

is engaged in working out, by means of investigation and research, the implications of this system, *e.g.* the relationship of the Tribunal to the Assembly, the Council and the Permanent Court, and a number of other important points which call for elucidation.

That this system is not impracticable is proved by the appointment of the Lytton Commission to recommend a settlement of the political issues between Japan and China. Why should not a similar Tribunal as part of the permanent machinery of the League deal with those political disputes which threaten the peace of Europe?

It is clear that out of the findings and awards of the Tribunal will grow a body of International Law, based upon precedent, which will be the foundation of a permanent code.

LAW is not law unless there is a sanction behind it. "Covenants without the sword are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all." The police force is the corollary of the Tribunal, because the judge is useless without the policeman. Both are essential to the establishment of the Reign of Law, and should be created simultaneously.

Therefore, the New Commonwealth advocates the creation of an International Police Force equipped with those super-weapons which during the last twenty-five years the scientists have presented to the world. We believe that in the hands of national governments these devastating weapons will be used to obliterate civilisation, whilst in the custody of an International Authority they can be employed to guarantee the Reign of Law. Nations are driven by necessity to pool their military and especially their aerial resources for the performance of the police function. They can no longer afford to risk a war, because war means extermination—a process of mutual annihilation on the grand scale. The first shattering blow will be directed against the civil population—its cities, ports and nerve centres. Armies and navies are no longer protective screens. The next war will be fought in the air, but the decision will be reached on the ground by the nation which is able to slaughter more men, women and children more quickly than its opponents.

It follows that necessity compels us to inaugurate the Reign of Law. The immediate problem is how to vest in the international authority the control of the air. It is obvious that as each nation hands over its air weapons to the authority, the risks of mutual annihilation are correspondingly diminished. It is not to be expected, however, that they will all do so simultaneously. The range of the bomber has now become the deciding factor. For instance, in the existing state of aeronautical development, Europe cannot bomb America, or America Europe. The same is true of Europe and Japan. But the nations of Western Europe can annihilate each other in a few hours or days, and are compelled to adapt themselves to the new conditions or perish.

Consequently the New Commonwealth advocates the establishment of an European Air Police as the first instalment of the policing system. If such a force can be established in Europe other nations will in course of time gravitate into the new system, and each new arrival will mark a further stage on the road to disarmament, because centralised force tends to eliminate all force, including itself.

The opponents of this plan lay great stress upon the practical difficulties to be overcome. These difficulties are not insurmountable. They were overcome, for instance, during the war when an international executive—the Supreme War Council—established unity of command, pooled the military forces of the Allies, and improvised an international organisation for common action. What was possible in war is also possible in peace.