support uttered by those who had preceded him, was obviously keenly disappointed at the result of his endeavours on behalf of his sorely-stricken country. He stated that he was prepared to vote for the draft resolution in spite of its unsatisfactory nature, but he accepted it because it was the only draft on which unanimous agreement could have been reached. But why pursue this sad and sorry story? Nothing exposes better the ineffectiveness of the League, to use no stronger term, than its attitude towards China during the last seven years. Perhaps, however, there is something to be said for a public debate in Geneva, even although it is known in advance that little will come of it. The Council passed the resolution and noted that the acceptance of it by the Chinese representative was subject to the reservation that that body remained seized of the appeal of the Chinese Government.

REPORTS OF THE COMMISSION FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF AIR BOMBARDMENTS IN SPAIN.

This item was inscribed on the agenda during the first meeting. It is to be traced to a decision of the 1938 Assembly, of which account is taken in my report on that Assembly, and to which I refer