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The Observer

LONDON, SUNDAY, APRIL 12, 1936.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH RECRUITING?

TERRITORIALS IN TRAINING.

EASTER CAMPS. THE

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 The admirable far more numerous. 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,

150

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

THE LEAGUE'S

WAR-MAKING NOT P.

ITALY AND OIL-S

FRANCE. GERMANY EUROPI

В(\mathbf{OF} WORST"THE

(By J. L. GAR

British policy this Easter finds itself | close 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 Bi 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 aggres-The second [the italics are ours] involves positive action which may lead to war in the Mediterranean."

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DESTRICT AND TO SHEET AND

NIGHT MUST FALL ANGELA BADDELEY

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AT THIS REALLY REMARKABLE LAY."

—The Bystander.

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Smoking.

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SAL 2.30

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"ENGLAND EXPECTS"

By Edgar Middleton.

CALLY.

LESLIE HENSON,

HILDEGARDE, LOUISE BROWNE. FRED EMNEY,

RICHARD HEARNE, ROY ROYSTON in

SEEING STARS.

**MUSICAL COMEDY WITH A KICK IN IT."—S. Times.

**MUSICAL COMEDY WITH A KICK IN IT."—S. Times.

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GERRAT, 1592

CATHLEEN NESBITT. HUGH MILLER.

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A CERTAIN SUCCESS." — Evening Standard.

A CERTAIN SUCCESS." — Evening, 8.30.

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EVENINGS, 8.30.

STORM IN A TEACUP.

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DIANA WYNYARD in

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

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Stiffelsen norsk Okkupasjonshistore 2017form 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. 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. 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 the 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 interest Geneva seems to have become the most in retur fatal of all the influences adverse to peace hinds i and provocative of war.

You cannot begin to check the drift to-wards general misfortune—you cannot take a step towards any kind of sane European readjustment—until the Ethiopian 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 favourleave a 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.

T.

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 tions 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 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 fied 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 | tion

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The Observer 12. april 1936 16 midre del.

Y, APRIL 12, 1936.

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AND EASTERN PE.

BOTH WORLDS."

ARVIN.)

lose as the Duce—and this is certain—was hen prepared to do. "What about byssinian atrocities?" asks Monsieur LANDIN.

MR. EDEN tells Italy, in effect, that she must" stop the war, and stop it at once, must" This, needless to say, was regarded Geneva as a renewed threat of oilnctions. We are even told that they will mooted next Thursday—while most of the Cabinet is on holiday. What tone Re Cabinet is on holiday. What tone held be more certain to frustrate its purse, to prolong the slaughter; and to doom iat is left of the Amhara "empire," for nich neither Britain nor any other counting the means to fight? Addressed to a neat and proud nation in arms under a in who is among the most determined d inspiring leaders in modern history, is method of high-handed challenge and mons has been the vice and bane and ight of the Sanctionist mania from the ginning. It began with a light-headed Table on the assumption that Signor salud be called. Cabinet is on holiday. ajuld be called.

III. AN INTERIM BALANCE-SHEET!

and INTERIM BALANCE-SHEET!

of At this rate the political situation in only will become worse as surely as the many will become worse as surely as the many will be the many strength of the s cesad been since QUEEN ANNE. urs

1.1

HERR HITLER'S. The French reply was issued in Paris last Wednesday. It is an elaborate and astonishing document such as none but a weak Government on the eve of an election could produce. There is only one thing to be said about it. If is only one thing to be said about it. If the German proposals were defective, the French proposals are impossible. They do not seriously pretend to be anything else. Half the document in terms of League logic negatives the German thesis at every point. The other half is an excursion into cloud-cuckoo-land. It contains the counterpoint. The other half is an excursion into cloud-cuckoo-land. It contains the counterscheme of what are called "peace proposals." They are rather an electioneering prospectus. They are a fantastic farrago of the most hopeless exaggerations that have been preached at any time by impracticable zcalots in the abused name of the League. the League. **

The present map of Europe is to be stereotyped for twenty-five years. For that period all revision of the territorial lines established by the war-treaties shall be forbidden. For the same period, it is provided that plaintiff nations like Germany, Austria, and Hungary—though they are not expressly mentioned—shall be kept under armed restraint. And how is all this to be done? Within the common framework of the League there is to be a series of of the League there is to be a series of regional pacts or alliances to compel the maintenance of the status quo.

At the head of this system there shall be, if you please, a new paramount authority, the European Commission. Superseding the authority of the respective States concerned, this body, ruling over Western and Eastern Europe alike, shall be conveniently operated by a majority of two-thirds of its members. The States shall "specially provide and permanently maintain military, aerial, and naval forces," to be held at the disposal of the Commission. It shall thus be able to exert its authority at need by "Sanctions reaching as far as force." Where there is any nation—Germany is meant, though not mentioned—whose natural strength might be a danger to weaker neighbours the the European Commission. Superseding be a danger to weaker neighbours the armaments of that nation shall be particu-

larly limited.

On these lines, in a word, France and Soviet Russia would be ensured of a permanent dominance in and over Europe through the "European Commission," whereon a ruling two-thirds majority would be ensured to them by the votes of would be ensured to them by the votes of those smaller nations who are the most obstinate in clinging to the letter of the war-treaties and resisting any change in the status quo.

VI.

"IT CANNOT GO ON LIKE THIS."

The French proposals are already dead, and not only that. They have been damned as well as killed by the devastating ridicule 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 im-Renewed talk of oil-sanctions causes in-Renewed talk of oil-sanctions causes in-British people what is implied by the im-British people what is implied by the im-British people what is implied by the im-British people what is implied by the im-land the British covernment and the British people what is implied by the im-land the implied by the im-land the British people what is implied by the im-land the implied by the implied by the im-land the implied by the implied by the implied by the im-land the implied by t

THE WORLD: WEE BY WEEK.

Leopold von Hoesch.

The GERMAN AMBASSADOR died sudd on Friday at the untimely age of fifty No diplomatist of our time had a hat thing to do than fell to him. He dand did it well. Quiet, accomplished suave, he was the very man to sooth suave, he was the very man to sooth raw and ugly temper that crossed Rhine from both sides. He went to at the worst phase of Franco-Germa feeling in 1921. It was in large me due to his historic good sense and feeling that the atmosphere changed that of the Ruhr occupation in 1923 signature of the Locarno Treaty in The Stresemann-Briand spirit owed to him. It is our common tragedy to to him. It is our common tragedy this last years so good an influence smothered. We salute the passing of of the best men of our time.

Britain and Geneva.

A week of increased confusion ushered in by another House of Cordebate on foreign policy. What Government's foreign policy? On M when he spoke, Mr. Eden had the C proposals in front of him and kne French proposals were about to be He knew that Italy had ceased to any opposition in Abyssinia. He that Italy was an indispensable pothe "Locarno" talks in London Geneva. Yet in his speech he reven his old emphasis upon the Covenan League and "collective security." Yet by design or by habit, he thereby every real issue that faced him.

Colonies and Mandates.

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN on MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN On made, at any rate, one realistic si on the Government's behalf. In a the generally prevalent faith in "superiority complex," he did two He distinguished between color mandated territories. British color British. It has not been suggestany of them be given up, nor wou suggestion be entertained. Manda tories are not Britain's to give up League makes no provision for a League makes no provision for a It is well to have at least one thin

The French Plan.

Paris published its memorandun nesday. In Part I, it reviewed ev. March 7, and combated the Germent about Locarno and the RI ment about Locarno and the Ri Part II. outlined a system of Europe for twenty-five years. therein deemed to be "a charact gional unit." The central purp maintenance of the territorial: maintenance of the territorial for twenty-five years, secured b of machinery first proposed in the Protocol of 1924. The whole within the League. Mutual against aggression, specified in a military commitment, is machinery proposed.

dele Dixon, licholas Hannen. Athene Seyler, Charles Heslop,

Jasjonshistore, 2014
The Observer Diapril 1936 Stiftelsen norsk Okkupasjonshistore, 2014

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lenewed talk of oil-sanctions causes inasing dissension among the Latin-erican nations. Ecuador has already ken away and two others at least are ely to follow.

from Soviet Russia and Rumania—for h of whom Abyssinia is a pawn in the me by comparison with their own erests—we could get oil-sanctions only return for calamitous commitments of all return for calamitous commitments of all ids. Eastern Europe. They are unnk e. They would be repudiated by country. They would bring down Mr. LDWIN'S Government. There we must we an unprecedented imbroglio to its velopments one way or the other during e next few days. Unless these incredible wholes are altered the served must be the thods are altered the sequel must be the ea) of the League as it now exists.

IV.

IN CHANCERY AND NO ISSUE.

It is the same with regard to greater restions. They have reappeared in their ill magnitude as a result of the whole nister process of widening disturbance set p by Sanctions. The League as now compsed and manipulated tends more and ore to become a portentous obstacle to uropean resettlement and to every connective policy for the maintenance of sting peace. isting peace.

HERR HITLER, for instance, has made his roposals. Last week we examined them roposals. Last week we examined them s they demand—fairly and coolly; without rejudice and without illusion. We showed hat, with all their faults, omissions, and bscurities, they offered a basis—or at least art of a basis—for serious negotiation. nst d, Herr Hitler finds himself recr. to Géneva—that is, to an interminate intermediate for procedure from which no ble labyrinth of procedure from which no practical solution can ever emerge. So the lisarmament Commission sat for more han ten years, until its objects were com-rehensively frustrated and the whole vorld was armed, or re-arming, to the ee France at once prepared to invoke he nole paraphernalia of the League. Russia and the Little Entente did the same n their strenuous and even desperate desire o obtain, under the Covenant, a general guarantee of their own territories in Eastguarantee of their own territories in East-ern 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 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.

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 peace either.

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.

Thus far this affair might seem rather recical than tragic. Not so. This case is 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-preing nakeaness can be called disguise—prevents at every turn the work of true states—manship; 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.

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 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 alienapleasant difficulties in Egypt; the alienation of Italy; the advantage of Germany; the increased disturbance and jeopardy of the increased disturbance and jeopardy of Europe from end to end; the climax of rearmament.

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 himose. purpose.

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 Con-stitution 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.

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. In these circumstances it is as clear as the

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. Intend the Committee of Thirteen gave the stead, 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 informal talks had its importance. It left the doors open. The Locarno Powers 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 Abyesing to make page has been 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 cause and an armistical by 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 furcontrived to make some threat about further sanctions, to encourage Italy! The immediate result is hope deferred by a stingless 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 crude. whether to parade the lamine 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 rateined their political rights. the natives retained their political rights, and these have now been abolished. General Smurs has assented to the Herrzog policy, but without enthusiasm; 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 WILLINGDON 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 opens as attend his sucsuch 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 WILLINGDON'S proved tact and patience.