

A SETTLEMENT WITH TURKEY.

LABOUR & A

II.

THE ANGORA "NATIONAL PACT."

(From our Special Correspondent in the Near East.)

The terms for which the Turkish Nation sees it in the hands of Bulgaria rather than Greece, but that they will put forward no claim to it themselves. Being anxious to secure their European frontiers by a permanent good understanding with Bulgaria, they do not wish to stand between her and her access to the open sea. As regards Kars, Ardahan, and Batum, it appears that, under the auspices of the Soviet Government of Russia, the Soviet Government of Armenia have consented to cede Kars and Ardahan to Turkey, but that Turkey has abandoned her claim to Batum, which is the only Black Sea port for the three Republics of Trans-Caucasia. I also have the impression that Angora would not refuse to consider slight cessions of Ottoman territory further eastward to the Armenian Republic if it were proved by impartial investigation on the spot that the actual population of the Republic, including the Armenian refugees from the Ottoman Empire, is too great for the present extent of Armenian territory.

There remain the three articles dealing with sovereign Powers of which (4) "Freedom of the Straits" and (6) "Capitulations" concern British interests directly, while (3) "Rights of minorities" does not. But article 3 is at least as important as the others, since it involves questions of human life on a large scale, and the honour, if not the interest, of all the Allies is concerned in it, because we have accepted the assistance of the Christian minorities in Turkey while we have been at war with her, have allowed them to look to us as their protectors, and have exposed them to reprisals if we now disinterested ourselves in their fate. I am told that Angora is prepared to concede them the rights secured to minorities in the treaties imposed on the defeated and newly-created States in Europe, plus the traditional privileges of the non-Moslem communities or "millets" in the Ottoman Empire, except on points where the latter exceed the former. This is a fair offer, but paper privileges for minorities in the Near and Middle East have again and again been proved valueless without practical guarantees, and the discovery of sanctions acceptable to all parties is going to be the crux of the problem. The national *amour propre* of the present generation in Turkey makes them intransigent about consenting to any limitations on their sovereignty which are not at the same time imposed on their Christian neighbours. They will not hear of any local autonomy, or even of a special local gendarmerie, for those districts where non-Moslems form a considerable element in the population. The only local sanction they seem willing to tolerate is the presence of foreign consuls with ordinary consular powers, though I suppose that, under the terms of the Pact, they accept the supervision of the Minorities Commission of the League of Nations. Certainly I do not believe that minority rights unsecured by practical sanctions on the spot will be less respected in Turkey than they will be, for example, in Greece or Rumania. I do not question the Angora Government's goodwill. But national hatred and distrust have reached an intensity to-day which they have seldom attained before, and the Powers cannot save their faces by nominal safeguards and then abandon the minorities to the possible consequences of their situation either in Turkey or elsewhere.

The Terms of the Pact.

1. "The Ottoman Empire abandons claims to territories inhabited by Arab majorities, but considers the other parts of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by a population united by religion, race, and aspirations as an inseparable whole." [I.e., Angora claims to retain all territories inhabited by non-Arab Ottoman Moslem majorities; e.g., not only Turks, but Kurds.]
2. "The Ottoman Empire leaves the status of Western Thrace to be decided by its inhabitants." [Western Thrace was ceded in 1913 by Turkey to Bulgaria, and in 1919 by Bulgaria to the Allies, who afterwards assigned it to Greece. The majority of the population consists of Turkish and Bulgarian Moslems.]
3. "The Ottoman Empire accepts and supports the rights of minorities in accordance with the principles decided by the Powers [in the case of the defeated or newly created States in Europe], hoping that Moslems living in neighbouring countries will benefit by the same rights."
4. "The Ottoman Empire demands the security of Constantinople and the Sea of Marmora, and respects the decision of the interested Powers that the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles shall be opened for commerce and communications."
5. "The Ottoman Empire accepts a plebiscite in Kars, Ardahan, and Batum." [Districts ceded by Turkey to Russia in 1878 and retroceded by Russia to Turkey in the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The Turkish authorities took a plebiscite there, under Turkish military occupation, and after the flight of the Christian element, in 1918. I am not clear whether the National Pact "accepts" this plebiscite, or one to be taken in the future under fairer conditions.]
6. "The Ottoman Empire insists that national and economic development and the administration of the country shall be

Reciprocal Guarantees for Minorities.

The proper value to Turkish goods would

SEEKING A

(From an Agriculturist)

A Conference, composed of representatives, rural M.P.s, and delegates from the Ministry of Agriculture and Taxation of Ground was held for two days last week at the residence of Mr. Sidney Webb. Although the iron was hot, apparently no lucky programme was wrought. A drafting committee was appointed, and it is evidently strong to fit the iron on a cart-horse.

One could hardly expect a decision would be reached at a conference at which delegates from the rural M.P.s and societies were entitled to be included from voting and only with the consent of the Government. Such as these a trade union hierarchy, would naturally dominate the conference. The Government, like all other political parties, is torn from the cleavage between the rural mind.

Yet this is the Labour Party's opportunity now that the Government by its abolition of the Wages Board has destroyed the farm workers and the seat in rural Tory strongholds. The Duke of Wellington's betrayal six months after the passage of the Agricultural Act has thrown the Coalition vote and made him not only a political class conscious.

But the Labour party's programme must have an agricultural basis, and one which is constructive, and one which is as well as to the present it has no policy able from that of many a radical candidate. All that is put forward, which is that at Brighton, has been a long small holdings and a promotion of game laws and promotion of agricultural education, better transport facilities, and a pious favour of land national. Liberals agree with all that beyond them nothing, apart from Labour—not even by rural unions which cater for the Scottish Farm Service is more intellectually able to establish unions, remains silent.

When we come to the Labour party on its proposal to nationalise the land when we come to ask what with the land when it is during the process of nationalisation no answer. Though it is a question of ground values, income tax, and its rural representation. Royal Commission of Agriculture commended courage and in an agrarian conspiracy to secure a rural vote by supporting guaranteed prices.

What the Labour

Labour, to hold its own, must have a legal minimum wage, a minimum wage the labourer

...ndacks, blue and abapely, and from you can see the other on either side Champlain, and between the two on ling blue surface of the lake plies a steamer, bearing visitors to the scenic spots of North America, and the place of the birch-bark canoe with of Indiana, who also had their own interest in historic spots. Rice died at Ticonderoga in 1852. He was the last surviving member of the American Revolutionary garrison. There is to-day who can remember easily 1852, and so the American Revolution ended up with to-day, needing but one link. And the Great War has taught most history is false, and that things really like that. And the American is being revised, as you might re- fect-sheet of a fairy tale, and it also ably not like that either. But Angora must always have been like that, has always stuck out proudly into lakes, and because it was the centre of the carrying trade between America and and because any nation that hap- be about fought over it with a that was almost monotonous—be- short, it is a great natural feature, like the Forêt de St. Gobain, which there could be no two differences MURIEL HARRIS.

MENT PITCH AS TRADE PREMISES.

ETOR FINED UNDER SHOPS ACT.

... stallholder named George Trafford 10s. yesterday on a summons under Act for opening his premises after Saturday.

... stated that defendant was proprietor in which balls were blown up a entry fee was 2d., and the persons ee balls received as a prize a packet es or of cigarettes. It was admitted y was asked to buy anything, and had been seen. ... row, for the defendant, argued that as neither retail trade nor business. ... ment carried on for the benefit of The games were permitted after at other resorts, and a conviction n that whist drives for prizes held hours would be illegal. ... spector Hutchinson argued that the he the defendant's living and therefore h agreed to state a case.

T PLACE ATTACK ON EVOLUTION ARMY.

IMPED BY AUDITORS.

... 5 each were imposed by the Hyde yesterday on Thomas Jackson, of Street, Manchester, and Arthur Dawson Street, Greengate, Salford, argued with using abusive language rket ground and also with selling ary to the Early Closing Act. ... was that defendants were hold- g and making an attack on the my, which was resented by the use of this the police interfered the two to leave the town within

... denied using the abusive language selling the leaflets in ignorance. any convictions against both.

NSTONE'S SUCCESSOR.

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EMENT PITCH AS TRADE PREMISES.

DIETOR FINED UNDER SHOPS ACT.

Business stallholder named George Trafford 10s. yesterday on a summons under the Shops Act for opening his premises after Saturday.

It was stated that defendant was proprietor of a stall in which balls were blown up and the entry fee was 2d., and the persons who bought three balls received as a prize a packet of cigarettes or of cigarettes. It was admitted that the defendant was asked to buy anything, and he had been seen.

However, for the defendant, argued that the stall was neither retail trade nor business, but amusement carried on for the benefit of the public. The games were permitted after 10 p.m. at other resorts, and a conviction against the defendant that whilst drives for prizes held up hours would be illegal.

Inspector Hutchinson argued that the defendant's living and therefore his business was such as to be a case.

MARKET PLACE ATTACK ON SALVATION ARMY.

PROSECUTED BY AUDITORS.

Fines of £5 each were imposed by the Hyde Police yesterday on Thomas Jackson, of Dawson Street, Manchester, and Arthur Dawson, of Dawson Street, Greengate, Salford, charged with using abusive language on the market ground and also with selling contrary to the Early Closing Act.

It was stated that defendants were holding a meeting and making an attack on the Salvation Army, which was represented by the police because of this the police interfered and ordered the two to leave the town within ten minutes.

Defendants denied using the abusive language and admitted selling the leaflets in ignorance. There are many convictions against both.

WINSTONE'S SUCCESSOR.

At a meeting of the South Wales Miners' Association Council yesterday Mr. Enoch Morrell was elected to succeed Mr. James Winstone as Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

At a meeting of the proposed 5 per cent. on earnings in aid of unemployed workers, a large majority against. It was decided to refer the matter back to the committee for reconsideration.

THE WEATHER.

FORECASTS FOR TO-DAY.

The Meteorological Office issue the following forecasts for the twenty-four hours ending at midnight to-night:—

For S. England and Eastern Midlands.—Fresh S.W. winds; some showers, but bright intervals; visibility good; rather cool.

N.W. and N.E. England, Western and Northern Midlands, South and North Wales, and S. of Man.—Fresh S.W. winds; changeable; showery; visibility good; rather cool.

Sea Outlook.—Changeable, showery weather for next few days generally.

Sun. Mss.	Sets.	Moon rises.	Sets.
5 30	8 59	8 47 a.m.	9 21 p.m.
5 32	8 56	9 17 a.m.	9 48 p.m.

Yon ten miles north of Manchester sunset is later than elsewhere.

Times are corrected to the new Summer Time.]

TIME FOR VEHICLES TO-DAY..... 9 29 p.m.

FRIDAY IN MANCHESTER.

Whitworth Park Meteorological Observatory, Thursday, August 4, 10 p.m.

Drizzling rain at frequent intervals and light S.W. breeze. Barometer steady.

Share Temperature.

To-day, Yest.	To-day, Yest.
10 a.m. 58° 57°	Maximum 65° 64°

his tactics to changes in the situation or to avoid fighting to the death for positions which have lost their strategic importance. Does this Turkish "National Pact" make it impossible for the covenanters of Angora to come to terms with Great Britain? I will first recite the clauses of the Pact, as they have been translated for me by a Turkish friend, and will then discuss them in the light of a conversation I have had with a Turkish diplomatist who is cognisant (and perhaps partly author) of the Angora Government's present policy.

The Terms of the Pact.

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[I.e., Angora claims to retain all territories inhabited by non-Arab Ottoman Moslem majorities; e.g., not only Turks, but Kurds.]

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6. "The Ottoman Empire insists that national and economic development and the administration of the country on modern principles are impossible without a recognition of the Empire's complete independence and freedom, and considers this a fundamental necessity for its existence." [I.e., the "Capitulations" must be abolished.]

An Analysis.

These six articles are worth analysis.

Articles 1, 2, and 5 are territorial, while 3, 4, and 6 deal with the powers of the Ottoman Government in the territories it hopes to retain. The most important territorial article is obviously 1. Under it the Turkish Nationalists reclaim the Smyrna zone and Eastern Thrace, in both of which they maintained (at the London Conference last March) that an impartial investigation would reveal the existence of an Ottoman Moslem majority. The territorial issue between Turkey and Greece, in which the Powers will have to intervene, is expressed in this formula. But the question of the frontier between Turkey and Mesopotamia is implicit in it too, and the destinies of Eastern Thrace affect the freedom of the Straits, so that we shall have to discuss it in exploring the issues between Turkey and Great Britain.

The other two territorial articles are of minor importance to us, and can probably be settled directly between the parties concerned. As regards Western Thrace, which lies between Bulgaria and the Aegean, I understand that the Angora Government would prefer to

the actual population of the Republic, including the Armenian refugees from the Ottoman Empire, is too great for the present extent of Armenian territory.

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Reciprocal Guarantees for Minorities.

The proper salvo to Turkish pride would be to institute identical guarantees of a practical kind for minorities in several Near Eastern countries, and this might not prove such a formidable undertaking as it looks at first sight. If reciprocity of minority rights and guarantees could overcome the obstacles created by national pride it would also be recommended by the national interest in cases in which two nations held hostages, in the shape of minorities, in each other's territories. For instance, an agreement between Turkey and Greece or Turkey and Armenia to grant reciprocal rights, secured by identical sanctions, to Christians in Turkish territory and Moslems in the territory of Turkey's Christian neighbours, ought not to be impossible, if it were negotiated as part of a general settlement, with the good offices of the Powers. We have a strong obligation to do everything we can for the solution of this problem of minorities, which has caused such immense suffering among both Christian and Moslem populations, and has been rendered more acute than it need have been by the Oriental policy of Western Europe. But here again we cannot act as an impartial intermediary while we have controversies of our own outstanding with one of the parties. Thus a settlement of the direct issues between Great Britain and Turkey is an essential preliminary to successful intervention on our part in any of the other issues raised by the Turkish "National Pact."

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But the Labour party must have an aim which is constructive, and a nation as well as a present it has no political candidate. Al put forward, which, at Brighton, has been ing small holdings and a promotion of agriculture, better transport libraries, and a piou favour of land. Liberals agree with a yond them nothing, by Labour—not even tural unions which ca The Scottish Farm S is more intellectually lish unions, remains s

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What the Labour Party...

Labour, to hold its a legal minimum wa minimum wage the cruel experience that on the earth than he like a cork on the market. The labourer to know how he is g but demands some cot tion of the land on depends.

Joseph Arch had th a policy, though it w be laughed at nowa We have, it is true, o dates who have as trouble to draft agri of Mr. F. E. Green Sussex), in his "Ne might be summed up Guild Socialism to a that County Agricul sisting of three class workers, farmers, and science, accountancy, port,—should take o tending over thousa would be ample room machinery, transport these committees are from the present Co mitees. They are to hatched different," a Mt. Harben, candid just published a pam Labour," which is c lines as Mr. Green's agrees with this po recognise that it is policy, and that b practical experience The Labour party

FORCED LABOUR IN KENYA

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