

ultimate police measures. As Viscount Cecil has said: "The stronger the sanctions, the less the risk of having to apply them."

#### IV THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

In all I have said I have never forgotten that one all-important reservation must be made. Obviously we cannot constrain our mighty neighbour to the south. The supreme tragedy of the after-war period has been the United States' withdrawal from the League. Recent helpful co-operation is mightily encouraging. Will it grow rapidly closer? For the assurance of peace in Europe it would not be necessary to wait for the official entrance of the great Republic into League membership. It would suffice for its President, with the assent of its Senate, to declare that if unhappily the League were ever obliged under the Covenant to take police action against any violator of the Covenant and of the Kellogg Pact, the United States would feel morally bound to abstain from all interference, direct or indirect, with the efficacy of this police action. With this simple guarantee, the League could certainly assure the peace of Europe. The positive assurance of peace in the Far East would probably require more active co-operation.

In the meantime, the more effective we make the League ourselves, the sooner will our neighbours feel impelled to join us in the noblest and grandest adventure of human history.