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THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY, 12 April 1936

# A & BALLET.

## OPERA GARDEN

### NATIONAL OPERA SEASON.

Under the Direction of  
MR. JOHANN BART.  
..... MEISTERSINGER at 6.30  
..... RIGOLETTO at 8.30  
..... PARSIFAL at 5.45  
..... AIDA at 8.0  
..... MEISTERSINGER at 6.30  
..... PARSIFAL at 5.45  
..... AIDA at 8.0  
..... RHEINGOLD at 8.30  
..... RIGOLETTO at 8.30  
..... DIE WALKURE at 5.45  
..... TOSCA at 8.30  
..... SIEGFRIED at 5.30  
Os. & 25: Stalls, 35s.; Circle, 30s. &  
Amphitheatre, 15s.; Gallery (unres.).  
6s. for Der Ring & Parsifal only.  
Places marked \*): Boxes, £10 10s. &  
26s. & 25s.; Balcony, 21s.; Amphitheatre (unres.), 3s. 6d.  
10s. & Circle at 26 5s. still available  
of Der Ring des Nibelungen.  
is Tuesday, April 14, 10 to 6.

### LYNDEBOURNE AL OPERA HOUSE.

#### ART FESTIVAL.

DON GIOVANNI.  
4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 23, 26, July 3.  
NOZZE DI FIGARO.  
0, 13, 16, 18, 21, 27.  
OSI FAN TUTTE.  
ne 20, 25, July 5.  
E ENTFUEHRUNG.  
ne 28, July 1, 2, 4.  
Conductor:  
RITZ BUSCH.  
E ZAUBERFLOETE.  
ne 1, 5, 7, 11, 19, 24, 30.  
Conductor:  
NS OPPENHEIM.

Scenery designer:  
HAMISH WILSON.

Performances\* begin at 4.15 p.m.  
Performances begin at 6.15 p.m.  
Performances begin at 6.45 p.m.  
Lyndebourne Sunday Opera Club and  
their guests only.)  
ORLA  
At 10.34 p.m.  
Sundays. } Between 12 mid. and  
at 1.05 a.m.  
at 1.05 a.m.  
(according to length of  
performances.)  
per. nance begins at 4.15 p.m.)

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ALLET.  
ng. Apparitions, Casse Nolsette Act III)  
yn. Helpmann, Turner, Ciappelli.  
CARMEN.  
CAY. RUSTICANA & PAGLIACCI.  
LET.  
Baraban—1st perf. Apparitions.)  
ADAM BUTTERFLY.  
ARMEN.

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DOCHRAN'S £25,000 REVUE.  
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SHOW! SAME GREAT STARS!  
HALF PRICE.  
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(Whl 2525.) EVGS. at 6.25 & 9.  
MORROW, Weds., & Sats., 2.30.  
W THAT JACK BUILT.  
n, Jimmy James, Frank Randle.  
3.) Sink. Evgs., 8.30, Wed. Sat., 2.30.  
E TO-MORROW (EASTER MONDAY).

## The Observer

LONDON, SUNDAY, APRIL 12, 1936.

### WHAT IS WRONG WITH RECRUITING?

#### TERRITORIALS IN TRAINING.

#### THE EASTER CAMPS.

Easter is the season when Citizen Soldiers throughout the country go into camp. Among male citizens of fit age, and mostly with votes, the Territorials are the exemplary minority who keep up the Swiss ideal of competent patriotism. They are free men who not only seek real training for home defence but have voluntarily accepted liability for service abroad. They form our only national military reserve behind a sadly depleted army.

For many a foolish year now this dutiful manliness of the Territorials has received little notice and less thanks. They have worked without public encouragement, and despite ludicrous deficiencies of equipment. Their ranks are much below their statutory strength, though that strength on the lowest estimate ought to be doubled. In all these circumstances it is no wonder that the Territorials going into camp are not far more numerous. The admirable wonder is that they do it at all.

Their example this Easter compels national attention to the common problem of the Regular Army and its Civic Reserve under the voluntary system. On all hands that problem is now admitted to be grave and urgent. Recruiting, whether for the Army or the Territorials, is in a bad way. What is wrong cannot be put right unless public opinion itself is roused to get a plain grip of facts and remedies.

The needs of the Regulars and the Citizen Force are equally pressing. Otherwise the two aspects of recruiting are quite different. As regards the professionals, it is mainly a matter of finding money. As regards the Volunteers, it is as essentially a matter of finding time.

Take first the question of time and the Territorials. They are not out for more pay. What prevents large numbers of

## CHANGE OR

### THE LEAGUE'S

### WAR-MAKING NOT P.

### ITALY AND OIL-S

### FRANCE, GERMANY EUROPE

### "THE WORST OF B"

(By J. L. GAR

British policy this Easter finds itself shambling and splashing in a quagmire where it will soon be sunk to the neck and over unless its steps are reversed. There is no exit from this muddle but by abandoning the theory that all bogs, as well as all roads, are good if they lead to Geneva. The spectacle presented last week by that sorry substitute for a new Jerusalem was among the least edifying and hopeful in its history. The French reply to the German proposals was an elaborate fiasco. Practical negotiations with Berlin are fobbed off until Mid-May. They will never be brought to success by procedure through the League. The Locarno Powers are in acute dissension about Italy as well as Germany.

### I.

#### THE MADNESS TO BE STOPPED.

Worst of all, on a British initiative which seems to us far madder than March hares, the threat of oil-sanctions against Italy has been revived. Nothing could be better calculated to thwart those chances of an early Ethiopian settlement which would otherwise have been particularly promising; and to protract the misery to the utmost. Nor does the mischief end there. An accomplished Ministerial journalist, often intimately informed, writes from Geneva, in the "Daily Telegraph" of yesterday, that the alternatives are capitulation to the Duce or enforcement of a ban on Italy:—

"The first involves an admission that the collective security system cannot prevail against a powerful and determined aggressor. The second [the italics are ours] involves positive action which may lead to war in the Mediterranean."

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**COLISEUM.** Tem. Bar 3161. Weds., Sats., & East. Mon., 2.30. Evenings at 6.25 and 9 p.m.

**"TWENTY TO ONE."**

**THE SIDE-SPLITTING MUSICAL SPORTING FARCE.**  
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Neil Grant's Gripping Comedy Drama.  
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**AFTER OCTOBER,**  
by **RODNEY ACKLAND.**

**GRIMM JONES.**

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**DALY'S.** (Ger. 2157.) EVGS. 8.30. WED., SAT., 2.30.  
Extra Matinee To-morrow, 2.30.  
**THE DANIEL MAYER COMPANY**  
presents **KENTH KENT**  
as **NAPOLION** in  
**ST. HELENA.**  
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Produced by **HENRY CASS.**

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**NIGHT MUST FALL**  
ANGELA BADDELEY

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MORE THRILLED AT A THRILLER  
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—*The Bystander.*

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**CHILDREN, TO BLESS YOU!**  
"A rollicking, rascally, clever comedy."—*M. Post.*

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By **Edgar Middleton.**

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**HILDEGARDE, LOUISE BROWNE, FRED EMNEY,**  
**RICHARD HEARNE, ROY ROYSTON** in  
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EVGS. 8.15. Mats. (Reduced Prices), Wed., Thu., 2.30.

**GARRICK.** 8.30. Mats. To-mor., Tu. 8., 2.30. Tem. 8713.  
**ELENA MIRAMOVA.**  
**THE TWO MRS. GARRICKS.**  
**CATHLEEN NESBITT, HUGH MILLER.**

**GLOBE.** Shaftesbury-avenue. Gerrard 1592.  
EVGS., 8.15 SHARP. Weds., Thurs., and Sats., 2.30.  
**FAY COMPTON and OWEN NARES**  
in **Dodie Smith's New Comedy.**  
**"CALL IT A DAY."**  
with **MARIE LOHR**  
A **BASIL DEAN PRODUCTION.**  
**"ANOTHER DODIE SMITH TRIUMPH.**  
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by **JAMES BRIDIE & BRUNO FRANK.**

**SARA ALLGOOD, ROGER LIVERSEY.**

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**THE MOST AMUSING PLAY OF 1936.**—*Telegraph.*

**HIPPODROME.** Ger. 3272. Evenings, at 8.15 p.m.  
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Vera Pearce, Willie Watson, Bertha Belmont, etc.

**HIS MAJESTY'S.** Whitehall 6606.  
EVGS., at 8.30. Mats., Wed & Sat., 2.30.  
Extra Matinee To-morrow, at 2.30.

**IVOR NOVELLO** **ISABEL JEANS** **VIVIEN LEIGH**  
in  
**THE HAPPY HYPOCRITE.**  
By **CLEMENCE DANE** and **RICHARD ADDINSELL.**  
Based on **MAX BEERBOHM'S** story.

**KING'S.** (Riv. 3911.) At 8., Thurs., Sat., 2.30.  
**DIANA WYNNARD** in  
**SWEET ALOES.**  
Frank Allenby, Hartley Power. Prices 6d. to 6s.

(THEATRES continued on page 10.)  
(VARIETIES and PICTURE THEATRES, page 10.)

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from joining is the difficulty of getting time to attend drills and camps. In this connection the public-spirited action of **LORD ROTHERMERE** and other employers who grant a fortnight's extra holiday to those of their employees who join the Territorials and attend summer camp is an example which, if widely followed, and we refuse to doubt it, will be of incalculable service to the nation.

But another point is important. The right type of recruit for the Territorials wants to be a real Citizen Soldier and not a dressed-up sham. He will not join unless he has facilities for attending his weekly evening parade and some week-end camps besides the annual trainings. Employers should see well to it that these facilities are granted; and that obstacles are not put in the way, as sometimes happens, by subordinates with a narrower view of business and a poorer public spirit.

Financially, the first principle is that the Territorial shall not be out of pocket as now for serving his country. That hindrance to recruiting is far yet from being fully remedied, though recent concessions have gone some of the way. Last but not least, the notorious and even grotesque lack of efficient modern equipment must be made good. Dull training spells poor recruiting.

The problem of reinforcing the Regular ranks is of still more urgent concern, but a simpler issue. As we said, it is a plain matter of money. Take the vulgar details as they concern men's lives. The private soldier, in addition to his keep, receives 14s. a week. By stoppages for necessary expenses—clothing, washing, hair-cutting, and the like—this sum is reduced to something between 10s. at the most and 5s. at the least. How can you have satisfactory recruiting on these terms? They do not compare too favourably with the scales of unemployment assistance.

The key of the recruiting question for the Regular Army is a substantial rise in pay. Next to this comes the need for enlarging widely the excellent work of the Vocational Training Centres in fitting men for civilian jobs after leaving the service. Another and a lively aid would be the provision of a smart walking-out uniform for every soldier.

In the armed world of to-day freedom without strength cannot stand. We must find the money required to fill up the Regular ranks and to expand largely the Territorial Force. Neither aspect of the recruiting question can be shirked further by public opinion any more than by the Government, if the voluntary system of national defence is to survive in this country.

In what paradise of stark folly are we dreaming? Such a "war in the Mediterranean" would precipitate general war and a world-smash. If this proposition were put before the country, it would instantly repudiate the policy and destroy Mr. BALDWIN's Government. The atmosphere of Geneva seems to have become the most fatal of all the influences adverse to peace and provocative of war.

You cannot begin to check the drift towards general misfortune—you cannot take a step towards any kind of sane European readjustment—until the Ethiopian conflict is brought to an end on a basis consistent with Italy's position as a Great Power decisively successful in arms. A settlement has to be reached in the spirit of the Hoare - Laval plan, miserably wrecked by a fatuity of misjudgment. The terms now would have to be less favourable to the NEGUS and to the broken "empire" of the Amhara over that large Ethiopian majority of other races whom they have no moral or rational claim to rule. The terms will become still less favourable the longer that settlement is delayed.

## II. OIL-SANCTIONS AND WAR-TALK AGAIN.

There have been bitter squabbles behind the scenes with some rasping exchanges in public. **MONSIEUR FLANDIN** demands that the British Government shall face what he calls the logic of its own policy—that Sanctions shall be applied both to Germany and Italy or to neither. A few short months ago, some Ministerial journals in this country were arguing still that if Sanctions were successful against the Fascist State, they could be used later against the Nazi Reich. But for this bright idea, the coercion of Italy would never have been attempted. Neither France, nor Soviet Russia, nor the Little Entente could have been brought into line. Now **MR. EDEN** rejects indeed the stark insanity of Sanctions against Germany, but clings to the hopeless policy of trying to coerce Italy at the risk of Mediterranean war and the world-smash.

"An Englishman," says the pungent old Turkish proverb, "will burn his bed to catch a flea."

The **FOREIGN SECRETARY** feels himself obliged in the peculiar name of the League to use peremptory and even minatory language such as British policy never has addressed before to any Great Power with which we were even nominally at peace. His speeches last week reiterated the words "must" and "immediately." It is a disastrous vocabulary for the interests of peace whether local or general. The British spokesman denounced the Italian use of poison-gas. The thing is unutterably hateful. The conflict was bound to be intensified to the utmost when the Hoare-Laval proposals were wrecked. What on earth else did the British Government expect? The way to put an end to all the horrors was to bring the struggle itself to a speedy

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The Observer 12 April 1936

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Adelle Dixon.  
Nicholas Hannen.  
Athene Seyler.  
Charles Heslop.  
UM, Tem. Bar 3161, Weds. Sats. & East. Mon.  
Evenings at 6.05 and 8.15.

The Observer 12 April 1936

Id, medie del

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Renewed talk of oil-sanctions causes increasing dissension among the Latin-American nations. Ecuador has already taken away and two others at least are likely to follow.

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From Soviet Russia and Rumania—for each of whom Abyssinia is a pawn in the game by comparison with their own interests—we could get oil-sanctions only in return for calamitous commitments of all kind in Eastern Europe. They are unlikely. They would be repudiated by any country. They would bring down Mr. Baldwin's Government. There we must have an unprecedented imbroglio to its developments one way or the other during the next few days. Unless these incredible threats are altered the sequel must be the death of the League as it now exists.

#### IV.

##### IN CHANCERY AND NO ISSUE.

It is the same with regard to greater questions. They have reappeared in their full magnitude as a result of the whole sinister process of widening disturbance set up by Sanctions. The League as now composed and manipulated tends more and more to become a portentous obstacle to European resettlement and to every constructive policy for the maintenance of lasting peace.

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HERR HITLER, for instance, has made his proposals. Last week we examined them as they demand—fairly and coolly; without prejudice and without illusion. We showed that, with all their faults, omissions, and obscurities, they offered a basis—or at least part of a basis—for serious negotiation. Instead, HERR HITLER finds himself referred to Geneva—that is, to an interminable labyrinth of procedure from which no practical solution can ever emerge. So the Disarmament Commission sat for more than ten years, until its objects were comprehensively frustrated and the whole world was armed, or re-arming, to the teeth. France at once prepared to invoke the whole paraphernalia of the League. Russia and the Little Entente did the same in their strenuous and even desperate desire to obtain, under the Covenant, a general guarantee of their own territories in Eastern Europe. In addition, the three nations of the Little Entente—Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, and Rumania—seek in the name of the League to perpetuate that harsh domination over their neighbours, Austria and Hungary, which they derive from the unrevised and unmitigated war-treaties of seventeen years ago. The British Government encourages the invocation of Geneva for other reasons, but chiefly as a means of supporting that mystic and misty principle of "collective security" which no one on earth can define in terms both practical and desirable.

#### V.

##### THE FRENCH LEAGUE-PLAN—"CLOUD-CUCKOO-LAND."

In the swing of an electioneering campaign to be decided three short weeks hence, the French Government at least could not wait. They set themselves feverishly to draw up their own justification and their own project in retort to

in which Paris has vied with Berlin. These ideas may be summed up as "collective security" gone mad. But once for all they show the British Government and the British people what is implied by the impossible logic of that rumbling jargon—sounding and hollow as a drum.

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Thus far this affair might seem rather farcical than tragic. Not so. This case is another example of the manner in which, at Geneva, as never before in the world's annals, the mingling of hopeless hallucination with tenacious obstruction prompted by disguised self-interest—if gauze covering nakedness can be called disguise—prevents at every turn the work of true statesmanship; and now tends too plainly at every crisis to shuffle or plunge from bad to worse. The methods that killed disarmament would kill world peace, too.

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Geneva now provides unique facilities for thwarting common sense. It helped directly to bring about the worst conceivable results from its own point of view in Manchuria and China. In the same way it has bedevilled the Abyssinian question to the utmost. But for that this African war—originally provoked by Abyssinia acting as a bad neighbour and counting on impunity as a member of the League—would have been localised, limited, and ended long ago. Instead, you have the direst consequences for Abyssinia proper; the most unpleasant difficulties in Egypt; the alienation of Italy; the advantage of Germany; the increased disturbance and jeopardy of Europe from end to end; the climax of rearmament.

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And but for the name of the inadequate League—which at present speaks for only three Great Powers out of seven, and discordantly even for the three—it would have been unthinkable for French statesmen, even though belonging to a weak Government and amidst the temptations and embarrassments of an electioneering campaign, to put forward, in an earnest hour proposals which waste time, spread confusion, and throw back every practical purpose.

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It cannot go on like this. The coming inescapable question is whether a League which can only speak for three Great Powers out of seven shall revise its Constitution and change its methods, or break up altogether. Without reconstruction from top to bottom under the terms of a deeply modified Covenant, it cannot survive. As we said, there is no possible exit on present lines. On existing conditions Germany will not rejoin and Italy will not remain. On the other hand, the large majority of the League will never accept HERR HITLER's idea of isolated treaties of non-aggression instead of more positive security by wider compacts of mutual assistance for defence.

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In these circumstances it is as clear as the sun that the British Government, if it means to make any practical progress at all with the causes of general peace and safety, will have to work for some time outside Geneva. With respect to Italy, France, and Germany alike, we shall have to return to the more sober and confidential methods of diplomacy during the next few months if the League itself is to be saved—or peace either.

Protocol of 1924. The whole is framed within the League. Mutual assistance against aggression, specified in detail by a military commitment, is the main machinery proposed.

##### The Conflicting Cases.

German opinion gave as prompt and as whole-hearted a disapproval to the French proposals as French opinion gave to the German proposals exactly a week before.

##### From London to Geneva.

The League's Committee of Thirteen met in Geneva on Wednesday. It did one good thing. France had demanded a formal meeting of the non-German Locarno Powers to "establish" Germany's default. Britain had resisted that demand on the main ground that it invited trouble. Instead, the Committee of Thirteen gave the opportunity for an informal meeting of the Locarno Powers at Geneva. The distinction on this occasion between formal and informal talks had its importance. It left the doors open. The Locarno Powers decided to put questions to Germany about her memorandum, France reserving her discretion on the question of Germany's Rhine fortifications.

##### Conciliation and Oil.

In the doctrine according to MR. EDEN oil has again belied its proverbial use on troubled waters. Since Wednesday the Committee of Thirteen, whose theoretic business it is to encourage the belligerents in Abyssinia to make peace, has been speculating upon the chance of an armistice. An armistice is the first step towards peace. An invitation was to be sent to Rome in that sense and an answer invited—by when? April 21 was favoured by France. That day happens to be the anniversary of the foundation of Rome. A good date for the purpose. Alas! MR. EDEN fought M. FLANDIN and contrived to have the date altered to April 16. MR. EDEN also contrived to make some threat about further sanctions, to encourage Italy! The immediate result is hope deferred by a stingsless threat.

##### The Further Prospect.

The result is, indeed, still more deplorable. Where finesse was needed, the old crude issue was again emphasised: whether to parade the failure of Geneva's collective system, or to invite war in the Mediterranean? It is the better part of diplomacy to evade, not to court, danger.

##### Disfranchising the Native.

We cannot pretend to congratulate the Union of South Africa on disfranchising the native vote. Nothing can be done about it, but the fact remains that Cape Colony only came into the Union on condition that the natives retained their political rights, and these have now been abolished. GENERAL SMUTS has assented to the HERTZOG policy, but without enthusiasm; MR. HOFMEYR, another member of the Cabinet, voted against it "whatever the political consequences to myself." A courageous act that will not be forgotten.

##### The Viceroy's Farewell.

LORD WILLINGTON has made his last speech at Delhi. The departing Viceroy is able to look back on a difficult, but successful, term of office. He leaves India more peaceful than he found it, and consequently more prosperous and happy. For such favourable omens as attend his successor and the new Constitution which he is to inaugurate, some at least of the credit must go to LORD WILLINGTON's proved tact and patience.