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THE GLOBE'S REPRESENTATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND CANADA'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Karen Ashford
University of Windsor

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THE GLOBE'S REPRESENTATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE
AND CANADA'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

by

Karen Ashford

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Communication Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor

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2012

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Karen Ashford

APPROVED BY:

Dr. John Edward Deukmedjian, External Reader
Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminology

Dr. Valerie Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, Departmental Reader
Communication, Media, and Film

Dr. James Winter, Advisor
Communication, Media, and Film

Dr. Vicky Paraschak, Chair of Defence
Department of Kinesiology

May 23, 2012

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

The Armenian genocide of 1915–1918 was the first of the 20th century, and yet many countries—including the perpetrator, Turkey—fail to acknowledge this systematic and intentional massacre of the Armenian people as genocide. My research aims to understand how the Canadian mainstream news media represented the victims during the 1915–1918 Armenian genocide, and to explore Canada’s recognition of that genocide between 2004 and 2006. Specifically, I look at how the events of the Armenian genocide are represented by the same agenda-setting media outlet (the *Globe and Mail*) in completely different ways at distinct points in time. In this case, the events of the genocide do not change, but changing political and economic relationships adversely affect the amount and quality of coverage.

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To my thesis committee and academic advisors, your help and support has guided me in completing a thesis I am truly proud of. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. James Winter for spending countless hours reading, editing, and re-reading my thesis. Your hard work and expertise are much appreciated. To Dr. Valerie Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, your attention to detail and scholarship have undoubtedly made my thesis stronger. To Dr. John Deukmedjian, your extensive knowledge about the Armenian genocide has inspired me and strengthened my historical analysis. To Dr. Jyotika Viridi, your understanding and support guided me through the many hurdles of thesis writing. Thank you. And, to Sharron Wazny, your help and guidance are so very much appreciated.

I strongly believe that it is our responsibility to bring truth to the grave injustices that continue to affect mankind. It is my hope that by studying the media representation of the Armenian genocide in Canada, we can begin to look for ways in which to offer closure to Armenian victims and inspire positive change in genocide policy and activism.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The Armenian genocide of 1915–1918 was the first of the 20th century, and yet many countries—including the perpetrator, Turkey—fail to acknowledge the systematic and intentional massacre of the Armenian people as genocide. Turkey’s denial of the genocide and its domestic laws that prohibit reference to the events of 1915 to 1918 as “genocide” have sparked heated debates in both academia and politics. These are occasionally covered in Canada’s mainstream media, but while many Western academics call for acknowledgement of the genocide and justice for the Armenian people, most countries appear to value their current politico-economic relationship with Turkey more than their moral obligation to the victims. As a result, there is little public outcry to hold Turkey accountable for the events. These considerations raise the following question: Given the debate in political and academic spheres, why is there so little public outrage regarding this injustice?

I would argue that the lack of public outcry is rooted in the politicization of genocide, such that media outlets fail to cover this topic adequately. Official international recognition, which might include demands for Turkey to acknowledge its responsibility, apologize for its actions, and provide reparations to the Armenian community, could jeopardize countries’ political and economic relationship with Turkey. The Canadian government took a moral stand in 2004, and officially recognized that the Armenian massacres of 1915 were, in fact, genocide. The question that remains, however, is why Canada took this step so long after the events.

My research aims to understand how the Canadian mainstream news media represented the victims during the 1915 Armenian genocide, and to explore Canada’s

recognition of that genocide in 2004. I aim to explicate the disparity between what I believe to be an adequate representation of victims in a media population from 1915-1918 and a lack of media coverage and the misrepresentation of these same victims in a population from 2004-2006. In this way, I intend to raise awareness of the grave injustice perpetrated by the Canadian mainstream news media, specifically the *Globe and Mail*, against Armenian survivors, trivializing Canada's acknowledgement of the genocide and emphasizing Turkish denial.

I will attempt to answer the following research questions: How does the newspaper coverage of the Armenian genocide in the *Globe*, from 1915 to 1918, and the *Globe and Mail*, from 2004 to 2006, portray the victims of the Armenian genocide? Using this mainstream newspaper coverage, particularly in terms of the portrayal of the affected Armenians as "worthy" or "unworthy" victims, I will test Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model (PM).

Overview of the Armenian Genocide

Armenia has experienced invasions and foreign rule throughout its history, largely due to its central geographic location between the East and the West. The Armenian massacres of 1894–1896 are particularly noteworthy; however, Armenia managed to survive these invasions, conquests, and massacres and maintain its distinct cultural identity (Balakian, 2003; Shirinian, 1999). It was not until the Armenian genocide, which took place in the context of World War I, that the Armenian people were deliberately massacred in an intentional and premeditated attempt to eliminate their culture and create a pro-Turkish state (Shirinian, 1999).

Armenians in the Ottoman Empire

In the 14th century, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) began to control the Armenian population, then a small minority Christian group. At this time, Constantinople comprised a large and continually expanding Armenian community; in order to deal with the diverse population, the Turks created a millet system that organized non-Muslim people into small communities. This allowed the Armenians to maintain their unique traditions and religion within their private lives (Braude, 1982), but it was also hierarchical, institutionalizing the unequal treatment of the Armenians (Suny, 1998), disallowing them from serving in most government posts, and requiring them to wear different colours to show they were not Muslim (Carter, 1982).

The promotion of an institutionalized second-class citizenry can often lead to further discrimination or violence: The denial of institutional protection is “one of the foremost facts affording persecution in a socio-political system” (Dadrian, 2003, p. 15). The political, economic, and cultural suppression of the Armenians, and their resultant lack of institutional protection from violent acts within the Ottoman Empire, paved the way for the genocide of the early 20th century.

Armenians and Europe

In the 19th century, many of the European powers and Russia had self-interest in the political and geographical future of the Ottoman Empire (Quataert, 2000). Russia, Britain, and France were all motivated by territorial control, access to the sea, and economic viability (Kirakossian, 2004). Despite these motivations, each of these countries had vested interests in reform, and the Ottoman Empire met those demands by insisting on equality among Muslim and non-Muslim citizens. This push led to a

proclamation in 1839 and the Constitution of 1876, which both emphasized equality regardless of religious affiliation (Davison, 1954). Still, equality was never attained, and some argue that the declarations were used as “weapons of diplomacy in times of international crisis, and not solely as programs for domestic reform” (Davison, 1954, p. 850).

In the 1880s, an Armenian revolution began. The Ottoman Empire feared the Armenians’ growing independence movement, increasing economic power, and expanding relationships with diasporas, which allowed them to seek help from other countries (Jones, 2006). To ensure that Armenians would fail to gain independence, the Kurds and Turks massacred Armenians throughout the Ottoman Empire, particularly in Anatolia, from 1894 to 1896 (Duguid, 1973). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Young Turk movement, also known as the Committee of Union and Progress, gained momentum and eventually obtained control of the Ottoman Empire. Although originally supported by the Armenian population, its leaders eventually fought *against* equality among all subjects, effectively excluding Armenians from gaining equality.

The Armenian Genocide

The year 1914 brought about small-scale and deliberate massacres of the Armenian population. Armenians were also deported to remote areas as the oppressors prepared for a larger initiative. By late 1914, Turkish government officials were told to monitor prominent members of the Armenian political parties and intellectual community; Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman army were considered suspect and thus disarmed (Akcem, 2006). The deliberate attempt to destroy both the Armenian population and its cultural identity began on April 24, 1915, when Ottoman authorities arrested and

subsequently tortured and killed roughly 250 Armenian intellectuals and community leaders (Balakian, 2003; Shirinian, 1999). By May 1915, and for the next year, Armenian men and women were separated. The men were the first to be killed through mass burnings, death marches, deportation, drownings, and suffocation; women, children, and the elderly typically endured rape, and died as a result of deportation, and starvation (Adalian, 1997; Akcam, 2006). Deported survivors lived in dire conditions in resettlement camps and faced starvation, disease, lack of shelter, lack of sanitation, and continued deportation (Lewy, 2005).

No official date marks the cessation of the Armenian genocide, although the mass killings terminated in 1918, around the end of World War I. Determining the exact number of Armenians killed is difficult for numerous reasons, including Armenian relocation, conversion to Islam, deaths due to injuries caused during the genocide, and researcher bias (many Turkish scholars provide lower figures than that of their European counterparts). A comprehensive study by Sarkis Karajian places the figure at over two million; various Turkish historians estimate the number of deaths to be as low as, or lower than 800,000. Most academics, however, estimate the figure to be between 1.2 and 1.5 million (Dadrian, 1999; Karajian, 1978).

Perhaps one of the defining features of the Armenian genocide—and which certainly marks it as unique in relation to other genocides of the 20th century—is the continued Turkish denial that it ever occurred (Jones, 2006). Despite thousands of survivor testimonies and eyewitness accounts, the official line adopted by modern Turkey is still that Armenians in the border regions of the country engaged in violent acts in

order to impede the Turkish war effort, leaving the Ottoman officials with no choice but to intervene.

Armenians and Canada

The survivors of the Armenian genocide were “dispersed from their homes and forced to begin new lives in foreign host countries all over the world even as they were still terrorized by what they [had] just endured” (Shirinian, 1990, pp. 1, 26–27). Despite being practicing Christians, the Canadian government classified the Armenian populations as “Asiatic” until 1952; as such, they were not desirable immigrants (Shirinian, 1999, p. 13). Canada placed a \$200 head tax on all immigrants of Asiatic origin, greatly affecting the ability of many Armenians to enter the country, and created a “continuous-journey regulation,” which meant that Armenians had to travel directly from their homelands—this was nearly impossible at this time, as Armenians had been displaced throughout the entirety of Europe (Shirinian, 1999, p. 16). Armenian Canadians established the Canadian–Armenian Congress in 1948 to bring displaced Armenians to Canada and also to convince the government that Armenians should not be classified as Asiatic. Despite these hardships, Armenians formed a diaspora in Canada, one that remains today.

In addition to its misrepresentation of the Armenian people, Canada, like most other countries, largely ignored the Armenian plea for official recognition for over 80 years. Although various Canadian political parties—including the Liberals, New Democratic Party (NDP), and what became known as the Progressive Conservative and Conservative parties—paid some attention to the Armenian genocide in the 1980s and 1990s, every time a new government was elected, it brushed the issue aside. Armenia was

a Soviet Socialist Republic until 1991; the issue was largely avoided in the mainstream media to maintain a close relationship with Canada's North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally, Turkey (Shirinian, 1999). In 1980, the Legislature of Ontario passed a unanimous resolution stating that April 24 would be designated an annual day of remembrance for the Armenian community.

Canada officially recognized the Armenian genocide by passing Bill M-380 in 2004. Part of this bill stated that the "House acknowledges the Armenian genocide of 1915 and condemns this act as a crime against humanity" (cited in Moore, 2006, p. A5; see Appendix B). The Armenian genocide is not the only genocide the government of Canada has passed: the Canadian parliament adopted the Srebrenica genocide resolution (M-416) recognizing the genocide that happened in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Hercegovina, in 1995 ("Canadian parliament unanimously," 2010). Prime Minister Stephen Harper made a public statement about the recognition of the Armenian genocide in 2006, leading to Turkey recalling its ambassador from Ottawa and pulling out of an international air exercise at Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake.

In the nearly 100 years since the Armenian genocide, the political and economic relationships both between Canada and Turkey and between Canada and Armenia have changed. During World War I, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) was an enemy of the West, while Christian Armenia was an ally. After the Armenian genocide, Turkey initiated attempts to mend its relationship with the West, while Armenia became a republic of the Soviet Union—an enemy of the West. Of course, Russia was an ally to the West, briefly during and immediately after WW2.

In the early 1990s, Armenia gained independence from the Soviet Union and has since taken steps to become an EU member country, thereby aligning itself with the West once again. However, Armenia is not a member of NATO and still hosts one of the largest Russian military bases, Russian 102nd Military Base. In contrast, the United States now has one of its largest external military bases, Incirlik Air Base, located in Turkey. Turkey's relationship with the West truly began after World War II, however, and was strengthened by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, because it was one of the few West-friendly countries left in the Middle East. What is more, Turkey is a member of NATO.

Today, both countries are allies of the West, but Turkey's relationship is far more important, both politically and economically, than that of Armenia. For example, at the time of the 2004 Canadian acknowledgment of the Armenian genocide, Turkey was in talks with Bombardier—which has a plant in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada—to build a subway system worth \$117 million. The threats of Turkish officials in 2004 to pull out of the Bombardier contract due to Canada's decision to acknowledge the genocide indicate that the Canadian-Turkish economic relationship is far more valuable than that of Armenia, which cannot afford to outsource contracts for millions of dollars to Canada. In fact, according to Forbes magazine, the Armenian economy is the world's second weakest (Fisher, 2011). Therefore, Turkey is much more valuable politically and economically to corporate US and Canada, than is Armenia.

Significance/Rationale of the Research

There is extensive literature focusing on genocide studies, and particularly the Armenian genocide; my study contributes to this body of research in several key ways.

First, I provide a uniquely Canadian perspective, which has largely been left out of the discussion of the Armenian genocide. Second, elites have the power to influence information, and therefore determine which victims are considered to be worthy or unworthy; this thesis attempts to shine a light on this injustice. Additionally, and perhaps most importantly from a theoretical perspective, although I am using a framework that has been employed on many occasions, I compare depictions of the same event in two different periods. Specifically, I look at how the events of the Armenian genocide can be represented by the same agenda-setting media outlet in completely different ways at distinct points in time. The events of the genocide do not change, but the changing political relationships affect the amount and quality of coverage, in this case adversely. Moreover, I illuminate how the impact of the politicization of the Armenian genocide promoted the continued Turkish denial, placed political importance over humanitarian importance, and set an example whereby denial would result in the avoidance of all responsibility for genocidal crimes.

Although Turkish acknowledgement of the genocide seems highly unlikely, there is still hope that with continued international acknowledgment, this may someday be possible. It is crucial that the mainstream media properly represent massacres and acts of genocide before, during, and after conflict in order to properly inform the public and hold the perpetrators accountable. Although if past media coverage of genocides, excluding the Holocaust which was adequate, is an indication of future coverage, this is highly unlikely. It is imperative that the international community support the Armenian fight for recognition and set a humanitarian standard that stands above all political and corporate agendas to ensure that genocide of any kind will not be tolerated, and that perpetrators

will be punished. Perhaps more importantly, however, acknowledgment can help the victims of the genocide—who have formed diasporas throughout Europe, the Middle East, and North America—to achieve true citizenship in their new homes, citizenship that some believe can only really be obtained through their country’s acknowledgement of what brought them there in the first place.

Both the international community and academia need to work toward a better understanding of the concept of genocide, as well as its predictors, in order to help prevent these atrocities from continuing to occur. It is my hope that by studying the media representation of the Armenian genocide in Canada, we can begin to look for ways in which to offer closure to Armenian victims and inspire positive change in genocide policy and activism.

Genocide Studies

The word “genocide” is relatively recent, having been introduced in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin to describe the crimes against the Armenians and against the Jewish population in Europe during World War II. The definition used in the political realm is Lemkin’s original one, which is why Prime Minister Harper employed it when he recognized the Armenian genocide on behalf of Canada. While there is a rationale for using different definitions, Lemkin’s traditional definition will be referenced here.

The Definition of Genocide

After the war, Raphael Lemkin spent several years attempting to convince the newly formed United Nations to pass a law against genocide. In 1948, the 55 delegates in the UN assembly voted unanimously to approve the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which was defined as:

Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (Frey, 2009, pp. 12–13)

This definition became embedded in international law in 1951. Its primary intent was to hold perpetrators accountable for their acts—not necessarily to understand, explain, or prevent genocide. Most researchers use this definition, but there are disagreements concerning whether it should be commonly quoted in research or relegated to political and legal systems (Alvarez, 2010; Andreopoulos, 1994; Dufour, 2001; Frey, 2009; Goldhagen, 2009; Kuper, 1981; Shaw, 2007; Winter, 2003).

Dufour (2001) argued that by using a definition as a guide for the conviction of perpetrators, researchers walk a “thin line between the realms of politic, punishment, and intellectual objectivation” (p. 10); their research becomes exposed to political pressures and influences and used as a means of defending the perpetrators of mass murder rather than the victims. The debate about the definition of genocide will likely continue for years, largely because of its “centrality of legal conceptualization at the ‘hard’ political end of genocide studies, and the political capital that groups and states invest in claiming or denying the applicability of the term to cases of particular concern to them” (Bloxham & Moses, 2010, p. 7).

The study of genocide is also highly politicized. Labelling a group as a perpetrator is extremely controversial and likely to cause severe economic, political, and humanitarian complications, which is why there is hesitation when it comes to classifying systematic attempts to eradicate an ethnic group as genocide (Dufour, 2001). Although some scholars adamantly oppose using any definition other than that of the Convention, many others are pushing for a new definition that can be used in academic circles (Andreopoulos, 1994; Dufour, 2001; Frey, 2009; Kuper, 1981; Shaw, 2007; Valentino, 2004; Winter, 2003).

Genocide Studies Discipline

In the nearly seventy years since the concept of genocide was first presented, a discipline with a substantial amount of literature has been created and continues to grow (Bloxham & Moses, 2010). There are now journals dedicated to genocide studies, increased dedication to the study of genocide in universities across the world, more international attention to the subject, and a substantial amount of literature in case law, jurisprudence, international relations, human rights investigations and activism, and gender and queer studies (Bloxham & Moses, 2010; Jones, 2004). Thus, the literature is scattered among disciplines and is often highly contested; however, genocide studies is growing and gaining traction in the academic realm.

What has blossomed from this exploration is a field that is largely founded in comparative research: genocides are often compared to one another, and used as case studies to prove larger points about racism and democratization (Andreopoulos, 1994; Bloxham & Moses, 2010; Fein, 1993). Still, this is not the only focus of genocide studies; another strain of research aims to use a more contextual approach, with the goal of

connecting the events of genocide and national histories to transnational and international processes (Bloxham & Moses, 2010).

Both of the aforementioned approaches to studying genocide, along with the field more broadly, are offspring of Holocaust studies, and this creates contention in the discipline (Bloxham & Moses, 2010). There is a tendency for all genocides to be compared to the Holocaust, which involved a very large-scale, systematic, well-orchestrated method of killing and is at the forefront of the West's mindset when discussing genocide. The vast majority of genocide literature looks at the Holocaust, and Western governments and the mass media continue to use the Holocaust as the "model genocide." However, to compare other genocides—many of which are smaller in scale and less systematic—to the Holocaust suggests that any atrocity of lesser magnitude is not worthy of being identified as genocide. Even many larger-scale genocides, such as that of the American Indigenous populations, are still deemed less significant when compared with the Holocaust.

Studying one genocide in relation to another cannot focus on size and methods of killing alone. The Holocaust represents such horrors in our minds that nothing else can possibly match it, and this is a shortcoming of comparative studies. Still, the comparative approach does serve a purpose, particularly when studying key components of genocide to determine ways of preventing such atrocities from recurring.

Another consequence of the Holocaust model in genocide studies has been an overemphasis on the "role of narrow political ideology in genocide," which has been established by putting the Holocaust in a class of "ideological genocides" (Bloxham & Moses, 2010, p. 4). *Ideological* genocides have been distinguished from more allegedly

utilitarian genocides, like those that occurred throughout European imperial expansion, where the genocide itself is seen merely as collateral damage, not a systematic attempt to eradicate a people; this allows the American Indigenous genocide, for example, to be ignored, and the people viewed as “practical obstacles to be removed” (Bloxham & Moses, 2010, p. 4). This is problematical in that it demonstrates that Holocaust and genocide studies’ scholars use the same Eurocentric indifference¹ that has characterized Western attitudes toward indigenous peoples for centuries (Bloxham & Moses, 2010). In order to fully understand and study genocide, researchers cannot use a Eurocentric mindset: all victims and all perpetrators should be studied similarly and treated equally.

The study of genocide and the way in which it is understood and discussed in contemporary society is also complicated by the distinctly modern world order. As described in *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, this is “manifested most obviously in occasional third party interventions, but more consistently and characteristically by partisan political and economic pressures that can be inflammatory as well as pacificatory, has been hailed as [a] potential panacea to genocide” (Bloxham & Moses, 2010, pp. 12–13). When looking at the relationship between the world order and genocide, we seek to “problematize the prospect of the international community as benevolent policeman, intervening in genocidal situations and punishing perpetrators” (Bloxham & Moses, 2010, pp. 12–13). If there is a consensus that the act of genocide contradicts or challenges American values, for instance, then we also need to

¹ Some academics believe that there is a tendency to treat genocide differently when the atrocities are committed by the West. For example, the genocide of American indigenous peoples is not considered as such by some academics because it was part of European expansion. Bloxham and Moses (2010) argue that this inconsistency in defining such atrocities is problematical.

acknowledge that it has consistently adhered to American interests. The expansion of the United States of America occurred at the expense of indigenous people, and there are numerous examples of American support for regimes engaged in genocide or “politicide” in countries in Latin America throughout the 20th century (Bloxham & Moses, 2010; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Jones, 2004; Chomsky, 2002). Furthermore, international institutions tend to reflect the interests of the US and the majority of Western states. Institutions such as the UN have the ability and authority to intervene in genocide and punish the perpetrators of such atrocities (Bloxham & Moses, 2010; Jones, 2004; Smith, 2004). However, the notion of humanitarian intervention can and has been manipulated for the interests of the powerful: Powerful states can use genocidal intent, when they choose, to infringe on the sovereignty of weaker states, with or without total international support (Goldhagen, 2009; Smith, 2004). Perhaps more importantly, these states can ignore genocidal intent when their self-interests are not furthered by intervention, standing by while thousands are killed. This self-serving authority and protection of states’ own interests, as occurred in Guatemala, East Timor, and Nicaragua, is extremely problematic.

There is a degree of hypocrisy in Western countries’ portrayal of themselves as humanitarian interventionists and leaders of democracy, as this is only true when the interests of the West are being served and when crimes are committed outside of such countries’ borders. Democracy and humanitarian standards do not exist when the crimes are committed within these countries, as was the case with the indigenous people in the United States. Adam Jones (2004) refers to this hypocrisy as *democrisy*, which he defines as “the stain of hypocrisy that attaches to regimes that are avowedly democratic in

character, that allow comparative freedom and immunity from naked state violence domestically, but that initiate or participate in atrocious actions beyond their borders” (p. 9). Other academics, like Edward S. Herman, have cited numerous examples of and outrage at this same hypocrisy. What it comes down to is that Western countries need to acknowledge that they are to blame, in part, for genocide and other crimes against humanity that occur outside their borders when they do nothing to stop those atrocities, and at times fuel such conflicts (Jones, 2004). One example of the United States’ complicity is Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor in 1975, as the United States armed the Indonesian forces, which killed between 200,000–300,000 East Timorese (Winter, 2002).

For those who believe in the West’s role as a civilizing force, a belief stemming from a Eurocentric mindset, there is no room for hypocrisy, because democracy must exist at home. The idea of the West fueling or committing such atrocities at home or beyond its borders is simply impossible. Suggesting that the West has committed such atrocities, and continues to do so, is viewed as “intemperate or ungrateful at best, dangerous and extremist at worst” (Jones, 2004, p. 11). The result of such democracy is a culture that ignores or explains away the atrocities committed by the West and its allies, disregarding its own accountability in these crimes.

Relevant Elements of Genocide Studies

Although there are numerous approaches to studying genocides, three of the most important elements as they relate to analyzing the newspaper coverage of the Armenian genocide are intent, memory, and religion.

Intent

Intent is a key component of genocide studies, as it underlies the vast majority of the definitions of “genocide.” The concept of intent is contentious in the field; some argue that too much time and literature focus on attempting to establish, understand, and define this concept. Others maintain that without intent, genocide (as it is understood) cannot occur, and that the intent to destroy an entire group of people gives the event the label of genocide (Alvarez, 2010; Bloxham & Moses, 2010; Frey, 2009; Greenawalt, 1999; Hovannisian, 1999a; Shaw, 2007).

The concept of intent is also intensely debated in the context of the UN’s definition of genocide. The most widely accepted understanding of genocide, advanced by Greenawalt (1999), is that the perpetrator has a specific intent to target “victims on the basis of their group identity with a deliberate desire to inflict destruction upon the group itself” (p. 7). However, this understanding is bound to international law, and therefore political agendas, and does not necessarily provide the best definition and understanding for scholars attempting to better grasp the concept of intent in a genocidal framework.

Many genocide scholars have distanced themselves from the Convention’s notion of intent, instead using the variation of “motivation/intent” as a way to classify genocides, whether they are carried out to settle ethnic, religious, or racial differences (as was the case with the Armenian genocide), terrorize the population of a recently acquired land (including ancient/medieval instances of genocide), acquire or increase wealth (including the killings in Mexico and Peru in the 16th century), or enforce political ideology (including Cambodia in the 1970s) (Frey, 2009). Other scholars contend that

intentionality is an excellent starting point for the study of genocide, but cannot be used as an overall framework for understanding the concept (Shaw, 2007).

One of the fundamental problems with the concept of intent in the Convention's definition is that it is very difficult to prove and easy to deny. This is precisely the case with the Armenian genocide of 1915: "As the central characteristic of genocide is the calculated, intentional decimation of the targeted group, refuting the factor of intent is foremost in the denier's belief" (Hovannisian, 1999, p. 203). One of the most common arguments made by deniers of the Armenian genocide is that the intent was not to kill Armenians as a group; rather, it was to relocate them (Hovannisian, 1999). In this manner, the concept of intent can be restrictive, as it might be applied only to those mass murders that either the perpetrators admit to or that the international community, including the United Nations, deems worthy of the classification of genocide. In the coverage of the Armenian genocide in the *Globe and Mail* from 2004–2006, intent plays a large role; in these articles, lack of intent is often cited as a fundamental reason for Turkish denial.

Memory of Genocide

Memory is a prominent framework used to study genocide, although its treatment varies substantially depending on the theorist and the genocide being examined. Because the field of genocide studies is so deeply rooted in survivor testimonies, many scholars who use the framework of memory argue that it plays a fundamental role in one's sense of self and one's ability to move forward. Memories of genocide can shape the politics of countries and yield a profound effect on individuals, whether making them more able to reconcile with enemies or more likely to cause war (Barkan, 2007).

Historical memory also plays a fundamental role in the way in which contemporary events are interpreted (Miller, 1999). Schutz argues that events in and of themselves never possess meaning; rather, meaning is based on two elements “operating in constant dialectic: the sedimentation of past experiences and one’s intentionality toward the future” (as cited in Miller, 1999, p. 187). For victims of genocide, the trauma becomes part of who they are and cannot be forgotten; thus, their memories of genocide influence their contemporary choices.

Barkan (2007) uses the framework of memory to discuss its effect on the political spectrum, and argues that through memory, conflict resolution—and perhaps even reconciliation—can occur. From a collective memory of genocide, both the perpetrators and the victims may create a space that is constructed largely through the acknowledgement of responsibility (Barkan, 2007). Barkan (2007) contends that, based on collective memory and through collaboration, Turkish and Armenian historians can “construct a memory that respects the victims, shows empathy for the suffering, rejects denial, points to the responsible individuals and government crimes, [and] does not indict the Turkish nation, and certainly not today’s Turkish people—for the Genocide” (pp. 389–390).

The framework of memory takes on many forms within the study of the Armenian genocide and can assist in offering reconciliation and potentially facilitate moving forward. Perhaps more importantly in this case, however, is that memory tends to be a delegitimizing tactic used against the Armenians by Turkish officials. This will be discussed in more detail in the chapters that follow.

Religion

A prominent aspect of this approach argues that religion is a construct and that its naturalization—in the case of the Armenian genocide, in the division between Muslim and Christian—is a type of weapon used in the struggle to legitimize power (Astorian, 1999). In order to bring about a division between Muslims and non-Muslims, Turkey created a hierarchical millet system. This system, as previously noted, required Christians to wear specific clothing so that they could be identified as non-Muslims, and did not allow Christians to hold certain government or academic positions. Therefore, the millet system institutionalized the unequal treatment of the Armenians within the public sector of the Ottoman Empire (Suny, 1998). By defining the Armenians as non-Muslim, the Ottoman Turks essentially created a binary division between Muslim and non-Muslim constructs. The terminology, propaganda, and oppressive laws were all ways in which the Turkish government naturalized such a division (Astorian, 1999; Smith, 2002).

Binary constructs are not specific to the Armenian genocide; the study of religion is typically used as a framework for understanding 20th century genocides, particularly the Holocaust, and a key component of this is looking at the way in which divisions between religions are naturalized (Smith, 2002). Through such polarization, perpetrators are able to dehumanize victims and justify their slaughter, which is precisely what occurred in the Ottoman Empire's millet system because Armenians were considered to be less human than their Muslim counterparts (Astorian, 1999).

A recurring theme throughout this study's first population of articles, published in the *Globe* from 1915–1918, is a commentary on the reasoning concerning the Turkish

massacres of the Armenian people. Religion is commonly mentioned in these articles; in particular, there is a running discussion of the Armenian people's Christianity.

Armenian Genocide Studies

Literature pertaining to the Armenian genocide is often rooted in the testimony of first-generation survivors and the comparative approach. It tends to offer specific accounts, and is more a compilation of testimonies and documentation than a framework. Still, as the discipline develops, more academic research exploring official documents and press coverage is emerging. Armenian genocide literature was introduced by Hagop Oshagan, who promoted the segregation of genocide literature from other literature, arguing that it merited a methodology and genre all its own (Perroomian, 1999). Today, Armenian genocide literature is understood to “encompass that unique body of artistic creations triggered by a traumatic, unprecedented collective experience in the history of the Armenian people” (Perroomian, 1999, p. 175). Recurring themes in this approach include self-criticism or internalization of catastrophe, the inability or unwillingness to grasp the reality of the events, the image of the Turk, the manifestation of self-defence, and the role and duality of God (Perroomian, 1999). These themes grapple with the victims and survivors' perceptions of the events, along with the impact they had on both first- and future-generation survivors (Perroomian, 1999). What is derived from this literature is typically a historical account of the events from the viewpoint of survivors, which helps to establish an understanding of the Armenian genocide and the full impact of the atrocity.

The Representation of Genocide

There is ample academic research that describes how genocide and other acts of terrorism are politicized by the media and political leaders to reinforce official agendas. Herman and Chomsky represent the forefront of this research, with specific case studies from their PM, but other academics like Anthony DiMaggio, Jeffrey Klaehn, and Adam Jones have also delved into this topic. Still, there is no consistent humanitarian standard for ensuring that victims of both enemy and friendly state violence receive the same coverage. According to DiMaggio (2009), “U.S. media coverage is highly propagandistic, creating a polarization between various groups depending on the specific context in which the repression takes place” (p. 111). Similar to the West’s self-serving approach in its intervention and engagement with countries committing genocide, the Western media tend to align themselves, and thus media coverage, with government and corporate interests.

A stark difference can be seen in the attitudes of news coverage in *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *CBS*, and *Time* when it comes to religious leaders murdered in Soviet-dominated countries like Poland as opposed to those murdered in US-allied capitalist states in Latin America (DiMaggio, 2009). When the Polish Secret Police murdered priest Jerzy Popieluszko, this received far more coverage in these news outlets than did dozens of religious figures who were killed in Latin American countries by US-allied forces in the 1960s–1980s (DiMaggio, 2009). According to Herman and Chomsky, “the act of violence and its effects on Popieluszko were presented in such a way as to generate the maximum emotional impact on readers. The act was vicious and deserved the presentation it received. The acts against the unworthy victims were also vicious, but they

were treated differently” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p 43; see also DiMaggio, 2009, p. 85). Thus, it is apparent that the media typically align themselves with the interests of government and institutions, which generally means highlighting some victims (those Herman and Chomsky characterize as *worthy* victims) while ignoring others.

The example of the genocide in East Timor can be used to illustrate a problematic non-response to human rights violations in the international arena. Although Indonesia acquired most of its military equipment from the United States, Canadian governments also authorized the export of civilian and military goods to Indonesia in the 1970s and 1980s, despite Canada’s own import and export policy, which prohibits the sale of military goods to countries that are engaging in hostilities or have a history of violating the human rights of its citizens (Klaehn, 2005). During Indonesia’s illegal occupation of East Timor in 1975–1999, over 18,000 East Timorese were killed and more than 80,000 died as a result of the occupation (starvation and illness; Dunn, 1997). The worst of the atrocities occurred during the late 1970s, with similar numbers of casualties to the Pol Pot massacres in Cambodia. The difference is that it was not clear how to stop the massacres in Cambodia, whereas all the West had to do to stop the massacres in East Timor was to stop supporting the Indonesian violence through military export, the American administration, and the silence of the media (Chomsky, 2002).

Researching the coverage of East Timor from 1975–1980, Klaehn found that the *Globe and Mail* affirmed rather than challenged the actions and policies of the Canadian government, and failed to adequately cover the events of the genocide and Canada’s involvement in the region (Klaehn, 2005). Similarly, in the United States, the mass media coverage of East Timor was rather high before the 1975 invasion, declined shortly after

it, and came to a screeching halt by 1978, with zero reporting being done on the subject in the United States at this time (Chomsky, 2002). US interests lay in a large offshore oil field in East Timor's territorial waters; the US had had no success in negotiating with Portugal for this region, and knew that East Timor's independence would make it even more challenging. However, Indonesia was a US ally, which meant that Indonesian occupation would result in the US gaining access to the oil field. US extraction of Timorese oil began in 1991 (Chomsky, 2002). Based on this coverage of East Timor, it can be concluded that "the interrelations of state and corporate capitalism and the corporate media effectively circumvented fundamental democratic processes" (Klaehn, 2005, p. 153).

Similar to the genocide in East Timor, the US government supported and inspired coups in Latin America, including Guatemala, in the 1960s–1980s. The United States funded and provided military arms to the government in Guatemala; these were used to kill some 100,000 people between 1978 and 1985 (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). This US support of the genocide in Guatemala is largely unknown because countries like Guatemala and Indonesia—in fact some of the most terror-filled regimes of the 20th century—were "redefined as progressive, as 'embedded democrats,' as 'caught between extremes' of left (the popular and guerrilla opposition) and right (the paramilitaries and death squads, somehow divorced from the regimes that constituted and directed them)" (Jones, 2004, p. 14). Essentially, the US redefined these regimes to fit with its own ideological stance, to service its own interests. Although accurate information about the massacres in Guatemala was presented by institutions like the UN at the time, the US media coverage did not accurately portray them (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

Meanwhile, atrocities that were committed at the hands of the Soviet Union—at times less severe—were covered heavily in the US media. Such coverage was extremely critical of communism (Jones, 2004). Testimonials and accounts of the violence in the 1970s and 1980s by survivors and eyewitnesses like Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchú began to emerge in the mid-1980s, but the US government and the media still did not respond to the genocide in Guatemala or attempt to cover the massacres adequately.

Based on these case studies of the mass media representation of violence and genocide, one could justifiably conclude that the media do not fairly and equally cover all victims of genocide and acts against humanity (DiMaggio, 2009).

The Representation of the Armenian Genocide in the Mass Media

Coverage of the Armenian genocide in the mass media is unique in that there is on-going discussion as to whether the events of 1915 can be described as genocide, and the framing of the events depends largely on the particular newspaper's and/or country's stance on the issue. For example, in the US Congress in 2007, the Democrats introduced a resolution recognizing the Armenian genocide, but *The New York Times* neglected to publish articles/editorials about this. When there was coverage, it suggested that the resolution was ill advised or counterproductive (DiMaggio, 2009). Anthony DiMaggio (2009) highlighted this disparity in a critical examination of how the victims of the Armenian genocide were portrayed in the media in the United States as compared to how the Srebrenica genocide, which took place during the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to November 1995, was represented. The Armenian genocide killed between 1 million and 1.5 million people, while the Srebrenica genocide killed 8,000;

however, the treatments of these two genocides in the mass media and by the US government are disproportional to the scale of the atrocity. DiMaggio found that the mainstream media and the political leaders in the United States were quick to label the Srebrenica massacres as genocide and covered them heavily. In contrast, government officials and editorials were extremely critical of the recognition of the Armenian genocide, labelling it as irresponsible and poorly timed. Indeed, although the death toll of the Armenian genocide was somewhere between 125 and 180 times that of the Srebrenica genocide, the Armenians received little, more poorly placed, and more critical coverage. According to DiMaggio (2009), this was justified by the desire to maintain a strong political relationship with Turkey over the United States' humanitarian obligation to the victims of this genocide.

Another prominent case study of the Armenian genocide has been done by Jessica Taylor who did a content analysis of the *Washington Post's* coverage of the massacres of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire from 1915-1916. She focused on a qualitative content analysis, but quantitative analysis was the supportive analysis. She used the search terms "Armenia" and "Armenian" and studied the articles, identifying five main categories: description, international action, aid, subordinate reference, and location (Taylor, 2009). She then identified common themes and analyzed the articles for elements such as sources, frequency of categories, and placement of articles (Taylor, 2009). *The Washington Post*, similar to *The New York Times*, reported on the Armenian massacres almost daily for over a year. According to Taylor's content analysis, the American people were well informed about the Armenian genocide, with graphic depictions of the systematic atrocities committed against the Armenian people (Taylor,

2009). Due to the lack of formal intervention by the United States to stop the atrocities, and political pressure not to go to war with Turkey, the question regarding Turkish responsibility was, however, put on hold until the end of the war (Taylor, 2009). Despite the *Washington Post's* attention to the Armenian cause, the political and economic interests with the region outweighed the United States' commitment to the Armenian victims: "The outpouring of sympathy and responsibility provoked and recounted in the media coverage was limited to humanitarian efforts and failed to extend to political protection of Armenian independence" (Taylor, 2009, p. 124). With nearly a century having passed, the Armenian cause has yet to receive official recognition of the genocide that was so heavily covered by *The Washington Post* between 1915 and 1916.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Theoretical/Conceptual Framework: Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model

In theory, a democracy cannot function effectively without a well-informed public. The electorate must have access to information on current and past domestic and international events, popular opinion, and government policies and agendas in order to make informed and responsible decisions. Theoretically, therefore, the media play a fundamental role in a functioning democracy; without the media, there would be no intermediary institution to analyze the information presented by the most powerful people in society or to provide coverage that reflects the best interests of society as a whole.

A democratic media should be made up of relatively unbiased and independent entities that present the most relevant, timely, and objective reporting possible, and do not merely reflect the views of the wealthy and powerful. The current media situation in Canada and around much of the globe, however, is based on ownership conglomerates that are controlled and influenced by the richest and most powerful political and economic elites. In Canada, the vast majority of media are owned by five companies: Bell Media, Rogers Communications, Shaw Communications, Astral Media, and Quebecor; the Canadian government owns the public network, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The Thomson family—the wealthiest family in Canada—owns eighty-five percent of the *Globe and Mail*, while Bell Canada Enterprises (Bell Media) owns fifteen percent (“David Thomson and Family”). According to Herman and Chomsky (1988), this type of control and influence allows powerful societal actors to “fix the premises of discourse, to decide what the general populace is allowed to see, hear, and think about, and to

‘manage’ public opinion by regular propaganda campaigns” (p. 1). The information disseminated by our media, therefore, reflects the ideologies and agendas of elite figures in society, and not necessarily the unbiased “truth.” As a result, the citizenry’s view of the media system and the reality of how it actually operates may be at odds with one another.

In their PM, as presented in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Herman and Chomsky argue that “Elite media interlock with other institutional sectors in ownership, management and social circles, effectively circumventing their ability to remain analytically detached from other dominant institutional sectors” (1988, p. 1). If the media are connected to structures of ownership, for example, then it is very difficult to critique injustices perpetrated by this structure or challenge the dominant perspectives taken by the media. The result is self-censorship by journalists and newsroom workers. The PM, however, also emphasizes that this filtering of news by economic and political elites is naturalized to the point that “media news people, frequently operating with complete integrity and goodwill, are able to convince themselves that they choose and interpret the news ‘objectively’ and on the basis of professional news values” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 2). The actual journalists are not necessarily to blame for flawed coverage; rather, this coverage is a direct result of economic elites who control the dissemination of information.

The PM seeks to analyze media performance, and suggests that the way in which the media perform is directly related to political and market forces. The dominant political and corporate elites share many of the same interests, which media performance will likely serve. The PM predicts that news discourse will feature:

(1) The promotion of ideologically serviceable themes and system-supportive dis-information; (2) a low volume of news coverage devoted to reporting on “unworthy victims”; (3) dominance of official discourse; and (4) a very tight, controlled range of “permitted opinion” and debate on central topics. (Klaehn, 2002, p. 206)

Although the American and Canadian media are multifaceted—local newspapers are distinct from national newspapers—this critical discourse analysis will be focused on what is typically called “agenda-setting” media. As defined by Chomsky, agenda-setting media typically include the “major media outlets that end up setting a basic framework that other smaller media units more or less have to adapt to” (Chomsky, 2002, p. 14). For example, if local newspapers want to cover national or international news, they will likely lack the resources to send foreign correspondents to gather information; thus, they will have to adapt to the framework of the major media outlets. This results in similar information being presented in similar formats to citizens across the country, even if they are reading local newspapers and not those considered national outlets.

Herman and Chomsky’s PM has been consistently misunderstood and ignored in discussions and debates concerning mass media. For example, the PM does not postulate that media function to circulate propaganda; it does, however, describe the “forces that cause the mass media to play a propaganda role” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, pp. xi–xii). Ignoring the PM in debates about the function of mass media is actually a prediction of the PM:

One prediction of the model is that it will be effectively excluded from discussion, for it questions the factual assumption that is most serviceable

to the interests of established power: namely, that the media are cantankerous, perhaps excessively so. However well-confirmed the model may be, then, it is inadmissible, and, the model predicts, should remain outside the spectrum of debate over the media. Note that the model has a rather disconcerting feature. Plainly, it is either valid or invalid. If invalid, it may be dismissed; if valid, it will be dismissed (Chomsky, 1989, p. 11).

The PM has largely been left out of discussions and debates about how media function, including academic discussions, confirming the PM's own prediction (Robertson, 2011; Mullen and Klaehn, 2010). Chomsky argued that there is a very good reason for excluding the PM from debate: "discussing the 'Propaganda Model' would itself be dysfunctional to the institutions" (Chomsky, 2002, p. 17). Although there are mischaracterizations and critiques of the PM, it is a useful critical approach for media analysis in that it aims to understand and explain the patterns of media behaviour and the impact of market forces on media coverage (Klaehn, 2003).

Herman and Chomsky (1988) contended that the PM "traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their message across to the public" (p. 2). The five main news "filters" are as follows: (a) size, ownership, and profit orientation; (b) advertising; (c) sourcing of news; (d) flak; and (e) anti-communism (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In addition to these filters, the model also emphasizes "the importance of delineating the absence of historical context in news reporting and treats as significant the degree to which news is isolated from prior and subsequent events" (Klaehn, 2003, p. 12). Accounting for this historical context in the coverage, I believe

there should be a focus on one particular filter of the PM in my analysis: sourcing of news.

The PM predicts that there is a reliance by the media on information, in the form of news sources provided by the government, business, and experts supported by these institutions (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Herman & Chomsky, 2002). There are not enough resources or reporters available to cover all news, so news agencies normally concentrate on places where news typically occurs: government agencies, police stations, and corporations. These are usually recognized as credible by the public, reinforcing the image that mass media are objective and accurate. These “routine news sources” create content that is accessible for news agencies and release this to correspond with news deadlines, giving them privileged access, unlike “non-routine news sources,” which have to fight for access and may be ignored by news agencies (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 22). The PM also predicts that the use of critical and non-routine news sources may be avoided because they might be less available—there is a higher cost associated with them, and primary sources may be offended by their claims (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). The experts who are referenced in articles in the mass media are an extremely important element of sourcing; however, the source of the article, the author or the news agency that released it, is also significant.

Sourcing is the most relevant filter of the PM in this analysis, because the types and number of sources found in the articles provide a clear understanding of how the coverage is framed. Furthermore, identifying the sourced individual or group provides valuable information about the article’s content. For example, a Turkish author may write an opinion column from a different perspective than an Armenian author would. It is also

important to note the groups of people who are not sourced, an identification which provides valuable information about which opinions or groups of people are not being represented. Additionally, analyzing whether one source speaks on behalf of, or in the interest of another provides an opportunity to look at which groups are viewed as being more credible than others. For these reasons, news sourcing is a crucial element of this analysis. Although size, ownership, profit orientation, advertising, flak, and anti-communism are important filters, they do not address the research question examined in this thesis. An analysis of size, ownership, and profit orientation would require an extensive study of the *Globe and Mail's* operations and functions from 1915 to today. Likewise, a discussion on advertising would require a broad examination of the advertising industry and the *Globe and Mail's* advertising policies, neither of which addresses the research question directly. Although flak was considered seriously, the only form of genuine flak in the *Globe and Mail* was in the form of letters to the editors. Ten letters to the editors were identified, and the positive and negative responses were split evenly. Similarly, the anti-communism filter would require a detailed discussion of communism that is not particularly relevant to this analysis. In addition to sourcing of news, a more focused and readily applicable approach to my research is Herman and Chomsky's discussion of "worthy"/"unworthy" victims.

“Worthy”/“Unworthy” Victims

The PM postulates that the media serve elite political interests, and that one way they do so is by presenting victims and perpetrators so as to evoke a desired emotional response: sympathy for the victims and anger toward the perpetrators (Klaehn, 2002). Depending on the international context of the event, the media draw attention away from

certain stories and place more emphasis on others. In this manner, news stories do not always portray victims in the same way. Some are deemed “worthy” victims, while others are “unworthy.” The PM contends that the mainstream media will portray “people abused in enemy states as worthy victims, whereas those treated with equal or greater severity by its own government or clients will be unworthy” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 37). The qualitative and quantitative disparities in the way these victims are treated mean that worthy victims will receive more coverage, more prominence, and more humanistic treatment, while their unworthy counterparts will receive less coverage, poorer placement, less detail, minimal humanization, and coverage that will not excite or enrage (DiMaggio, 2009; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Klaehn, 2002; Klaehn, 2005).

The PM also suggests that in the coverage of unworthy victims in news reporting, the historical context will be absent and events will appear to be isolated; news coverage involving unworthy victims will not include a discussion of how the event relates to prior or subsequent events (Klaehn, 2005). Overall, the propaganda approach to media coverage suggests “a systematic and highly political dichotomization in news coverage based on serviceability to important domestic power interests” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 35). This model, employed by Herman and Chomsky, Klaehn, and other scholars, has effectively delineated why certain victims receive more coverage than others.

Critical Discourse Analysis as a Methodological Approach

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) attempts to study discourse in the social world, focusing primarily on how social and political domination is produced (and often reproduced) through discourse. According to van Dijk (2009), it is an approach that

focuses on “social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (p. 96). It centres on issues of power, domination, ideology, and hegemony, as well as historical components, which are particularly useful in understanding texts in their proper context.

In the context of the Armenian genocide, CDA allows for an analysis of the historical and political relationships between Turkey and Canada, and of the way in which Armenians were viewed by both of these countries, in order to better comprehend the coverage—particularly the way in which the victims were portrayed. Texts can be written with specific meanings and ideologies, with the aim of expressing certain messages to an audience; this is often the case in newspaper coverage. CDA can deconstruct these techniques in an attempt to analyze the embedded meanings beyond the words, calling “attention to power imbalances, social inequalities, non-democratic practices, and other injustices in hopes of spurring readers to corrective action” (Huckin, 1997). With this in mind, the results of CDA should not be taken at face value, for interpretation of the texts is influenced by many historical conditions.

According to Huckin (1997), the “context is meant to include not only the immediate environment in which a text is produced and interpreted, but also the larger societal context including its relevant cultural, political, social, historical, and other facets.” Analyzing newspaper coverage of the Armenian genocide, therefore, produces a better understanding of political and historical situations as they relate to Canada, Turkey, and the Armenian people. Huckin argued that there are two integral steps in performing a CDA of texts. First, the researcher should take on the active role of a typical reader, which is a non-critical approach, and “try to experience being manipulated themselves

before taking a more critical view...they should try to simulate how an intended reader might read and react to a given text” (Huckin, 2002, p. 5). The second step adds a critical component, whereby the researcher takes a “step back” and analyzes both the text and his/her initial reaction to it (Huckin, 2002, p. 5). CDA is an *approach* to studying texts, not a systematic method; the researcher must use his/her best judgment as to which components should be used to interpret and analyze the text (Huckin, 2002).

CDA also has limitations. Bryan Poole made the following criticisms of CDA: (a) the term “discourse” is defined very differently depending on the scholar and can be interpreted, inappropriately, as language; (b) there is no indication as to the number of possible discourses; (c) the theoretical commitments of CDA depend on a number of influences, without any coherent whole; (d) there is no discussion regarding the ability of readers to interpret the text in different ways; (e) CDA adopts a deterministic view of the effects of texts on readers; and (f) CDA does not use psycholinguistic evidence sufficiently (Poole, 2010). Further, Pedro Santander Molina (2009) argues that CDA must be differentiated from textual linguistics, and to do so, it is necessary to study the methodological and theoretical elements of linguistics as they relate to the text as a whole, which leaves much room for bias.

Though some academics, such as Bryan Poole, criticize CDA, this approach allows the researcher to look critically at texts and analyze the meanings and power structures embedded in them. Nevertheless, it is imperative for researchers to note any of their pre-existing assumptions or beliefs before beginning the research, because the best guard against bias is transparency. In this study, the texts were approached with a historical understanding of the Armenian genocide, but with no bias toward the types of

coverage that should be found. The aim was to view the texts as a typical reader, while still maintaining a critical approach to the quality of the information. I have no personal connection to the Armenian genocide, but rather attempted to understand how the Armenian genocide has been represented in the *Globe and Mail* in order to contribute to the academic discussion surrounding Turkey's denial of the Armenian genocide.

Huckin's approach to CDA provides a strong foundation, with clear terms and definitions, which can be employed along with transparency to guard against researcher bias.

Several approaches will be used to analyze coverage of the Armenian genocide in two populations, one from the *Globe* in 1915–1918, and the other from the *Globe and Mail* in 2004–2006. The analysis will look at the texts as a whole, on a sentence level, and at the level of specific words and phrases. Although most critical discourse analysts select one or two of these levels, all three will be used here to perform an extensive examination that looks for larger societal meanings while still paying attention to techniques such as framing and omission, as well as connotation, as defined below.

Framing

The first technique for criticizing the texts as a whole is *framing*, which refers to how the content of a text is presented (Huckin, 1997), and looks at the perspective of the writer and whether a slant (i.e., perspective) is present: “To be coherent, a text cannot simply be a collection of details; rather, it must try to pull these details together into some sort of unified whole” (Huckin, 1997).

Foregrounding and Backgrounding

Closely related to the technique of framing are the concepts of *foregrounding* and *backgrounding*, which deal primarily with the notion that particular concepts are emphasized while others are de-emphasized. Huckin referred to the top-down orientation of news reports as an example of these techniques: “Sentences occurring early in the report will be foregrounded, while those occurring later will be backgrounded” (Huckin, 1997). *Omission*, a technique whereby the author of the text intentionally leaves out certain components of, or perspectives on, the story, is an extreme form of backgrounding; it “is often the most potent aspect of textualization, because if the writer does not mention something, it often does not even enter the reader’s mind and thus is not subjected to his or her scrutiny. It is difficult to raise questions about something that is not even there” (Huckin, 1997). In the following chapters, particular attention will be paid to the terminology *not* used to describe and define the Armenian genocide.

Transitivity

Perhaps one of the most crucial techniques that will be used in this research is a focus on the *agent-patient* relationship in sentences, which is a component of transitivity. Huckin (1997) argues that in textual descriptions, “certain persons are consistently depicted as initiating actions (and thus [perhaps] exerting power) while others are depicted as being (often passive) recipients of those actions.” Looking specifically at the coverage of Canada’s acknowledgement of the Armenian genocide in 2004–2006, it can be asked: How was the Armenian population in Canada represented? Were Armenians the recipients of the actions of the Canadian government, or were they seen as people who had been fighting for recognition for nearly a century?

Another important element at the sentence level is the deletion or omission of agents, which typically occurs through the use of passive verbs and nominalization (Huckin, 1997). For example, it can be asked whether the headlines focus on the victims or the perpetrators in the coverage from 1915–1918. Do the headlines read “100,000 Armenians Die” or “Turks Killed 100,000 Armenians”?

Connotations

The final level of CDA, which looks at words and phrases, includes an analysis of connotations. According to Huckin (1997), “Connotations derive from the frequent use of a word or phrase in a particular type of context.” Additionally, a connotation may be used only once and still be considered valid. It is here that the terminology used to describe and define the massacres of the Armenian people is analyzed to determine the frequency and intended context of the terms used.

Parameters and Scope of the Research

Time Frame

The two time frames for this research are January 1, 1915 to December 31, 1918, comprising the first population, and January 1, 2004 to December 31, 2006, representing the second. I have selected the first time frame in order to analyze the Canadian media coverage of the Armenian genocide in the *Globe* during and directly after the genocide (1915–1918). The mass killings stopped in 1918, just prior to the end of World War I. Thus, I will analyze newspaper coverage until December 31, 1918. The second time frame was selected to gather information about Canada’s recognition of the Armenian genocide in 2004, as well as Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s official statement regarding this in 2006.

The time period of 1990–1992 was also given serious consideration. On August 23, 1990, Armenia declared its sovereignty from the Soviet Union; full independence was achieved on September 21, 1991. This is a significant period because, in theory, Armenia breaking away from the Soviet Union could positively change the political relationship between Canada and Armenia. However, this event does not directly pertain to Canada and Canadian–Armenian survivors in the same way that official recognition does. Additionally, in 1980, the Legislature of Ontario passed a unanimous resolution stating that April 24 would be designated an annual day of remembrance for the Armenian community. Though this is significant, it was not country-wide official recognition. Rather, it is a day of remembrance. Thus, I believe that 1915–1918 and 2004–2006 are the most significant periods with regard to the Armenian genocide as it relates to Canada because they mark (a) the genocide itself and (b) official recognition.

The Globe/The Globe and Mail

I will reference the *Globe*'s coverage of the Armenian genocide from 1915 to 1918, and the *Globe and Mail*'s coverage from 2004 to 2006. The *Globe* was founded in 1844, and by 1853 it had a readership of 6,000. In 1888, it was purchased by the Jaffray family, which ran it until 1936, during which time the *Globe* declared itself to be “Canada’s national newspaper” (*Globe and Mail*). In 1936, the newspaper was purchased by George McCullagh, who merged the *Globe* with the newspaper the *Mail and Empire*, forming the *Globe and Mail* (*Globe and Mail*).

I chose to study newspaper coverage from the *Globe and Mail* because, in recent times, it has maintained editions in six cities and a weekly readership of 2.5 million people (*Globe and Mail*). As an agenda-setting mainstream periodical, it disseminates

information to one of the largest newspaper audiences in Canada; information contained within it is therefore representative of what many newspaper consumers are likely to encounter. The *Globe and Mail* is widely regarded as Canada's newspaper of record, equivalent to the *New York Times* in the United States. It is Canada's most prestigious daily newspaper and is regarded as the only truly national daily. It also has a reputation for having the best foreign news coverage in Canada relative to other papers such as the *Toronto Star*. It is therefore an agenda setter for other Canadian daily papers and news media.

Throughout most of its history, the *Globe*/the *Globe and Mail* tended to be closely aligned with what is now called the Conservative Party of Canada. Before its merger with *The Mail and Empire*, it was associated with Canada's elite, representing the financial and academic communities of Toronto. After this point, the *Globe and Mail* took on a largely conservative viewpoint. Since the early 1980s, the paper tended to support the Progressive Conservative Party/the Conservative Party.

Terminology and Search Terms

Determining the search terms necessary to locate articles that discuss the Armenian genocide in two time periods that are nearly 90 years apart was a difficult task. As previously noted, the term *genocide* was not introduced until 1948. Now a widely recognized term used to describe the events of 1915–1918, it cannot be applied retroactively to the coverage.

When Johannes Lepsius, a German missionary; J.B. Jackson, the American consul in Aleppo, Syria; and Henry Morgenthau, the American ambassador in Istanbul wrote separately about the Armenian genocide in 1915 and 1916, they were defining exactly

what the term genocide now means. For example, Jackson wrote that these atrocities were “nothing less than the extermination of the Armenian race” (Weitz, 2003, p. 1).

Although they did not use the term, the writings of these men described genocide:

The word did not exist yet, but both of them [Lepsius and Jackson] knew that they were witnessing something even worse than the pogromlike violence that had occurred earlier against the Armenians. What they could not have known, of course, was that the genocide of the Armenians...displayed so many of the characteristics that would be replicated at other times and in other places around the globe. (Weitz, 2003, p. 1)

Common terms used to describe the genocidal events at the time were “tragedy,” “massacres,” “atrocities,” and “a crime without a name.” Today, calling the event a tragedy or massacres when countries such as Canada, France, and Switzerland recognize it as genocide, delegitimizes the victims and sends a clear message of uncertainty and doubt. For this reason, not using the term genocide, or using techniques such as quotation marks to suggest that the term is contested, will be discussed in detail in relation to the second set of news items. Such a discussion will be absent in the assessment of the first set because the term genocide did not exist.

Because of the difference in terminology, the search term “Armenian genocide” could not be used for the *Globe*’s coverage from 1915 to 1918 and the *Globe and Mail*’s coverage from 2004 to 2006. Although the term *massacre* was most commonly used in 1915, it is not alone a valid search term because it was not the only word used to define the atrocities in the earlier coverage. Furthermore, due to the continued Turkish denial of

the genocide, much newspaper coverage discussing it in the later set does not actually refer to the events as genocide; rather, it uses terms such as “massacres” and “tragedy.” Therefore, in order to gather an exhaustive research sample, I used two broad search terms: “Armenia” and “Armenian.”

Accurate/Inaccurate Coverage

At times, the analysis will discuss accurate coverage or inaccurate coverage. Accuracy is determined by an evaluation of the coverage in relation to relevant research, which is discussed throughout the historical analysis or literature review. Accurate coverage is that which aligns with the historical analysis provided and which has been quoted by dozens of Western academics. Moreover, accurate coverage is that which aligns with the previous studies discussed in the literature review, particularly Jessica Taylor’s study of the Armenian genocide in the *Washington Post* between 1915 and 1916 as well as Anthony DiMaggio’s study of the Democratic Party’s resolution recognizing the Armenian genocide in the *New York Times* in 2007.

CHAPTER 3
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: 1915–1918

The search terms “Armenia” and “Armenian” in the historical database of the *Globe and Mail* returned 345 items published between 1915 and 1918. Of these, 271 articles were excluded from the analysis, because they were advertisements or descriptions of events that were not directly related to the massacres (typically of strategic manoeuvres that took place in World War I). Eighty-three hard news articles, opinion columns, and editorials discussed the massacres of the Armenian people.

Using Huckin’s approach, the items were first read uncritically in order to gain a general understanding of the material and to experience the articles as a typical reader would have experienced them. Next, a CDA was performed by categorizing the articles into four broad themes, which were based on the content discussed in the text: 1) the massacres, 2) holding the Ottoman Empire responsible, 3) religion, and 4) the West’s involvement in preventing the massacres. At times, the articles delved into more than one theme, which was noted. Next, the articles were critically analyzed through a focus on framing, foregrounding, and backgrounding, which included omission, transitivity, connotations, and news sources. With a sample size of 83 items, examples from each item could not be used without repetition. Therefore, several articles from each theme were selected to represent the whole sample. All exceptions were noted.

Framing

The vast majority of articles are news stories, opinion columns, and editorials that frame the massacres of the Armenian people as horrific. Here, the terminology and

descriptors used to illustrate the massacres of the Armenian people paint a clear picture of horrific atrocity, torture, and unspeakable acts of genocide. For example, the article “Thousands of Armenians Perishing in Caucasia, the Chairman of the Armenian National Defence Committee” (1915) states that Turkish actions against the Armenians are “deplorable,” and that Armenians are “dying from cold and hunger.” In “Turks Disorganized by Recent Defeats” (1915) the special telegraph dispatched to the *Globe* reports that the Turkish troops massacred the entire male population of four villages and that they “pillaged and destroyed a number of shops, and hanged several Armenian merchants.”

Shortly after the Armenian genocide is said to have begun in April 1915, and for a full year following this, the descriptions of the massacres becomes even more detailed. An article in the War Summary section of the *Globe* dated August 3, 1915 read that “9,000 men, women and children have been massacred,” and that “mutilated bodies now strew the banks of the Tigris” (“War Summary: It Is About Time that Turkish Misrule Came to an End,” 1915). In the article “Unspeakable Cruelty Practised by Turks” (1915) extremely graphic language is used to describe an instance of Turkish violence: “the miserable Armenian men, women and children were almost all burned alive...Only four escaped, one of whom related the story.” In the article “Graduate of Knox on Turkish Horrors” (1915), Rev. E. O. Eshoo gives his first-hand account of the massacres in Armenia:

My mother and sister...fled and found refuge in a Mohammedan house. My sister reached the city, but while my mother was riding to the city on a donkey lent to her she was met by Kurds, who robbed her and beat her so that she died from the

shock a few days afterwards. The daughter of one of my brothers died from fear, and the wife of another (the doctor) died in captivity. My aunt was killed outright in her bed, her head and breast being crushed with heavy stones. My uncle and his son (a Nestorian preacher) were both killed. One of them—I do not know which—had the skin taken from his body while he was yet alive. Two of his daughters, three of his grand-daughters and his daughter-in-law were taken into slavery.

The article “Unspeakable Cruelty Lot of Armenians” (1915) includes first-hand accounts of various atrocities, one of which, “‘Useless Lot’ Drowned,” is particularly vivid:

On June 25 [1915] the Turks surrounded the town of Bitlis and cut its communication with neighbouring Armenian villages. Then most of the able-bodied men were taken away from their women by domiciliary visits. During the following few days all the men under arrest were shot outside the town and buried in deep trenches dug by the victims themselves. The young women and children were distributed among the rabble. The remainder, the “useless lot” were driven to the south and believed to have been drowned in the Tigris.

These articles framed the massacres as an intentional and deliberate attempt at eliminating Armenians and their culture. For example, in the article “Massacre by Turks is Spreading Fast” (1915), the crimes against the Armenian population are said to have “increased both in number and in degree of atrocity,” while there are “wholesale massacres and wholesale deportations [*sic*], which were carried out under the guise of enforced evacuation.” Each of these articles thoroughly discusses the Turkish massacres

of Armenians and employs language that frames the severity of the atrocities and urgent situation of the Armenian people.

Foregrounding and Backgrounding

The deliberateness of the massacres is foregrounded throughout the articles in the *Globe*. An example of this is found in the article “Armenia: The Unspeakable Tragedy” (1915), which begins: “There is not in all history anything to match the deliberate, systematic, and utterly unthinkable fiendishness of the campaign waged by the Turkish Government against the whole Armenian race.” Moreover, the article “Leave No Armenian Alive, Turk Policy” (1918) states that the Turks have a “deliberate purpose to wipe out the native population.” In “Terrible Massacres of the Armenians” (1915), the events are described as “worse than anything ever before,” while in “Unspeakable Cruelty Practised by Turks” (1915), they are depicted as “methods employed by the Turks in their policy of exterminating Armenians.” Even further, the Armenian massacres are explained as a “plan for extirpating Christianity by killing off Christians of the Armenian race” (“Cup of Turkey’s Iniquity Full,” 1915). The death tolls are also foregrounded, with an emphasis on numbers in the headlines and in the early paragraphs of many of the articles. Such headlines include the following: “Million Armenians Wiped Out by Turks” (1915), “Only 200,000 Armenian Inhabitants of Turkey Now Remain in Country” (1915), and “Only 16 Living Instead of 40,000” (1916). The intent of Turkish government officials to eradicate the entire Armenian race is repeatedly illustrated in the 83 articles in the first set of news coverage by foregrounding of Armenians as victims and emphasizing the death tolls of the Armenian population at the hands of Turkish officials.

The *Globe's* coverage of the Armenian massacres also foregrounded that the Armenian victims were Christian and the Turkish perpetrators were Muslim. In almost half of the newspaper articles between 1915 and 1918, the fact that Armenians are Christians is discussed. For example, "Massacre by Turks is Spreading Fast" (1915) reads "Christians being killed in Armenia and on the Persian border," and in the August 3, 1915 War Summary, the actions of British troops aimed at "saving some part of the Christians of Armenia from their bloodthirsty foes" are discussed ("War Summary: It Is About Time that Turkish Misrule Came to an End," 1915). Seven articles claim that the Turkish massacres of the Armenian people are directly related to religious affiliations: "Armenia: The Unspeakable Tragedy," "Massacre by Turks is Spreading Fast," "The Cup of Turkey's Iniquity Full," "The Turk Must Go," "War Summary: August 3, 1915," "The Armenian Relief Fund," and "Turk Troops in Erzerum". For example, in "The Cup of Turkey's Iniquity Full" (1915), the slaughter of Christian Armenians is discussed in detail:

The continued slaughter of the Armenians is not the outcome of frenzied passion, but a plan for extirpating Christianity by killing off Christians of the Armenian race. All over eastern and northern Asia Minor and Armenia the Christian population is being deliberately exterminated, with accompaniments so diabolical that one may find their parallel only in the fate of the men, women, and children in the Belgian towns captured by the Germans a year ago.

Moreover, there is also one article that delves into the history of Armenian Christianity, providing an account of Armenia's history as context for the rest of the *Globe's* coverage. "Armenia: The unspeakable tragedy" (1915) includes the following statement:

And so a people of worthy history, a nation whose records cover thirty countries, whose Christian civilization runs back to A.D. 301, the first nation to adopt Christianity as its national religion – this race and nation are being exterminated out of their ancestral home under conditions for which barbarism has no precedent, and there is no nation anywhere in all the world with the will and the power to bid the murderer of innocence to hold his bloody hand.

Foregrounding the conflict's religious component was a strategic tactic used by the governments, missionary groups, and mass media of the day to make the Armenian victims seem worthy of appropriate coverage. Portraying these victims as worthy—based, in part, on their religious background—reflects a pro-Christianity anti-Muslim bias in the coverage. Although the Ottoman Empire—long an enemy of the West—was the perpetrator of the genocide, emphasizing that the victims held religious beliefs similar to those in the West was nevertheless seen as important; this perceived sympathy with the Armenians would have made the crimes of the Ottoman Empire seem much more objectionable and appalling to the Western public.

Many articles also foregrounded the German-Turkish relationship, explaining that Ottoman officials were trained and encouraged by Germany in the massacres of the Armenians because Germany wanted access to the central geographic location of Armenia, or that Germany had incited the massacres and did nothing to stop them. For example, the article “Terrible Massacres of the Armenians” (1915) states that the “Germans permitted and encouraged such horrors.” This emphasis on Germany's partial accountability for the massacres, though historically accurate, is strategic and political. It emphasizes that the West is a moral leader of democracy, and that its enemies are

perpetrators of horrific crimes on innocent populations requiring the West's intervention and support.

Allied opposition to the massacres of Armenians was often foregrounded in the *Globe* in 1915–1918. In fact, the newspaper dedicated six articles to various government policies and statements, and several other articles discussed the role of the United States and Britain very briefly. The Allied forces of Britain, Russia, and France made statements about holding the Turks “personally responsible,” and these statements and the role of these countries, particularly Britain, in attempting to stop and hold Ottoman officials responsible for the genocide are largely foregrounded throughout the majority of the news articles. An example of this is in the article “Armenians Massacred in Hundred Villages” (1915), which reports that “The allied Governments publically state that they will hold all members of the Ottoman Government and their implemented agents personally responsible for these outrages.” The August 8, 1916 War Summary comments that “Turkey does not at all understand that he is a murderer already condemned to pay the supreme penalty for his slaughter of the Armenian people” (“War Summary: The Report that the Turkish Ministry has Resigned,” 1916).

Several articles from December 1916 to May 1917 discuss how Canada, Britain, and the US were casting the Ottoman Empire out of Europe, and the French and US governments were not allowing new Ottoman ambassadors because of the Armenian atrocities, in addition to other human rights violations. Although these articles are factual, the United States and Canada actually did very little to stop the massacres. Aid groups, particularly Christian missionary organizations, raised quite a bit of money for and awareness of the Armenian massacres, but the United States did not enact any policy or

formally ask the Ottoman government to stop committing the massacres until February 19, 1916, nearly a year after the genocide began (“Pres. Wilson Warns the Turk Murderers,” 1916). In fact, the one article in the *Globe* about US protestation of the massacres in 1915 states that the US would do everything in its power to bring peace to the region and stop the “alleged atrocities” (“Ask Wilson to Protest Against Armenian Massacre,” 1915). The coverage leading up to and immediately following this article is extremely critical of the Ottoman government and explains in great detail the atrocities against the Armenian population, but when the role of the United States is questioned, suddenly the events are qualified as being “alleged.” This is one of the only articles deviating from the typical coverage; however, it is certainly worth noting the compliance of the *Globe* in being critical of the enemy state, but contradicting itself when the interests or involvement of the United States is questioned.

In the same vein, there seems to be a general contradiction in the coverage of the events in Armenia where the West is concerned. Although the actual massacres are described truthfully, almost all of the coverage of the West’s involvement in the region is positive, despite Western countries’ relative inaction with regard to actually putting any pressure on Germany or the Ottoman Empire to stop massacring the Armenians. In this sense, the lack of involvement by the West in intervening is actually backgrounded throughout the coverage. For example, “The Cup of Turkey’s Iniquity Full” (1915) reads that the “allied powers are not in a position to stop the massacres for which Germany must accept in history her full measure of responsibility,” while “Turks Murder Without Mercy” (1918) discusses how Germany was the only country able to stop the Armenian massacres, but that it has not said a word. As a British Colony, Canada entered the First

World War with Britain in 1914 and played an important role in the war. However, Britain and Canada did not intervene in the Armenian massacres of 1915 despite their knowledge of the killings (they spoke out against the atrocities, but they did not threaten military intervention). The United States did not enter the war until April 1917; therefore, in 1915, offering a threat of military presence in the region would have been challenging, although not impossible. Because of this lack of intervention, the foregrounding of allied opposition to the massacres in the news coverage is problematical. Such foregrounding may have led readers of the *Globe* to believe that the West was attempting to stop the atrocities when, in fact, the allied opposition was not intervening at all.

However, there is still coverage challenging the West's lack of involvement in the cessation of the genocide: "the only other nation, the nation whose hand is free, is the United States of America. And in that great democracy the people have been generous with their money to feed the starving Armenians, but the government has not yet lifted its hand to strike the arch-assassin" ("Armenia: The Unspeakable Tragedy," 1915). Thus, despite some deviations from the typical coverage of the events of the Armenian genocide, there is still some mild criticism of the West's lack of involvement in attempting to stop the massacres.

Transitivity

Analysis of the articles through the agent-patient framework makes it apparent that the Turkish government is more powerful than the Armenian victims. For example, in the *Globe*'s article "Turks Again Active on Caucasian Front" (1915), responsibility for the Armenian massacres is placed on the Turkish leadership, while the article "Kurds Massacre Armenian People" (1915), reads that "Further information of the Turkish

atrocities in Armenia received to-day [sic] shows that the Kurds in the region of Bitlis have massacred most of the Armenian population in that district.” Similarly, another article discusses how the Turkish people, at the demand of their government leaders, were responsible for deporting thousands of Armenians: “Tens of thousands, probably hundreds of thousands, have been deported by Turks on road [sic] hundreds of miles to Western Anatolia under conditions amounting to slow extermination” (“Terrible Massacres of the Armenians,” 1915). These sentences indicate that the Turkish government was responsible for the massacres of the Armenian civilians.

The headlines of numerous articles also further the agent-patient relationship; they clearly illustrated the perpetrators as being the Turks and the victims as the Armenians, and characterized the killings as horrific, deliberate, and unprecedented. For example, several of the headlines are as follows: “Armenians Massacred in Hundred Villages: Allied Governments Will Hold Turk Government Members Personally Responsible,” “Massacre by Turks Is Spreading Fast,” “Unspeakable Cruelty Practised by Turks: Armenian Massacres Just as Barbarous as in the Olden Days,” “Terrible Tales Told of Turkish Massacres,” “Entire College Staff Slaughtered by Turks,” “Million Armenians Wiped Out By Turks: Only 200,000 Armenian Inhabitants of Turkey Now Remain in Country,” and “Unspeakable Cruelty Lot of Armenians: Massacres of Unsurpassing Horror Committed by Turks.” From the agent-patient analysis of both the *Globe*’s articles and headlines, there is an obvious indication that the Turkish government is more powerful than the Armenians; the coverage seems to properly identify the victims and the perpetrators, placing responsibility appropriately on the Ottoman government.

There were very few exceptions to this coverage. However, there was an understandable tendency to place the responsibility on Germany as well, with several articles discussing how Germany's influence allowed the Ottoman Empire to commit such atrocities. In the article, "Terrible Massacres of the Armenians" (1915), for example, the blame is placed on Germany for encouraging the atrocities, which, though true, construes the Turkish government as obedient followers, rather than organized perpetrators: "The Germans who are masters of the central Ottoman administration have to their everlasting shame not only permitted but rather encouraged these horrors." Focusing on Germany being partially to blame for the Armenian genocide aligns the Turkish perpetrators with Germany, with whom Britain and Canada were at war during World War I. The Canadian government was at war with Germany, and coverage that could depict the enemy as barbaric and inhumane further justified the war to the Canadian public—and certainly the *Globe's* readership. Despite this particular depiction, however, the majority of the articles clearly portrayed an agent-patient relationship, whereby the Armenians were victims and the Turkish government was the perpetrator.

On this level, there is also an agent-patient relationship between Allied forces and the Ottoman Empire; the Allied forces had power over the Ottoman Empire. A lot of the coverage focuses on Britain, France, Russia, and the United States calling on the Ottoman Empire to cease its massacre of the Armenian people—although when this occurred, it was generally informal—stating that these countries will hold Turkish officials responsible. For example, it is stated that "The British Government with the Governments of France and Russia, declare that for the past month the Kurds of the Turkish population of Armenian have been massacring Armenians" and "The United States Government

today dispatched a formal protest to Turkey against a continuation of atrocities against the Armenians” (“Ask Wilson to protest against Armenian massacre,” 1915; “Pres. Wilson warns the Turk murderers,” 1916). This, again, points out the tendency for the *Globe* and the Western governments to pay lip service to the massacres of the Armenian people, without actually intervening or sending aid. There was one article where a formal request was sent by the American government to stop the atrocities. It reads: “The United States Government today dispatched a formal protest to Turkey against a continuation of atrocities against the Armenians” (“Pres. Wilson warns the Turk murderers”, 1916).

Connotations

The most common words used to describe the massacres of the Armenian people in this set of news items are “atrocities,” “massacres,” and “tragedy.” Ten of the 68 article headlines (nine articles were in the War Summary section and six were in the Comments and Notes section so they did not have headlines) include the term “massacres” and three use the term “atrocities.” “Exodus” is used in one headline, as is “slaughtered.” More severely, “unspeakable cruelty” is used twice in headlines, “unspeakable tragedy” and “unspeakable barbarism” are both used once, and “Turk murderers” is used four times. The term “massacres” is accompanied by adjectives such as “systematic” and “deliberate,” carrying connotations similar to the term “genocide” today. At least one of these terms is used somewhere in the content of every single newspaper article, opinion column, and editorial that the *Globe* printed about the Armenian genocide between 1915 and 1918.

Sources

Another significant component of this analysis and a common feature found throughout the coverage is the *Globe*'s use of sources, both those cited in the articles and the sources of the articles themselves. There are very few articles that cite Armenian survivors directly; the vast majority interview Christian missionary groups, Armenian special interest groups such as the Cultural Committee of Armenian Relief, and the Armenian National Defense Committee. Armenian survivors that were interviewed were typically well-respected members of the community, such as Rev. E. O. Eshoo. Other prominent sources included Viscount Bryce—a British academic, jurist, historian, and liberal politician—and Mr. Porter, a *Globe* correspondent. Although these agencies and prominent figures portray Armenians' voice accurately, it would have benefited the coverage to have included the voices of Armenian survivors themselves. The legitimacy of the massacres needed to be confirmed by trusted members of the West, which is, of course, extremely problematic. The legitimacy of the articles should not be based on trusted, Western voices; instead, it should be based on first-hand accounts of the atrocities by the victims themselves. However, as the PM predicts, sources such as government officials (Viscount Bryce), missionary groups, and religious and academic leaders (Rev. E. O. Eshoo) are recognized as credible, which reinforces the belief that the mass media are credible and objective. However, it is also necessary to consider that Armenian survivors would have been harder to find, which would have raised production costs. Furthermore, primary sources such as the US and Canadian governments, who were not intervening in the massacres, may have been offended by the statements made by Armenian survivors. Perhaps most problematic is that the Armenian genocide was

considered a newsworthy and valid event in Western media when conveyed by accepted and trusted sources, a perception which ultimately silenced the Armenian community. Moreover, articles provided by the governments of Canada, the United States, or Britain were obviously uncritical of their own lack of support and involvement. The only truly critical coverage about the government's lack of involvement in stopping the Armenian massacres was produced by Viscount Bryce. Other common sources of articles were special cable dispatch agencies and the Canadian Press Dispatch. These services tended to provide more accurate coverage than that of the government agencies.

Summary of Analysis

Despite several small deviances from the *Globe's* typical coverage of the massacres of the Armenian people between 1915 and 1918, when compared to the research done by most Western historians and academics, the coverage is fairly accurate and representative of the events of this atrocity. For example, the findings of this study align with those of Jessica Taylor's on the coverage of the Armenian genocide in the *Washington Post*. Therefore, the findings of this study can be said to conform to what other Western academics have deemed historically accurate. Additionally, the events represented in the *Globe* between 1915 and 1918 align with the historical work outlined earlier in this paper. Many hard news articles discussed the deportation of Armenians and their marches to resettlement camps, as well as mass drownings and burnings. This historical information aligns with the work presented by numerous scholars such as Guenter Lewy, Taner Akcam, Lorne Shirinian, and Peter Balakian.

The *Globe* aligned itself with the political interests of the Canadian government and the government's allies, particularly Britain and the United States. Canada fought

against Germany and the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, and both the Canadian and British governments spoke out against the massacres of the Armenian people.

Although the United States did not enter the war until 1917, it publically denounced the atrocities suffered by the Armenian people at the hands of the Ottoman Empire in 1915 and 1916. If the *Globe's* coverage fits within the PM, it should have provided humanistic and prominent coverage of the Armenian victims while evoking feelings of sympathy for the victims and feelings of anger for the perpetrator.

Out of 83 articles, the majority were hard news articles or war summaries. Nearly all of the articles were placed² near the top of the page and the front of the paper. The articles often included historical information about the events, and the victims were treated humanely, with detailed accounts of their sufferings. The articles were framed in a way that clearly conveyed the Ottoman Empire's responsibility for the atrocities suffered by the Armenian population. This framing was achieved through detailed descriptions of the massacres, headlines that emphasized the atrocities at the hands of the Ottoman Empire, the agent-patient relationship that focused on Turkey's power over the Armenians, and descriptions that implied the massacres were both deliberate and systematic. There were also descriptions of women, children, and the elderly as being helpless and scared. Moreover, the death toll of the Armenian victims and the Christianity of the Armenian community were foregrounded, which encouraged further sympathy for the victims and anger toward the perpetrators.

² Throughout this paper, good placement is that which meets the following criteria: being placed in the news section, near the top of the page, or at the front of the paper. Poor placement, however, refers to placement near the bottom of the page, near the editorial or opinion columns, or near unrelated advertisements or photos.

There were several exceptions to the *Globe's* historically accurate portrayal of the Armenian genocide and its humanistic treatment of the victims. For example, the *Globe* foregrounded the allied opposition's (Britain's, Canada's, and the US's) disapproval of the Armenian genocide and backgrounded their lack of intervention. This depiction was exacerbated by the use of sources that were rarely critical of the West's lack of intervention. Quotes from Armenian victims and survivors were also lacking. Although such reportage is expected, given that it would have been challenging and perhaps costly to locate and interview Armenian survivors, the silencing of the Armenian community and the vast number of sources that spoke on behalf of Armenians is problematical, given that the genocide was newsworthy and valid in Western media when it was conveyed by accepted and trusted sources from within the Western community.

Overall, the sample aligned with the PM in the sense that the *Globe* provided historically accurate coverage of the Armenian genocide and that it represented the victims fairly. There was ample coverage of the events, articles about the massacres were placed in prominent places in the newspaper, and the victims were treated humanely, with descriptions of the massacres and the perpetrators and with the victims being identified. Overall, the *Globe* aligned itself with the Canadian government, which was reflected by the coverage.

CHAPTER 4
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: 2004–2006

The search terms “Armenia” and “Armenian” returned 135 results from the period between 2004–2006 from the historical database of the *Globe and Mail*. Of these, 102 articles were excluded, because they discussed and criticized films, novels, or oil in the Middle East, which were not relevant to the focus of this paper. Thirty-three articles discussed Canada’s recognition of the Armenian genocide. Of these, 5 were hard news, 5 were opinion pieces, 7 were editorials, 10 were letters to the editor, and 6 were reviews.

Following Huckin’s approach, the items were first read uncritically in order to gain a general understanding of the material and to experience the articles as a typical reader. Next, a CDA was performed by categorizing the articles into four broad themes, which were based on the content discussed in the text: 1) the Turkish outcry, 2) descriptions of the Armenian genocide or genocide terminology, 3) freedom of speech in Turkey, and 4) the Canadian government’s recognition of the genocide. At times, the articles delved into more than one theme, which was noted. Next, the articles were critically analyzed through a focus on framing, foregrounding, and backgrounding, which included omission, transitivity, connotations, and news sourcing. With a population of only five hard news articles, these articles have been cited multiple times in different sections of this chapter.

Framing

Most articles, including opinion columns and editorials, frame Turkish outcry as justified and Canadian recognition as ill-timed or unwise. Coverage discussing Turkey’s

objection to Canada's acknowledgment is generally placed at the top of the page in the news section or the comment section; the headlines clearly promote the negative political consequences of recognition over the moral stand of Canada's recognition. Some examples of article, opinion column, and editorial headlines include the following: "Harper Chases Ethnic Vote with Air-India Inquiry," "Turks Recall Envoy After Harper's Remark," "Angry Turks Withdraw from Military Exercise," "Turkish PM Tried to Head off Harper's 'Genocide' Statement," and "The Latest Instalment of Victim Politics, Canadian-style" (Simpson, 2006, p. A19; Moore, 2006; Laghi, 2006, p. A4; Laghi, 2006, p. A7; Simpson, 2006, p. A21). In addition to these headlines, articles that discuss Prime Minister Harper's statement about the recognition frame the story as though Harper alone recognized the genocide, as if a bill recognizing the Armenian genocide had not been passed unanimously two years before. This makes it seem less significant and representative of Canada's position. Moreover, Turkish outcry is emphasized throughout nearly all of the coverage of Harper's 2006 statement. For example, in "Turks Recall Envoy over Harper's Remark," Oliver Moore (2006) writes:

Turkey's ambassador to Ottawa has been recalled after Prime Minister Stephen Harper referred to the mass killing of Armenians nearly a century ago as genocide. The Turkish government...insists that the deaths were the result of war and civil strife...Whether the killings were a genocide is a touchy subject for Turkey, which has lobbied in countries around the world against recognition. Yesterday, official communication from the government in Ankara characterized the Armenian claims as "direct attacks against the Turkish nation's identity and history."

There is no discussion in any of the coverage about the positive impact of recognition for Canada, or more specifically, the Armenian community.

As the PM asserts, there are always deviations from typical coverage. Articles that are critical of Turkish policy are typically placed in poor locations in the newspaper. Nevertheless, four articles discuss prominent Turkish authors/publishers who were criminally charged for speaking out about the genocide, although the term *genocide* is not explicitly used in these discussions. For example, in one of the cases discussed in the *Globe and Mail*, “Family Diary Ignites Distant Passions,” journalist Levon Sevunts uses the word genocide generally, but not to characterize the crimes committed against the Armenian people. The article starts with adequate coverage of the issue: “Mr. Zarakolu’s [the Turkish publisher] legal troubles began because Turkey officially denies that the massacres and deportations of the Armenian population of Ottoman Turkey during the First World War constituted genocide. That puts Turkey at odds with the majority of genocide scholars, as well as more than 20 parliaments, including Canada’s” (Sevunts, 2005). However, the perspective then shifts, referring to the events as the Armenian *question*: “The Armenian question has been a taboo protected by Draconian censorship laws in Turkey” (Sevunts, 2005). Despite being quite liberal in his critique of Turkey’s censorship policy, Sevunts does not once refer to the Armenian genocide as such. That a Canadian article about a Turkish scholar being charged for “insulting Turkishness” because he refuses to deny the Armenian genocide would not actually use the term *genocide* in relation to atrocities that Canada has recognized as such is extremely hypocritical. Although the coverage of these cases tends to be critical of Turkish censorship laws, the authors charged are also at times framed as being radical. For

example, Zarakolu was described as having a “track record of defying Turkish authorities” and the article went on to discuss how Zarakolu has been imprisoned for three years and that his publishing house has been firebombed by right-wing activists (Sevunts, 2005). There was an emphasis on the number of times the charged authors and publishers had previously been charged with “insulting Turkishness” and their views were considered to be quite radical even though they are actually aligned with those of most Western scholars who study the Armenian genocide.

Foregrounding and Backgrounding

The articles foreground references to Turkish scholars and Turkish outrage at Canada’s official recognition of the Armenian genocide. Most articles begin by discussing the Turkish response without focusing on Canada’s humanitarian stand. For example, “Turks Recall Envoy over Harper’s Remark” begins with the news that “Turkey’s ambassador to Ottawa has been recalled after Prime Minister Stephen Harper referred to the mass killings of Armenians nearly a century ago as genocide” (Moore, 2006), while the *Globe and Mail* article “Turkish PM Tried to Head Off Harper’s ‘Genocide’ Statement” discusses how the Turkish PM tried to discuss the issue rationally, not characterizing the killings of Armenians in the early 1990s as genocide, but that when Harper officially recognized the Armenian genocide, the Turkish government had to pull out of an international military air exercise (Laghi, 2006, p. A7). Another article by the same author begins by discussing how the Turkish government pulled out of the military air exercise in “protest against Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s characterization of a mass killing of Armenians as a genocide, escalating an already testy diplomatic spat” (2006, p. A4). By foregrounding Turkish leaders’ responses and the Turkish outcry, the

story is shifted to the political and economic ramifications of the recognition of genocide, rather than to Harper's statement, or the reasons for such an acknowledgement.

Through analysis of these articles, it becomes evident that the majority of the coverage backgrounds any information about the Armenian genocide itself. There are no discussions of the atrocities or explanations as to why the Turkish government wanted to eliminate the Armenian population; the historical components of the genocide and the Armenian fight for recognition are largely de-emphasized. The opinion column titled "Harper Chasing Ethnic Vote with Air-India Inquiry" criticizes the prime minister for recognizing the genocide and includes no information about the genocide or the Armenian fight for recognition (Simpson, 2006); it is important to note that Jeffrey Simpson is widely viewed as the preeminent national Canadian political commentator. Similarly, the only information about the historical components of the Armenian genocide present in the article "Angry Turks Withdraw from Military Exercise" is located at the end of the hard news article, is misleading, and ignores all explanations of Turkish denial: "Turkey's criticism of the characterization of the Armenian deaths as genocide is long-standing and consistent" (Laghi, 2006, p. A4). The *Globe and Mail* only wrote five hard news articles about official recognition, each of them focusing on the Turkish outcry, with little to no historical context. Excluding the historical analysis makes it much easier to frame Canada's recognition of genocide as irresponsible or ill timed.

Of the 33 articles analyzed in this population, not one hard news article, opinion column, or editorial covers the passing of Bill M-380 in 2004 (see Appendix B). Furthermore, no news coverage, opinion column, or editorial directly covers Prime Minister Harper's official statement; rather, the only hard news coverage of this

statement has to do with the Turkish outcry. In fact, one of the fundamental forms of backgrounding found in the *Globe and Mail's* coverage of Canada's recognition of the Armenian genocide from 2004 to 2006 is this omission of any coverage of Bill M-380 in 2004 or Prime Minister Harper's statement in 2006. These two milestones in the Armenian fight for justice are entirely ignored in the *Globe and Mail*; this is at odds with the *Globe's* in-depth coverage of the massacres between 1915 and 1918.

Religion is omitted entirely in the *Globe and Mail's* coverage of the Canadian government's official recognition of the Armenian genocide. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Center in New York, and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, Turkey was one of Canada and the United States' few allies in the Middle East. This relationship became both a political and economic necessity for the West. Given the considerable amount of mainstream media coverage and political discussion regarding 9-11, one would expect the Muslim/non-Muslim divide to be a newsworthy component of official recognition. However, despite Turkey being a largely Muslim country and Armenia being Christian, Turkey's political relationship with Canada and the United States is far more important than that of Armenia's, even after Armenia achieved independence from the Soviet Union. In this regard, it is not unusual that religion be left out of the historical and political elements of the *Globe and Mail's* coverage of official recognition.

Considering the abundance of critical coverage of the Canadian government's recognition in the *Globe and Mail*, one would anticipate a strong reaction from the Armenian community, but in reality, letters to the editor in support of Turkish denial were far more critical of all coverage, than those who wrote in support of recognition. For

example, one letter to the editor read: “When you expect Turkey to confront its past, wouldn’t it be fair to expect Armenia to confront its own past, too?”, while another read “It is unfortunate that, all too often, only the incriminating version of the tragic events of 1915 are taken to represent this relationship [Turkish-Armenian relationship]...Some accuse Turks of being ‘denialists’ and try to discredit any non-Turkish scholars, should they dare question the validity of Armenian claims” (Torunoglu, 2005; Tezel, 2006). Similarly, another letter to editor reads: “Given the near monopoly that the Armenian view enjoys in the public sphere, I am not surprised at the amount of bias we occasionally face regarding the Armenian claim of genocide...equating Turkey’s past with the “genocidal past” of “most of Europe” is in dire need of correction. The Ottomans were among the most tolerant empires in history” (Erman, 2006). Despite the negative, and sometimes historically inaccurate, comments about the Armenian genocide, there were some positive and historically accurate comments as well. For example, one letter to the editor read: “The only accounts that denied the genocide were by Turks, who claimed variously that the deaths were caused by the chaos of the First World War and by Armenian political actions. What seems to be difficult for Turks to understand is that the motivations (fear of political opponents, for example) do not constitute an acceptable reason for committing genocide” (Marchak, 2006). Additionally, one letter to the editor actually praised the Canadian government’s recognition by stating that it was “highly principled” (Balabanian, 2006). The letters to the editor in the *Globe and Mail* are both critical of and in support of recognition and the Armenian genocide.

Transitivity

The agent–patient relationship in the majority of these articles is twofold: Turkey over Prime Minister Steven Harper and Harper over the Armenian victims. Turkey is represented as a powerful political force that Canada has upset; it recalled its ambassador and pulled out of air exercises, leaving Canada’s recognition of the Armenian genocide as the reason for the damaged economic and political relationship between the countries. This action is exemplified in the article “Turks Recall Envoy over Harper’s Remark”: “The embassy threatened that Mr. Harper’s decision would ‘adversely affect the relations between Turkey and Canada.’ That prediction came true with the withdrawal of Mr. Erman, announced yesterday” (Moore, 2006). Similarly, in “Angry Turks Withdraw from Military Exercise,” it is Canada’s Prime Minister’s fault that Turkey pulled out of an air exercise because Turkey did not agree with the official recognition of the genocide (Laghi, 2006, p. A4). The damaged relationship could not be due to Turkey’s continued human rights violations and genocide denial, to which many Western countries, including Canada, are opposed. For example, Turkey has continued to violate the human rights of its citizens, and it is still illegal in Turkey to speak of the Armenian genocide, which violates the West’s alleged dedication to freedom of speech. Prominent authors, scholars, and publishers have been charged with insulting “Turkishness” for doing so; such individuals can face up to three years in prison for writing about the genocide, which was the case with prominent author Orhan Pamuk in 2005. Turkey also tries to limit international scholarship and political recognition of the Armenian genocide by threatening to end its political, economic and military relationships with countries that challenge Turkey’s denial. The political consequences of official recognition of the

genocide are highlighted far more often than the discussion of the importance of this recognition for the Armenian community. In fact, no *Globe* article discusses the Canadian–Armenian diaspora’s fight for recognition.

In the same vein, there is also a deletion of agents in the case of the Turkish perpetrators: nominalization of terms such as “massacres” and “mass killings” occurs throughout the articles, with no accountability being placed on those who committed the massacres or mention of why they did so. For example, in the article “Turks Recall Envoy over Harper’s Remark,” no reference is given to who killed the Armenian people: “Turkey’s ambassador to Ottawa has been recalled after Prime Minister Stephen Harper referred to the mass killings of the Armenians as a genocide” (Moore, 2006). Similar examples of this deletion of agents can be found in the following two sentences: “Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s characterization of a mass killing of Armenians as a genocide, escalating an already testy diplomatic spat” and “The Prime Minister of Turkey sent Stephen Harper a letter last month asking him to not characterize the mass killings of the Armenians in the early 1900s as a genocide and instead support an academic inquiry into the matter” (Laghi, 2006, p. A4; Laghi, 2006, p. A7). While these comments appear in articles discussing the Turkish outcry, there is little discussion of Turkish denial or the Armenian fight for recognition, and certainly no direct responsibility placed on Turkey.

Connotations

The term “Armenian genocide” appears in six letters to the editor, seven opinion pieces, and one hard news article. However, most of these items are still critical of Canada’s recognition of the massacres as such. For example, the editorial “Considering Turkey as an EU Member” (2005) states that “Only this year, when Armenians were

commemorating the 90th anniversary of the 1915 genocide, Turkey's government was sticking to its hear-no-evil, speak-no-evil version of the event." The article goes on to say that despite this injustice, and many others, "the point is that Turkey is changing" and should become a member of the EU. Thus, it is somewhat critical of Turkish denial, but only momentarily, and denial—along with other human rights violations—is not seen as justification for exclusion from the EU. "Turks Recall Envoy over Harper's Remark" states that "Mr. Harper declared last month, on behalf of the government of Canada, that Armenians had suffered a genocide at the hands of Turkey during and after the First World War" (Moore, 2006). Directly prior to this statement, the article discusses how it is a "touchy subject" for Turkey and highly contested; it then states, "It was a position the previous Liberal government had refused to support" (Moore, 2006). Although the article uses the appropriate term, "genocide," it makes it quite clear that Stephen Harper alone made the statement, although it was on "behalf of the government of Canada," since this position was opposed by the Liberal Party several months earlier.

The vast majority of the terminology used throughout this population evoked feelings of uncertainty and delegitimized the Armenian victims by avoiding the use of the term "genocide" and by overusing less powerful terms. For example, the "Armenian question" is referenced in two articles ("For Turkey's Sake, Stop Snowing Orhan Pamuk" and "Family Diary Ignites Distant Passions"), "painful episodes" in one ("Family Diary Ignites Distance Passions"), "Armenian massacres" in three ("A Writer Fights the War on Words," "Europe Should Keep Its Promise to Turkey," and "Admitting Turkey to the Club Will Give Europe the Edge"), and "mass killings as genocide" in four ("Turks Recall Envoy over Harper's Remark," "Angry Turks Withdraw from Military Exercise,"

“Turkish PM Tried to Head Off Harper’s ‘Genocide’ Statement,” and “Considering Turkey as an EU Member”). “‘Genocide’” is used in quotation marks in three articles (“Harper Chasing Ethnic Vote with Air-India Inquiry,” “The Latest Instalment of Victim Politics, Canadian-style,” and “Turkish PM Tried to Head Off Harper’s ‘Genocide’ Statement”), “Armenian deaths” in one (“Angry Turks Withdraw from Military Exercise”), and “Armenian claim of genocide” in one (“Turks Recall Envoy over Harper’s Remark”). The term “genocide” carries significant negative connotations; it is typically viewed as the most horrific, large-scale crime possible, and countries labelled as perpetrators are rarely able to disassociate themselves from the term (Germany and the Holocaust is a prime example). Therefore, it is not surprising that the Turkish government would not want to be connected to the term, and the newspaper coverage of Canada’s recognition reflects this. Although the Canadian government has officially recognized the Armenian genocide, the *Globe and Mail* rarely uses the language employed by its own government to describe the Armenian genocide.

The use of the term in quotation marks shows uncertainty as to its applicability, and gives the impression that it is too harsh for the crimes being discussed, thereby delegitimizing the victims. For example, the headline of one news article reads: “Turkish PM Tried to Head Off Harper’s ‘Genocide’ Statement” (Laghi, 2006); another article, “The Latest Instalment of Victim Politics, Canadian-style” states: “the government, after all, has made it an abiding objective to play ethnic politics just as the other parties do. They are recognizing the Armenian ‘genocide’ of the First World War” (Simpson, 2006, p. A21). Both of these examples clearly indicate that Harper’s statement and the Armenian genocide more generally are contested, and that despite Canada’s formal

recognition, the *Globe and Mail*'s readership should question whether the massacres of the Armenian people actually can be characterized as such. Putting the term in quotation marks can also be viewed as an insinuation, because the author could deny that he/she was trying to establish this uncertainty, although to a critical eye this intention is quite clear.

Though the term Armenian genocide is rarely used, and when it is, techniques such as quotation marks are typically used to discredit it, there is one example of good coverage in the *Globe and Mail*. The editorial "Turkey Muzzles Speech" states: "The genocide is, as Mr. Pamuk says, a historical fact, well established in diplomatic reports and news dispatches at the time...and affirmed since then by independent historians" ("Turkey muzzles speech", 2005). Though this coverage is rare, it is important to note that this editorial provided an explanation as to why the term genocide should be used and went on to discuss the Turkish laws that limit freedom of speech. However, it does not seek recognition of the events and discussed the Armenian genocide in the context of freedom of speech: the famous author Orhan Pamuk was charged with insulting Turkishness, which made a discussion of the Armenian genocide relevant again. The urgency of the editorial is not to hold Turkey responsible or encourage international recognition, it is about a famous author whose right to speak freely is being challenged.

Official acknowledgment through both the bill and Harper's statement flew under the radar in the *Globe and Mail* until there was Turkish protest, which provided an opportunity to criticize the statement, declaring it to be poorly timed and irresponsible. Particular words and phrases are used to help support this claim. For example, in "Harper Chasing Ethnic Vote with Air-India Inquiry," Jeffrey Simpson (2006) uses the term

“wisely” to frame Canada’s recognition of the Armenian genocide as irresponsible: “The previous Liberal government had wisely refused to support this campaign” (p. A19). In the following example, Moore uses more assertive and powerful terms to discuss Turkish denial than he did for the discussion of the Armenians: “The Turkish government, which insists that the deaths were the result of war and civil strife” can be compared to “Yesterday, official communication from the government in Ankara characterized the Armenian claims as ‘direct attacks against the Turkish nation’s identity and history’” (Moore, 2006).

When analyzing these examples, which are representative of the overall coverage of the recognition in the *Globe and Mail*, it is evident that the words/phrases used to assist in the unfavourable framing of Canada’s recognition of the Armenian genocide. In a country where the official policy recognizes that the massacres of 1915–1918 indeed constituted genocide, the *Globe and Mail* still used language that evokes a very different impression.

Sources

The choice and placement of sources in the articles also favour the Turkish outcry over Canada’s official recognition. Sources that discussed Turkish outcry were cited more than five times as often as those that favoured official recognition. There was only part of one statement from Stephen Harper (which was left out of the media when it was originally released) and one quotation from then NDP leader Jack Layton and Conservative MP Jason Kenney in favour of recognition, in all of the 33 articles, opinion columns, editorials, and letters to the editor. These quotations from government figures, however, do not justify or explain why recognition was a positive thing; there is

absolutely no Canadian government commentary about the political falling out with Turkey. In fact, the hard news articles omit any real discussion of the positive components of recognition, and if support for the recognition is cited, it appears in the concluding paragraphs. For example, in the second and third paragraphs of “Angry Turks Withdraw from Military Exercise,” Brian Laghi (2006) writes that

Officials with the Turkish embassy confirmed yesterday that a half dozen Turkish jet fighters, as well as support aircraft that were supposed to take part in the exercise May 17 to June 24 in Alberta, have been withdrawn. The move comes after the Turkish government recalled its ambassador, Aydemir Erman, to Ankara for discussions. “I think one can draw that conclusion,” said one official, when asked whether the decision flowed from Mr. Harper’s remarks. “This seems to be related to the not-so-good period of relations we are going through.”

Similarly, the article “Turkish PM Tried to Head Off Harper’s ‘Genocide’ Statement” begins by discussing how the Turkish Prime Minister tried to discuss Canadian official recognition with Stephen Harper rationally before the statement and then highlights the political consequences of the recognition. The third paragraph cites the Turkish PM’s letter to Harper, saying “that a push by the Armenian community to have the mass killing of Armenians recognized as a genocide has clouded Turkish-Canadian relations” (Laghi, 2006, p. A7). Not a single article in the *Globe and Mail* during this period leads with a Western or Armenian scholar, or discusses the milestone and humanitarian progress that official recognition represented. When the letters to the editor are examined closely, the positive responses about recognition can be seen to come from the Armenian community, while the negative responses come from the Turkish community. The sources are clearly

identified in the letters to the editor, and the authors' last names are often featured, which are Armenian or Turkish ("Torunoglu" and "Tezel" are Turkish, while "Balabanian" is Armenian, for example).

Perhaps even more problematical is that the Armenian community in Canada and the world is also left silent, with no quotations from Armenian survivors or social groups. The Armenian voice is entirely absent from the conversation. This omission is not surprising according to the PM, however, for the spectrum of opinions is bounded by the agreement of powerful elites, such as those of the state and not necessarily the government of the day or individual governmental policies. Readers of the *Globe* did not receive a range of perceptions and opinions, but rather, only the perspective that aligns with the political and economic needs of the state. As depicted in the articles, Armenians did not play an active role in achieving recognition; they were simply the recipient of recognition through Bill M-380 and Harper's statement. Moreover, the continued international fight for recognition is left uncovered, and Turkish denial is not confronted.

Summary

Despite rare exceptions, the *Globe and Mail's* 2004 to 2006 coverage of the Armenian genocide aligned itself with the political and economic relationships valued by the corporate state by portraying Armenian victims as unworthy. Such alignment is similar to the findings of case studies carried out by Noam Chomsky, Jeffrey Klaehn, and Anthony DiMaggio. For example, the findings of this study align with Anthony DiMaggio's study on the *New York Times's* coverage of the 2007 Democrat Party's resolution to recognize the Armenian genocide, which he compared to how the Srebrenica genocide victims were represented. Therefore, the findings of this study can

be said to conform to other Western academics' findings when using the PM to study Western media.

The *Globe and Mail* aligned itself with the political and economic interests of the Canadian government and its allies, particularly the United States. Despite the fact that Armenia is no longer part of the Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada and the United States have a strong political and economic relationship with its NATO member ally, Turkey. As previously noted, the Turkish–Canadian relationship is extremely important politically and economically. Despite Canada's official recognition of the Armenian genocide, the government did not publicize its stance, provide commentary, or offer an official stance on the Turkish outcry to this recognition. Instead, the Canadian government was silent after its official statement on the recognition of the Armenian genocide. This silence suggests that the Canadian government values its economic and political relationship with Turkey more than its moral decision to recognize the Armenian massacres, and that it was not willing to jeopardize this relationship by antagonizing Turkey through publication of its recognition. Moreover, according to the PM, Western mainstream media typically align themselves with the corporate state, not necessarily to the government of the day's policies or resolutions, which in this case is an official statement of genocide recognition. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Canadian government officially recognized the Armenian massacre while the *Globe and Mail* aligned itself with the corporate state's fundamental political and economic relationship with Turkey. If the *Globe and Mail's* coverage fit within the PM, it would have provided minimal coverage of the government's official recognition of the massacre, placed the articles in poor

locations in the newspaper, and provided less detailed coverage with no historical context and minimal humanization of the victims.

According to the PM, little coverage is devoted to reporting on unworthy victims, which was the case in this population. For example, there were only five hard news pieces about official recognition and the only articles that received prominent placement were those that focused on Turkey's outcry. On one occasion, a historical analysis was provided, but in the other 32 articles, historical information about the Armenian genocide was omitted. Additionally, the Armenian voice was completely absent, with no Armenian sources or organizations being cited. Instead, the articles focused on Turkey's outcry, thus delegitimizing the victims. The victims were not treated humanely; instead, they were discarded from the dialogue, and their past suffering and anguish was denied or discredited in all except one article.

The PM also predicts that the media will draw away from certain stories and place more significance on other stories. In this sample, official recognition of the genocide should have been the primary focus, but instead, the focus shifted to Turkey's outcry. This shift was done to avoid antagonizing Turkey; it was achieved by foregrounding the Turkish outcry, backgrounding the historical information about the Armenian genocide, omitting Bill M-380 and Harper's official statement, creating an agent-patient relationship where Turkey is more powerful than the Canadian government and Harper is more powerful than the Armenians, not placing responsibility on Turkey for the Armenian genocide, and neglecting the proper use of the term "Armenian genocide." Overall, the *Globe and Mail's* coverage of the Canadian government's recognition of the Armenian genocide aligned with the PM. Though there were several deviations, as the

PM predicted, they did not counteract the misinformation, avoidance of the topic of genocide recognition, lack of historical background, and exclusion of the Armenian voice.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: THE CASE OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Between 1915 and 1918, the Armenian genocide tested Canada and the Western world's commitments to humanitarian standards and democracy. The *Globe's* coverage treated the victims as *worthy*, but still largely avoided the topic of the lack of Western military and political involvement in putting an end to the atrocities. Due to continued Turkish denial, this commitment by Western societies to recognize the events of 1915–1918 as genocide has not disappeared, despite its lack of contemporary Western media attention. In 2004, the Canadian government unanimously voted in favour of a bill that would ultimately recognize the massacres of the Armenian people at the hands of the Ottoman Empire, and in 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper publicly stated that Canada recognized this atrocity as genocide. The Canadian government paid lip service to the Armenian victims, but did very little to publicize its recognition of the genocide or to provide counterarguments to the Turkish outcry. The *Globe and Mail* aligned itself with the corporate state and did very little to inform its readership of Canada's acknowledgment of the Armenian genocide, and, in fact, it shifted the focus of the story from official recognition to the Turkish outcry, treating the victims as *unworthy*.

According to the PM, victims of enemy states are treated as worthy victims and, therefore, receive more coverage, more prominence, and more humanistic treatment. Conforming to the PM, the *Globe* treated the Armenian victims as worthy in the 1915–1918 population of news articles. The massacres of the Armenian people received widespread attention in the mass media across the US between 1915 and 1916, as shown by scholars such as Jessica Taylor, who studied the portrayal of the Armenian genocide

in the *Washington Post*. In accordance with the previous study's findings, the present study of the *Globe's* coverage of Armenian victims between 1915 and 1918 shows that the Canadian public, and certainly the *Globe's* readership, was well informed about the Armenian genocide.

The *Globe* published 83 articles about the Armenian massacres, almost all of which were hard news articles placed in prominent positions. The *Globe's* coverage foregrounded detailed descriptions of the death marches and deportations as well as the mass burning and drowning of Armenian civilians. There is also discussion of the slaughter of women and children as well as of Armenia being a land fought over by Russia and Germany for economic and territorial reasons, which have all been discussed by academics such as Guenter Lewy, Taner Akcam, Lorne Shirinian, and Peter Balakian. As such, the *Globe's* coverage portrayed the Armenians—who were labelled as good Christians—humanely, foregrounding the suffering of the Armenian victims, and emphasizing the multiple promises made by the allied forces to hold the Turkish perpetrators responsible.

There are certainly elements strategically used to garner a particular reaction from the audience in this coverage. It can be said, therefore, that the coverage exhibits elements of propaganda, as all information does to an extent. For example, religion is a key example of the pro-Christian and anti-Muslim bias in the coverage, which encouraged feelings of sympathy for the victims and anger toward the perpetrators. In addition, the foregrounding of German involvement in the genocide would certainly evoke feelings of anger toward the perpetrators. However, the coverage accurately reports the events of the genocide, and although these elements can be said to be

propagandistic, they are also true: The Armenian victims were a minority Christian group being killed largely because of their religion, and Germany encouraged and stood by while the massacres occurred. All information can be said to be propagandistic in some ways, but the information presented in this set of coverage does clearly and truthfully outline the events of the Armenian genocide.

This coverage also reveals clear alignment with the Eurocentric viewpoint discussed by Bloxham and Moses (2010), in that it portrayed the West as a civilizing authority, able to go in and save the Armenian victims. At no point, however, was there any political threat of military intervention to alleviate the suffering of the Armenian people by either Canada or the United States, and this lack of military force allowed the genocide to continue for many years. This lack of intervention, which undoubtedly contributed to the deaths of thousands of Armenians, and the guilt associated with this knowledge, played a part in loosening the immigration laws in Canada, allowing 100 Armenian orphans to gain residency. However, a year after the end of World War I, the momentum regarding the punishment of the Turkish government and military officials faded. The political relationships between the West and Turkey grew stronger, while those with Armenia were attenuated after it became part of the Soviet Union in 1922; the memory of the graphic descriptions of slaughter grew fainter, resulting in a rapid decline in support for the Armenian people. Although the *Globe's* coverage, in addition to historical analyses and other scholarship, is proof that the massacres were covered accurately, there was never well-orchestrated, mass political pressure put on the governments of the West to insist on intervention at the time.

In comparison, the PM contends that victims of Canada and its allies would be treated as unworthy victims in Western media, resulting in less coverage, poor placement, less detail, and minimal humanization. As noted, the strong economic and political relationship with Turkey far outweighs that of Canada's relationship with Armenia. Moreover, despite the Canadian government formally recognizing the Armenian genocide, it was simply lip service paid by the government of the day to the Armenian victims and did not reflect the desires of all Canadian political parties or the corporate state. The *Globe and Mail*, conforming to the PM, therefore aligned itself with the state once again and treated the Armenian victims as unworthy in the 2004–2006 population.

Of the 33 articles in the *Globe and Mail*, Canadian recognition of the Armenian genocide in 2004 and the public statement by Harper that followed in 2006 received no coverage. In fact, there were a total of only five news articles, all of which foregrounded the Turkish outcry and successfully backgrounded the official genocide recognition. The vast majority of articles were placed in poor locations in the newspaper and the Armenian voice was completely left out of the coverage; there was absolutely no discussion of the feelings of the Armenian diaspora in Canada or of their fight for recognition. This omission is the ultimate form of backgrounding, as their opinions and struggles were avoided entirely. The readers of the *Globe and Mail* did not receive a range of perceptions and opinions, but rather, as the PM contends, only the perspective that aligns with the political and economic needs of the state.

Canadians, and definitely the readership of the *Globe and Mail* between 2004 and 2006, were made extremely aware of the negative political consequences of the recognition, without receiving a historical overview or details about the genocide or its

official recognition. By excluding the historical analysis, the articles framed Canada's recognition as irresponsible and ill timed, because the event was isolated from the previous coverage of the massacres. The previous coverage from 1915–1918 by the *Globe* presented a clear picture that these crimes were a systematic and deliberate attempt at eliminating the Armenian people. Allied governments were all joining forces and calling for Turkey to be held accountable for the grave atrocities it was committing against the Armenian people. However, as the years passed, the memory faded, and Turkey became a vital ally of the West. The West and the *Globe and Mail* began to allow Turkey to deny the atrocities the world had both witnessed and publically condemned nearly a century beforehand. In this way, time was used as a delegitimizing tactic, which in the coverage between 2004 and 2006 allowed the Turkish outcry and denial to be foregrounded and the Armenian voice to be excluded.

Similarly to the omission of historical information, there was absolutely no mention of the religious components of the Armenian genocide in this set of coverage, which is at odds with the foregrounding of religion between 1915 and 1918. Religion was used by the Ottoman Empire as a type of weapon to secure power over the Armenian people, a way in which to justify their slaughter. This self-justification was covered accurately in the *Globe* and was a strategic tactic used to make the Armenian victims seem worthy of appropriate coverage. By emphasizing that the victims held similar religious beliefs to those in the West, the crimes seemed much more objectionable and appalling to the Western public, reflecting the pro-Christian anti-Muslim bias revealed in the coverage. However, this bias would operate adversely in the second set of coverage: Christian victims at the hands of Muslim perpetrators would evoke strong feelings from

the West. According to the PM, coverage of unworthy victims should not excite or engage the audience, so the avoidance of religion in the second set of coverage can be understood as a strategy to ensure only the desired response is elicited.

Another common theme in genocide studies and a highly contested concept in defining genocide is intent, which is more difficult to trace back to the Armenian genocide, given that the term “genocide” did not yet exist. However, the *Globe’s* coverage between 1915 and 1918 clearly foregrounded that the massacres of the Armenian people were a systematic and intentional attempt on behalf of the Ottoman Empire to eliminate the Armenian population and this people’s cultural identity. A comparison of the UN’s definition of genocide with the *Globe’s* reporting about the Armenian massacres makes clear that the coverage of the massacres fits within the framework of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. For example, the articles discuss the deliberate and intentional attempt by the Ottoman Empire to destroy the Armenians, with seven articles linking the slaughter directly to their Christian roots. Such killings were conveyed clearly and descriptively in the reporting. Death marches, the burning of entire towns and homes, and the theft of businesses and land is discussed in the *Globe’s* coverage. There was also coverage of children being taken and raised by Muslim families. Although there was no discussion of the Ottoman Empire imposing any means intended to prevent the birth of Armenian children, there was evidence of pregnant mothers being killed as well as children being drowned and burned. Thus, keeping in mind that the primary intent of this definition was to hold perpetrators accountable for their acts and that the *Globe’s* coverage showed multiple examples of how the massacres of the Armenian people fit within this definition

of genocide, why did the *Globe and Mail* not cover the official recognition of the genocide?

Countries can ignore genocidal intent when their intervention would not serve their self-interests, standing by while thousands are killed (as discussed by Goldhagen (2009) and Smith (2004)). Examples include Guatemala, East Timor, and Nicaragua. The same can be said about Western media attention in the case of the Armenian genocide coverage between 2004 and 2006. Despite the Canadian government paying lip service to the Armenian victims, the *Globe and Mail* did not cover the recognition of the Armenian genocide, in favour of not hurting the political and economic relationship with the perpetrator. In this way, the *Globe and Mail*, and the Canadian corporate state, may be seen as ignoring the humanitarian obligation to hold perpetrators responsible for genocide because of political or economic self-interest. Despite the *Globe's* 1915–1918 coverage clearly fitting within the UN's definition of genocide that was introduced years later—the definition employed by its own government to recognize the genocide nearly a century later—the coverage of recognition still aligned with the economic and political benefit of the country, and not the coverage of the same agenda-setting media years earlier. Moreover, Canada, while acknowledging the genocide, made no statement about its role in allowing the genocide to continue by not intervening in 1915, despite having ample knowledge of the events. Contributing to what Adam Jones (2004) wrote about democrasy, the Canadian government's lack of involvement in intervening in the Armenian genocide and its subsequent lip service paid in the form of an acknowledgment of that genocide, without any historical discussion or acknowledgement of its role in the Armenian genocide, is hypocritical.

Overall, the two milestones of Canadian recognition of the genocide were largely ignored in the *Globe and Mail* from 2004 to 2006, contrasting with the *Globe's* detailed coverage of the massacres between 1915 and 1918. The PM, while utilizing CDA methodology, provided a framework to study this coverage, whereby the findings discovered that the same victims were treated completely differently based on the political and economic relationships of the countries at the time. Therefore, the PM's discussion of worthy and unworthy victims not only acts as a framework to study different victims of enemy states versus ally clients, but also can be used to look at the same event and the same set of victims in two different time periods. The findings of this study clearly indicate that victims of genocide are determined worthy or unworthy based on the economic and political relationships between countries, and not on a consistent humanitarian standard.

The findings of this study can, therefore, contribute to genocide studies literature by assisting in the broadening of the scope of the literature to include a focus on communication and media. Realizing that the PM can be used to look at the same set of victims and perpetrators at different periods in time contributes to the view that the mainstream media and Western governments employ a Eurocentric lens, whereby genocide intervention is reliant on the economic needs of the state. Moreover, genocide acknowledgement is also reliant on the economic and political relationships between countries, raising the question of how the UN's definition of genocide can be considered universal when countries such as Canada and the United States do not employ it to hold perpetrators accountable. Allowing Turkey to deny the Armenian genocide, when the very term "genocide" was created in part because of the atrocities committed against the

Armenian people, is a grave injustice to the victims. The findings of this research will contribute to future research conducted in genocide studies and they provide a better understanding of the PM, allowing this framework to be applied to the same set of victims and perpetrators, at different periods in time.

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- Turks hard pressed in Armenian fight. (1915, July 13). *Globe* [Clipping from The *Globe and Mail* Archive], p. 3.
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APPENDIX A

Globe Articles from 1915-1918

- January 21, 1915. *Thousands of Armenians perishing in Caucasia*. *Globe*, p. 3.
- February 3, 1915. *Turks disorganized by recent defeats*. *Globe*, p. 11.
- May 24, 1915. *Armenians massacred in hundred villages*. *Globe*, p. 2.
- May 25, 1915. *Armenians for front from St. Catherines*. *Globe*, p. 13.
- June 21, 1915. *Turks again active on Caucasian front*. *Globe*, p. 9.
- July 13, 1915. *Turks hard pressed in Armenian fight*. *Globe*, p. 3.
- July 29, 1915. *Massacre by Turks is spreading fast*. *Globe*, p. 1.
- August 3, 1915. *War summary: It is about time that Turkish misrule came to an end*.
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- August 3, 1915. *Kurds massacre Armenian people*. *Globe*, p. 3.
- August 7, 1915. *Terrible massacres of the Armenians*. *Globe*, p. 5.
- August 13, 1915. *Exodus of Armenians*. *Globe*, p. 4.
- August 17, 1915. *American missionaries quit Van station*. *Globe*, p. 2.
- September 7, 1916. *September 7 in history*. *Globe*, p. 4.
- September 9, 1915. *Turks lose 250,000 at the Dardanelles*. *Globe*, p. 2.
- September 11, 1915. *Unspeakable cruelty practised by Turks*. *Globe*, p. 14.
- September 22, 1915. *The cup of Turkey's iniquity full*. *Globe*, p. 6.
- September 24, 1915. *Terrible tales told of Turkish massacres*. *Globe*, p. 2.
- September 29, 1915. *Entire college staff slaughtered by Turks*. *Globe*, p. 4.
- September 30, 1915. *The Ottoman Empire must go*. *Globe*, p. 2.
- October 1, 1915. *U.S. asks Germany to stop atrocities*. *Globe*, p. 2.

- October 12, 1915. *Commons of Britain meets again today*. Globe, p. 2.
- October 12, 1915. *Graduate of Knox on Turkish horrors*. Globe, p. 7.
- October 14, 1915. *The crusade has begun*. Globe, p. 8.
- October 16, 1915. *Notes and comments*. Globe, p. 6.
- October 23, 1915. *Million Armenians wiped out by Turks*. Globe, p. 5.
- October 30, 1915. *Ask Wilson to protest against Armenian massacre*. Globe, p. 11.
- November 15, 1915. *To save the Armenian remnant*. Globe, p. 3.
- November 27, 1915. *Unspeakable cruelty lot of Armenians*. Globe, p. 3.
- December 2, 1915. *Armenia: The unspeakable tragedy*. Globe, p. 4.
- January 28, 1916. *Ten thousand remain of 160,000 Armenians*. Globe, p. 14.
- February 17, 1916. *Turkish Army in full flight*. Globe, p. 1.
- February 19, 1916. *Pres. Wilson warns the Turk murderers*. Globe, p. 2.
- March 9, 1916. *Only 16 living instead of 40,000*. Globe, p. 2.
- March 9, 1916. *Notes and comments*. Globe, p. 6.
- March 14, 1916. *Thousands of women thrown into river*. Globe, p. 2.
- May 18, 1916. *Pontiff strives hard in interests of peace*. Globe, p. 7.
- June 10, 1916. *The Armenian relief fund*. Globe, p. 6.
- July 31, 1916. *Notes and comments*. Globe, p. 4.
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- October 28, 1916. *How Turk official justifies massacres*. Globe, p. 2.
- November 24, 1916. *Turks massacre 6,000 Armenians*. Globe, p. 2.
- December 19, 1916. *U.S. out with the Turks on their atrocities*. Globe, p. 5.

- January 18, 1917. *Text of the document received in Washington.* Globe, p. 4.
- February 9, 1917. *Canadians "get together."* Globe, p. 7.
- March 1, 1917. *Crown of thorns on Armenia's head.* Globe, p. 12.
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- May 8, 1917. *Turkey wants an "honorable peace."* Globe, p. 6.
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- February 19, 1918. *Barbarism must be beaten.* Globe, p. 2.
- February 20, 1918. *An ultimatum to help Russia: Will defend Armenia.* Globe, p. 1.
- March 4, 1918. *Russia has signed away more valuable territory.* Globe, p. 1.
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- March 15, 1918. *To-day's war summary.* Globe, p. 2.
- March 18, 1918. *Leave no Armenian alive, Turk policy.* Globe, p. 3.

- March 18, 1918. *Notes and comments*. Globe, p. 6.
- March 23, 1918. *German urges Germany to stop massacres*. Globe, p. 12.
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- November 1, 1918. *Notes and comments*. Globe, p. 6.
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- December 19, 1918. *Cry of Armenians*. Globe, p. 4.
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Globe and Mail Articles from 2004–2006

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APPENDIX B

House of Commons Bill M-380

April 20, 2004

Private Members' Business

[Private Members' Business]

* * *

The Armenian People

The House resumed from February 25 consideration of the motion.

Ms. Francine Lalonde (Mercier, BQ): Mr. Speaker, tomorrow will be the first time members will be able to vote on this important matter, although it is the fourth time a similar motion has been introduced in this House.

I was therefore surprised to find in my mail a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade addressed to MPs and encouraging us not to vote in favour of this private member's motion. I was, frankly, somewhat shocked and dismayed, particularly since this is one of the ministers of this government who claims to attach a great deal of importance to what members think and want. I was surprised for that reason.

Yet, after reading his letter, my second reaction was to be pleased he had sent it to us, and I will tell you why. In his third paragraph he says the following.

The established government policy was set out in a statement in this House in June 1999 in favour of reconciliation: “We remember the calamity afflicted on the Armenian people in 1915. This tragedy was committed with the intent to destroy a national group in which hundreds of thousands of Armenians were subject to atrocities which included massive deportations and massacres—”

Who has not read the definition of genocide in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide? All components of that definition are clearly recalled in the minister's statement. According to the definition, genocide is “an act committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.” That is what we have just heard from the mouth of the minister, or rather from his pen.

I would like to repeat the motion, for which I congratulate my colleague for Laval Centre. What does it say? It reads:

That this House acknowledge the Armenian genocide of 1915 and condemn this act as a crime against humanity.

There are some new elements, some recent events, that make it possible for us to be even more clearly in favour of this motion.

The first of these is the recent ruling by the appeals section of the International Tribunal in the Hague, relating to the defence of Mr. Krstic, who, hon. members will recall, felt that responsibility for the deaths of

seven to eight thousand Muslims in July of 1995 was not sufficient reason to term this genocide. The appeal court clearly certified that this defence was invalid and recognized that this was genocide.

I believe we all understand the importance of this ruling, which the experts feel broadens the concept of genocide.

Another piece of news is quite interesting. The *New York Times*, a widely respected newspaper, has recently changed its guidelines for reporters and editorial writers. I do not have it in French, because it is the *New York Times*, so I will read it in English:

--“after careful study of scholarly definitions of 'genocide,' we have decided to accept the term inferences to the Turks' mass destruction of Armenians in and around 1915”...the expression 'Armenian genocide' may be used freely and should not be qualified with phrasing like 'what Armenians call,' etc”.

That is one more important element, and I can add that the *Boston Globe* did the same thing a year ago.

Now there are questions to be raised. Why not recognize that the 1999 declaration by the Minister of Foreign Affairs is equivalent to saying, “There was a genocide”? Why not recognize it? It has the same definition.

Why would this threaten relations between Turkey and Canada, and relations between Turkish-Canadian citizens and other Canadians? I can say—this is not the best argument—that the threat has been made everywhere but never executed, while many assemblies in many countries, which have been named repeatedly, have passed such a resolution.

How does this motion attack Turkey? The word “Turkey” is not spoken, in contrast to the motion that was proposed in the United States House of Representatives. The word “Turkey” is not seen here.

Can we not remember that Mustapha Kemal, who founded the Turkish republic in 1923—the genocide we are discussing took place in 1915—repeatedly, dozens of times, condemned the massacres? They were not hidden away in a closet. Many times, he called them heinous acts and called for the guilty parties to be punished.

The Republic of Turkey was not formed until 1923. Turks now and then could have said, “It was the Ottoman empire. It was a moment of crisis. We feel for the Armenians and acknowledge that they were victims of genocide”. Why do otherwise?

I want to add that, if the word “genocide” is not mentioned before 1948, it is because it was not used for this purpose. I even looked in my old Larousse dictionary, the first edition of which was published in 1932—interesting tidbit for a historian—and under “genocide” it states, “The word used by Holocaust deniers”.

In my opinion, there is no good reason to vote against the motion before the House tomorrow. I have already repeated the definition given by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. All we will need to say is, “what is called the Armenian genocide”.

The Quebec National Assembly and many other legislatures across Canada, as well as the Senate, have passed this motion couched in the harshest of terms. However, is this not necessary recognition for the descendants of these men and women whose suffering was great and attested to at the time by numerous witnesses? There is plenty of evidence.

How could voting in favour of this motion delay the rapprochement between Armenia and Turkey? Recognizing the Shoah certainly did not prevent an extraordinary rapprochement between Europe and Germany.

The future cannot be built on a hidden past. The future, in this case, depends on the respectful admission of the facts, so considered by those who have studied this issue.

With regard to the reconciliation, the future needs to be considered once the past has been put to rest.

Hon. Dan McTeague (Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lib.): Mr. Speaker, clearly, I must have the consent of my colleague who introduced the motion to pass the following amendment. I am going to read it in English.

I request unanimous consent to amend the motion by substituting it with the following: That this House remember the calamity afflicted on the Armenian people in 1915. This tragedy was committed with the intent to destroy a national group in which hundreds of thousands of Armenians were subject to atrocities, which included massive deportations and massacres. May the memory of this period contribute to healing wounds, as well as to reconciliation of our present day nations and communities, and remind us all of our collective duty to work together toward world peace.

Ms. Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral (Laval Centre, BQ): Mr. Speaker, I guess it is up to me to accept or refuse. I would like say that there are two official languages in this Parliament. I would also like to say that I find it unacceptable that this amendment was not prepared in French and English given the absolutely extraordinary translation resources available to the government and the hon. members.

Nonetheless, I understood it very well. I am sorry, but, with or without a translation, I cannot include this amendment in my motion.

Mr. Bélair (The Deputy Chair): I believe the problem has just been resolved.

Hon. Eleni Bakopanos (Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Human Resources and Skills Development (Social Economy), Lib.): Mr. Speaker, it is truly a great honour for me today to speak once again in this House in support of this important motion put forward by my colleague.

I must admit that I am very happy about how much progress the Armenian cause has made since I have been in this House.

I have always been pleased to speak in favour of motions that have been presented in the House of Commons urging parliamentarians to recognize the Armenian genocide because I truly believe that we must all seek to do good by recognizing a wrong and speaking against it.

More important, however, I chose to speak today because I wish to assure the survivors of the Armenian genocide, who I have personally met in Montreal and in my constituency, that I want to ensure that they leave this life knowing that people like we parliamentarians in the House of Commons are fighting for recognition and closure to the horrors they lived and witnessed firsthand and that have haunted them all their lives. I have looked into their eyes and they are only asking for us to acknowledge what happened and to call it by its rightful name, the Armenian genocide.

We want to assure them that the Turkish government will recognize the Armenian genocide and other atrocities and move toward reconciliation, which we all want in the future.

The 20th century has seen two world wars and numerous historical conflicts. In spite of this, crimes against humanity are not a thing of the past but continue to be daily occurrences in too many countries, countries which routinely practice torture, slavery, and the massive deportation of their civilian population.

Everyday, we witness the persecution of minorities on the basis of their political opinion, race or religion.

To this day, these unacceptable acts of inhumanity continue, despite the fact that the Geneva convention condemns such actions. Even though the international community has admitted that these acts should not be practised, we are still a long way from achieving this goal. Present events attest to similar acts and cry out for our vigilance.

The Nuremberg war crimes tribunal, designed specifically to prosecute high ranking Nazis for the atrocities that had occurred during World War II, tried for the first time those guilty of committing crimes against humanity. These crimes were defined in article 6 of the London charter and included murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population before or during the war or persecution on political, racial and religious grounds.

While not all criminals have been tried, the international community recognizes the holocaust and commemorates it every year, as we did in Canada last week, so that everyone around the world will remember this tragedy to ensure that it will never occur again. Regardless of this, we still live in a world where ethnic cleansing is practised, the most recent examples being the former republics of Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

While these atrocities are some examples of crimes committed against humanity, there are unfortunately many others, both past and present. Some are well known; others, such as the Asia Minor catastrophe of 1922, are not so well known.

At the end of the first world war, close to two million Greeks were living in a region of Asia Minor on the west coast of modern Turkey. Greeks had been living in that region for over 3,000 years. In 1922, these people, like the Armenians and other Turkish minorities, were the victims of the first ethnic cleansing operation of the 20th century.

The Armenian genocide, which took place around the time of the first world war, is perhaps the most vivid example of genocide as an instrument of national policy by the Ottoman Turks. What makes the Armenian genocide such a particular example is that, unlike the genocide of the Jewish people that took place during the second world war, the international community did not try the war criminals or even formally acknowledge that this massacre took place.

The United Nations convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide describes genocide as, "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group". Clearly, this definition applies in the case of the atrocities committed against the Armenians.

Because the UN convention was adopted in 1948, 30 years after the Armenian genocide, Armenians worldwide have sought from their respective governments formal acknowledgment of the crimes committed during World War I. Countries like France, Argentina, Greece, Russia, Sweden, Italy and Belgium have officially recognized the Armenian genocide.

On November 28, 2003, the Quebec national assembly passed a motion put forward by Yvan Bordeleau, my own representative there, declaring an Armenian genocide commemoration day. I greatly appreciate the efforts he has made in the 10 years we have been working together.

Thanks to our collective efforts in advancing the Armenian cause, we are reminding the international community that these types of tragic historical events cannot simply be forgotten or denied. It is my hope that the international community as a whole will take the necessary steps to condemn these horrible acts of inhumanity and recognize the atrocities committed by the Ottoman Turks for what they were: a genocide.

Many countries such as Italy, France and Israel, have adopted parliamentary decrees officially recognizing the Armenian genocide.

Why, people may ask, is it so important to recognize an event that occurred over 80 years ago? We must always remember that those who disregard history are condemned to repeat it. Let us just think about if the international community had reacted to this as it should have at the time. Would the atrocities of the second world war ever have taken place? Perhaps not.

During a debate in the House of Commons, the then secretary of state for central and eastern Europe and the Middle East reiterated the position of the Government of Canada, stating:

...we remember the calamity afflicted on the Armenian people in 1915. This tragedy was committed with the intent to destroy a national group in which hundreds of thousands of Armenians were subject to atrocities which included massive deportations and massacres.

May the memory of this period contribute to healing wounds as well as to reconciliation of present day nations and communities and remind us all of our collective duty to work together toward world peace--

Although the federal government recognizes the genocide as a “calamity” and “tragedy”, many parliamentarians, including me, do not agree with this position and continue to work toward the recognition of the genocide.

I truly believe that by working together we can and will accomplish our goal of recognition of the Armenian genocide by the Government of Canada and eventually the government of Turkey. For this reason, I have been working closely with the Armenian community in Canada and with my colleagues from the House of Commons and the Senate to convince the Canadian government, my government, to recognize the Armenian genocide. I do it for those survivors and I do it for my constituents and all Canadians of Armenian origin.

Years of work and concerted efforts resulted in significant breakthroughs in 2002 for the Armenian cause, starting with the first ever Canadian parliamentary visit to Armenia in May 2002. I was honoured to have the opportunity to visit Armenia as a member of the delegation formed by the Canada-Armenia parliamentary friendship group. My colleague, the member of Parliament for Brampton Centre, who is a Canadian of Armenian origin born in Aleppo, Syria, has been the leading champion of this cause in the House. I want to congratulate him again.

This trip reinforced my already firm commitment to this cause, after having the opportunity to visit Yerevan, a museum commemorating the victims of the Armenian genocide, and to meet with several Armenian political representatives or colleagues. This parliamentary exchange was reciprocated, of course, by a visit to Canada last fall.

The Senate of Canada passed a motion on June 13, 2002, presented by my colleague and friend, the Hon. Shirley Maheu, calling on the Canadian government to officially recognize the word “genocide” rather than just calling the event “a crime against humanity” or “atrocities”, as was the case in a former resolution of the House of Commons.

Another very important step toward the recognition of the Armenian genocide came when the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade passed a historic motion on November 27, 2002, calling on the House of Commons to recognize the Armenian genocide.

The member for Brampton Centre presented this motion, which reads as follows:

That the committee invite the House of Commons to recognise the genocide of Armenians, which began at the turn of the last century, by the Ottoman Turks, during the First World War.

We have done other things over the years to bring this issue to the forefront and make our colleagues recognize the importance of bringing resolution to this issue.

I invite all members of Parliament to support this. I certainly will be voting for it. Also, I am very proud to have in my riding of Ahuntsic a monument to the Armenian genocide and in fact to all genocides. It was constructed by the City of Montreal. I urge all my colleagues to support this very honourable effort by the member, who unfortunately will be leaving us and this House. I encourage all our colleagues to let justice be done and recognize a wrong.

Mr. Stockwell Day (Okanagan—Coquihalla, CPC): Mr. Speaker, in addressing the question today it is first important that as we look at what this was and what took place, we are clear on what this was not. As a matter of fact, in regard to the motion today I would like to be clear in my view about what this is not. This motion is not a demand for reparations. This motion is not a demand for vengeance. As a matter of fact, it would decry vengeance and those wanting to somehow retaliate in any way.

When we look at horrific events throughout history, we recognize that we have to be part of a reconciliation process. If we look even at the second world war, I reflect on the fact that both my grandfathers served. One of my grandfathers was captured as a Hong Kong veteran and went through four years of torture. As a matter of fact, he never fully recovered from that torture and eventually died as a result of it. For that reason I never had the joy of meeting him, and yet I cannot be part of a process of ongoing vengeance and anger. I have to be part of a process that somehow moves on to reconciliation and to forgiveness.

This is not a demand for vengeance and retaliation. The motion is not a denunciation of the people of Turkey today or of the government of Turkey. I know there are sensitivities around this from those who represent that government.

In the report related to Muslim nations which the foreign affairs committee of the House just completed, we in fact give commendation in our recommendations to the government of Turkey today, saying that Canada should encourage the government of Turkey to be a voice of democracy and moderation within the Muslim world and to continue to implement its democratic and human rights reforms. We recognize that.

This republic developed after 1923 under Ataturk. Mustafa Kemal was his real name. He was renamed Ataturk, meaning father of the Turks. The Islamic caliphate at the time was abolished in 1923. A modern state began to develop, albeit a one-party state, but after the second world war developing into a two-party state and becoming, incidentally, the first and only Muslim nation to become a member of NATO.

There are many things to be congratulatory about in regard to this particular government today. As a matter of fact, one of our other recommendations is that their prime minister, Recip Erdogan, visit Canada and address Parliament to tell us, among other matters, about strengthening ties with countries of the Muslim world.

When I have discussions with the ambassador from Turkey, I try to allay concerns he would have that this is any kind of reflection upon those people and upon that government. It is not, but it is important that what happened be addressed. It must be addressed and it must be called what it was. We cannot look for euphemistic terms for something that was nothing other than genocide, as 126 holocaust scholars and historians have said.

In their verdict of March 7, 2000, they said:

The World War I Armenian genocide is an incontestable historical fact and accordingly we urge the governments of western democracies to likewise recognize it as such.

The international Association of Genocide Scholars on June 13, 1997, said that it:

reaffirms that the mass murder of Armenians in Turkey in 1915 is a case of genocide which conforms to the statutes of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide.

Professor Roger Smith is the professor of government at the College of William and Mary. He is a historian and past president of the Association of Genocide Scholars. He said:

Indeed, there is now a consensus among scholars that the Armenian genocide, which was the first large scale genocide in the 20th century, is the prototype of much of the genocide that has occurred since 1945. Some of the patterns found in the Armenian case have appeared again and again in the 20th century.

Various world leaders have spoken of this. Ronald Reagan, during his term as president of the United States, said, "Like the genocide of the Armenians before it". He was referring to the genocide of the Armenians and the Holocaust. Gerald Ford, past president of the United States, also talked about it and in his words said, "with mixed emotions, we mark the 50th anniversary of the Turkish genocide of the Armenian people". Winston Churchill recognized it and talked about that "infamous" time in history and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk himself recognized and commented on it.

Mustafa Arif, the Turkish interior minister of 1918-19, said:

Unfortunately, our wartime leaders, imbued with a spirit of brigandage, carried out the law of deportation in a manner that could surpass the proclivities of the most bloodthirsty bandits. They decided to exterminate the Armenians, and they did exterminate them.

He made an important point, going on to state:

This decision was taken by the Central Committee of the Young Turks and was implemented by the government...The atrocities committed against the Armenians reduced our country to a gigantic slaughterhouse.

Why then do we pursue this? This happened. It took place. We have heard in great detail about the atrocities that took place at the time, the death marches, the massacres, the rapes, and, in many cases, the forced conversion to Islam.

At the time these were the headlines of the day in the British and United States press. Books were written at the time. Books are still being written today. Our own Atom Egoyan, a Canadian, has made a movie about this. It is called *Ararat*. A recent *New York Times* best-seller is a book called *The Burning Tigris*, written by Peter Balakian.

This event has been detailed since those times, since the headlines of the day, and in great detail. It is interesting to note that there was an awareness then in the United States and around the world that this was happening. It actually led to a huge response. People were trying to send funds. People were trying to find ways of intervening.

But the intervention did not take place. I want to look at that fact. The world knew at the time. This was making headlines at the time. People were shocked at the time. Yet an intervention did not take place because there was a sense that it was happening within a sovereign state.

I would suggest that the importance of recognizing this genocide will also help us today to grapple with the question of when it is legitimate for peace-loving nations of the world to stop a genocide that is happening in another sovereign state. As much as we recognize the importance of nation states, is there a point at which there should be an intervention to stop a genocide?

We still grapple with that question. The world could not grapple successfully with the question in the killing fields of Cambodia. We have just recently seen the anniversary of what happened in Rwanda, a heartbreaking, shattering event that took place. Our own general was there trying to send out a warning that intervention was needed. Peace-loving nations still grapple with this difficult problem.

In the Sudan today, untold atrocities are taking place and we still struggle. Part of it has to do with the defining and the acceptance of the very fact that human beings at times--though we find this hard to accept--are capable of genocide. We find it hard to accept that groups of human beings could actually do this. I try to be optimistic about human nature and I ask these questions. How can these things happen? How could it have happened to the Armenians? How could these things happen to others?

We have just celebrated, if I may use that word, the anniversary of the most atrocious event ever in the 20th century or throughout history, and that is the Holocaust itself. Part of it is our lack of acceptance, our reluctance as human beings to accept that human beings could do this to one another, but we must accept it.

Accepting it equips us to identify it if it happens again in the course of human history and also impels us to action to possibly prevent it from happening again. That is why it is so important that this is recognized. That is why it must be called what it was, a genocide: to equip us and alert us to the fact that it can happen, that human beings can do these things to one another.

We need to stand as members of Parliament in this place and recognize this motion, not using euphemisms but using the word and calling it for what it was: a genocide. Perhaps then, when somebody sounds a future alarm, as the ambassador to Turkey in 1913, Henry Morgenthau, did when he sounded the alarm, we will listen. We will be aware that it has happened, we will be aware that it could happen again, and the incredible number of deaths, up to 1.5 million, will not have been in vain. Today, for those people who were massacred, for those people who were targeted for extermination, for their lives and their deaths, our calling it what it is can serve, hopefully, to honour what they went through but also to prevent future atrocities.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Bélair): I have a list of four members and a potential fifth who wish to speak on this matter. I know the Chair is not in a position to ask members to limit their remarks to five minutes each, but I would ask you to be as brief as possible. I will try to let as many hon. members as possible speak.

The hon. member for Sackville—Musquodoboit Valley—Eastern Shore.

Mr. Peter Stoffer (Sackville—Musquodoboit Valley—Eastern Shore, NDP): Mr. Speaker, I want to remind the House and all the people listening that if the House of Commons wants to deal with the issue, then let us have a vote on it now and move it forward.

I have information in front of me that the Ontario legislature was discussing this in 1980. The national assembly of Quebec was also discussing this in April 1980. The Progressive Conservative Party of Canada on July 23, 1984, stated, and I quote Mr. Stevens who said that “We will make representation to the General Assembly of the United Nations to recognize and condemn the Armenian genocide and to express abhorrence of such actions”.

The Liberal Party of Canada in 1984 abdicated setting aside a special day once a year in recognition of events such as the Armenian genocide. The NDP spoke about this in December 1989. It goes on and on.

Here we are in 2004 still speaking about it. Today, if people were not following the debate, they would be very confused about what is happening.

I have a letter from the ambassador of Turkey. In one of the paragraphs he states that the truth about what happened between Turks and Armenians is there in history for clear minds to study. The very fact that Armenians are so persistent to have the House adopt a motion to attest that the history was genocide is indeed a testimony that it was not.

I have a letter from the Armenian National Committee of Canada. It states "I am convinced of your response. You have always shown general understanding of the historical fact of the Armenian genocide. We ask that you give precious support for Motion No. 380".

I have another letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs that says we should be careful what we do. We have one side saying no; we have another side saying yes; and we have someone in the middle saying we should be careful what we do.

I have spoken to the hon. member from Brampton and I know that this debate must be a very emotional time for him, his family and his ancestry.

My wife's aunt is married to an Armenian in Sacramento, California. A few years ago I spoke to him about this very issue. He said he did not believe he would ever live to see the day when the current country of Turkey recognizes what happened back in 1915.

I say very clearly that we have to call this for what it was. It was a genocide--the mass slaughter of a bunch of wonderful people. They were killed for whatever reason. We can debate that until the cows come home, but they were murdered and slaughtered.

The fact is that nobody is blaming the current Turkish government for what happened in 1915. All we are doing in the House of Commons is recognizing that the tragic event took place. We are calling it very clearly what it was.

There was a poem written by Lorne Shirinian and Alan Whitehorn. I say this because this poem says a lot. I was born in Holland and my parents and oldest brother were liberated by Canadian sacrifices. At that time the Nazi regime of Germany did some terrible atrocities to the people of Europe and, for that matter, the Jewish people as well. We just had a day of remembrance for the Jewish holocaust.

When groups of people are out there in the world today being harassed, slaughtered, killed or in any way defamed because of their nationality, religion, ethnicity or whatever, then we as parliamentarians in Canada must stand up against that.

We must remember the genocide for the following poem:

We must remember.
Remember and learn.
Remember and tell.
But also remember and live.

The last line is the most important:

And some day, remember and forgive.

That little poem summarizes this entire debate. We offer recognition to the Armenian survivors. We probably do not have many of them left, but to the children who are here and know the stories of their ancestors we can say once and for all that we remember what happened so that we can prevent these types of atrocities from ever happening again.

No one in this House or anyone else who I have referred to is in any way insinuating that the Turkish government is responsible for what happened. We are just offering our assistance to the Turkish government and to the Armenian people to get together, bury the hatchet, as they say, and work toward a common and lasting peace so that some day we will remember and forgive.

Mr. Maurice Vellacott (Saskatoon—Wanuskewin, CPC): Mr. Speaker, it is kind of with a heavy heart that we are in this place today discussing very difficult, sad and tragic events that occurred back in 1915, the earlier part of the last century. Very troubling to me is the fact that we want to bring conflicts from abroad in a very calculated and deliberate manner into this place.

I have always had a bit of a concern about bringing some of the ethnic clashes in other parts of the world into this place, be it from Sierra Leone or wherever it happens to be. That we do it here without the careful kind of thought and attention we should is a somewhat troubling thing as well as the fact that it occurred so many years ago when there were things that occurred in history at that time that are in dispute. There are two different sides to it.

Also, what we tend to see here most often, and on this particular issue as it comes up time and again, is one side of it. Then we draw into the whole issue conflicts that the Greek people had with the Turks. We had a member today speaking from that perspective. We bring all of these conflicts into this present place. I do not think it is helpful. I do not think it is constructive or productive for this place. I think it would be much better for Armenian and Turkish people to be getting together and working through this. There were many lives lost on both sides, and that is to be regretted.

I have talked with individuals from the Turkish community who would like to meet with people from the Armenian community and in fact proposed this to an individual and asked if they could go on from here and heal respectively in regard to the losses and terrible tragic time back then. This individual was declined. I hope that is not reflective or symbolic of all Armenian people. I would hope it not to be true, but I know in this one case there was that invitation offered and there was just a flat refusal.

We need to go back very quickly in history to recognize that at that period in time there was the collapse of the Ottoman empire. Indeed, for all intents and purposes, it was an empire that was fairly benevolent. If we look at history one understands that they allowed a fair bit of local control throughout that vast empire. They sheltered the Jewish people. They provided refuge to them when the Jews were expelled en masse from Spain. It is a kind of cultural legacy that is much to be proud of. It contradicts to some degree the Armenian claims that the Turks had waged a war of total ethnic cleansing.

Of the multitude of ethnic groups which resided within the borders of the Ottoman empire, have any other people made claims of genocide as we have here to date? In fact, many of our Greek neighbours in Canada have told us that Ottomans had sheltered them from the conflicts that raged among the European Christians, Orthodox and Catholics at the time.

Stepping back in history it was a time when Russia, on the east and Great Britain were instigating one of the main ethnic groups of the Ottoman empire, the Armenians, to rise up against the Ottomans, in the eastern part of the empire. We were individuals who operated in a fairly violent fashion, Armenian terrorist gangs. Let us be honest. I am almost hesitant to go out on a limb when I say these things because I know that there could well be reprisals against people who speak. There have been within our own country. There were assassinations in our own country back in the 80s and in places around the world by Armenian terrorist gangs. That does not make me feel really comfortable, even here, speaking today on such a matter.

These Armenian terrorists back at that time intensified their actions. There were sporadic clashes between the Muslim and Armenian settlements in Turkey. Then when the Russian army invaded eastern Anatolia in 1915 those Armenian terrorist gangs, side by side with the Russian army, started launching systematic attacks against the Ottoman troops, but also against their civilian Muslim fellow countrymen. In addition to those attacks, the Armenian gangs also assisted the Russians by cutting supply lines of the Ottoman army, which was fighting with an invading force.

Under those circumstances the Ottoman government decided to relocate the Armenians who were living in that war theatre to other provinces in the empire. The rationale for that decision was two-fold: to prevent the inter-communal massacres, to keep these two conflicting communities apart, and to cut the support extended by those Armenian towns to the Russians.

During the period in discussion there were hostilities, famine, ailments, banditry and so on. It heavily affected all those communities in eastern Anatolia.

Innocent civilians lost their lives during that migration which took place under some very difficult winter conditions and those are the consequences of a war of unprecedented magnitude. But neither the distress of the Turks nor the Armenians should be solely singled out. It was a tragic and sad time in the course of history. These painful experiences were only part of the tragedy to which the whole of the Anatolian population was subjected.

I could go on a great length, but I do want to allow some time for other members. I am rather concerned when I hear genocide kind of statements that we have around the world. Generally we are going after somebody to prosecute them in the criminal courts in the international tribunals at the Hague or wherever. I am not exactly sure, even if this were to pass today, who we would be prosecuting or going after.

Another concern is when this is passed in other countries. It is interesting in noting the countries that have passed this; not the U.S., not the U.K., and not the United Nations. They have never passed a motion or resolution to this effect. Other countries may have had their own vested motions for doing so. In France, particularly, when as a result of passing a law somewhat to this effect, a lawsuit was brought against anybody who questioned that. A professor is now being sued because he differs with the Armenian perspective on this tragic time in history.

I am going to leave it there. I hope all members across the House, when they cast their ballot tomorrow, would recognize that often we have heard only one side of the story. There were Armenians trying to destabilize the empire at that time. They were collaborating with the orthodox Russians in the east. There were many tragic violent events occurring at the time. War is awful; war is ugly.

It is a mistake, though, at this time in history, so many years later, to be dragging that conflict here. We should leave those things to the historians to work out and to come to some agreement in terms of what the actual facts were. But there is not that clear agreement. The term genocide is far too strong a case to use in respect to what occurred--the tragic events that affect the Armenian community and likewise affect the Turkish community.

I rest my case and leave time for others at this point.

Mr. Réal Ménard (Hochelaga—Maisonneuve, BQ): Mr. Speaker, I will start by thanking my colleague, the member for Laval Centre, for her initiative. There is something about this motion and the nature of the debate we are hearing that pleases me. I stayed for the first hour of debate in order to listen to my colleagues. I think our colleague is right to address the importance of historical rehabilitation. The motion we will be called to vote upon tomorrow is not in fact intended as any sort of accusation against anyone.

I have met with a number of members of the Turkish community, and I hope that the next time I travel it will be to Turkey. I know that the Turkish community includes some people who are just as peace-loving as the Armenians, the Quebeckers, the French, in fact anyone else living on this planet Earth.

It would, however, be a mistake not to want to recognize what happened during the years leading up to 1915 and in 1915 itself. This was a time for which the Turks of today have no need to feel responsible. We are well aware of their desire to engage in constructive and positive dialogue with the Armenians.

It was with the purpose of rehabilitating historical memory that Brian Mulroney apologized to the Japanese community. It was with the purpose of historic rehabilitation that the member for Charlesbourg—Jacques-Cartier and a senator from the other place, wrote a book on the commemoration of the Holocaust. It was in the name of this historical commemoration that the hon. member for Verchères—Les-Patriotes put forward a motion concerning the deportation of the Acadians. This does not mean that we want to rewrite history. It means that we want to take the time to remember that there was suffering and historical conditions that led to what we call a genocide.

The word “genocide” has a particular meaning in international law. It does not have the same meaning as “tragedy.” It certainly does not have the same meaning as “calamity,” the word the parliamentary secretary proposed. In this process of historical rehabilitation, we must remember and we must call things by their proper names.

Because we love peace, because we believe in a productive dialogue, because we value the Turkish community, I believe that tomorrow, all members of this House should do what Argentina, Belgium, Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Libya, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, the Vatican and the European Parliament have done, which is to call for remembrance of the fact that 1.5 million Armenians lost their lives during a time of historical tension—the tension that prevailed at the beginning of the last century. We must remember that so as to avoid a similar event happening, and to make such an event impossible in the future.

I believe that the hon. member for Mercier, the Bloc Québécois critic for foreign affairs, referred to this. It is even more important now, when the values of international solidarity and the concept of international justice have never been clearer. The United Nations was founded in San Francisco in 1945. In the Canadian delegation at San Francisco were two parliamentarians who served as Prime Minister of Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie King and Louis Stephen Saint Laurent.

An hon. member: Joe Clark

Mr. Réal Ménard: The former prime minister and right hon. member for Calgary was too young, of course, to have been a member of the delegation, but that does not detract at all from his great international credibility.

I want to say that, in 1945, when we adopted the Charter of the United Nations, the San Francisco bylaws included the idea of an international court of justice.

Closer to home, there is this idea of an international criminal court. How important is this and what does it mean to have such instruments if, as parliamentarians, on a more national scale, we are not able to recall the facts that must be recalled for what they are, without any complacency, but to be constructive?

I do not believe that, when the member for Laval Centre introduced her motion, she intended once again to make accusations, stigmatize communities and make people bear a historic weight that is not theirs to bear.

We are well aware that all the conditions are in place for the current Turkish government to distance itself from the events that occurred at the time of the Ottoman empire and when, as was mentioned, modern Turkey, later founded by Mustafa Kemal Pacha Atatürk in 1923, did not even exist yet.

Once again, it is in the name of this ideal for peace. It is because we believe it is possible to build dialogues that the facts must be recalled.

Yesterday, I attended the book launch for the member for Charlesbourg—Jacques-Cartier, who stressed the importance of remembering the Holocaust of 1945.

Does this mean that, by remembering the Holocaust, we think that the Germans are warmongers? Of course not. Does this mean that, when Brian Mulroney apologizes for the undeserved internment of certain members of the Japanese community, that Canadians are warmongers? Of course not.

We refuse, as parliamentarians, to cross that line. Some people are saying that, if we recognize the 1915 genocide, we will stigmatize groups. That is not our intention. That is not the intention of the member for Laval Centre. So, for all these reasons, tomorrow we must support the motion by the member for Laval Centre.

The Speaker: Because the hon. member for Hochelaga—Maisonneuve has finished his speech, the hon. member for Laval Centre now has the right to reply. She has five minutes.

Ms. Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral (Laval Centre, BQ): Mr. Speaker, it is with considerable emotion that I rise to close this second hour of debate on recognition of the Armenian genocide of 1915.

Part of the reason for that emotion is this opportunity to be able to share with you the respect I feel for the Armenian people and their remarkable tenacity in demanding recognition of this genocide, despite the pressure of often dubious socio-political imperatives. Their attachment to their identity and history is an example to us all.

On several occasions since 1993, the debate on the genocide of 1915 has been brought to the attention of the members of the House of Commons, yet only one debate has ever been sanctioned by a vote. It was on a motion by a Bloc Québécois member, Michel Daviault, on April 23, 1996, during an opposition day when the Bloc was the official opposition. The text of his motion was as follows:

That this House recognize, on the occasion of the 81st anniversary of the Armenian genocide that took place on April 24, 1915, the week of April 20 to 27 of each year as the week to commemorate man's inhumanity to man.

After much debate, the motion on which the House finally voted referred not to recognition of the Armenian genocide, but merely the Armenian tragedy. The support was unanimous. Some saw this as a step in the right direction, but others just saw it as better than nothing.

Since the beginning of the 37th Parliament, this is the fourth time we have had an opportunity to debate this important matter, and I am delighted that the vote on this motion takes place precisely during what is called, and I repeat the wording of the motion of April 23, 1996, "the week of man's inhumanity to man". This is, in fact, the first time we will have the opportunity to take a clear stand by voting in favour of this recognition of history. By supporting Motion M-380, we will be adopting as our own this thought of Étienne Gilson on the meaning of history:

We do not study history to get rid of it but to save from nothingness all the past which, without history, would vanish into the void. We study history so that what, without it, would not even be the past any more, may be reborn to life in this unique present outside which nothing exists.

It is high time that this Parliament joined the many parliaments—and not minor ones—that have recognized the Armenian genocide, as has the Senate of Canada, which, on June 13, 2002, passed a motion by Senator Shirley Maheu recognizing the Armenian genocide. I am pleased to point out as well that in December 2003, the National Assembly of Quebec unanimously passed a bill proclaiming April 24 as Armenian Genocide Memorial Day.

How can we explain that a country like Canada, so proud of its values of compassion and justice, prefers to use a euphemism instead of having the courage to call a spade a spade?

The Armenian genocide was the first genocide of the 20th century, but unfortunately it was not the only one. A number of historians describe the 20th century as the century of genocide. If we consider the situation in Sudan at this moment, it appears that we have not finished learning from the past.

Now that the world has become a global village, it is important to recognize that we all share in the responsibilities. As Mr. Robert Kocharian, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia put it so well, on March 24, 1998:

The genocide was not the tragedy of the Armenian people alone, but a tragedy for all of humanity.

As I finish this brief speech, I would like to say how much I want to see this House show the courage of its convictions. On April 24 this year, the Armenian genocide will mark its 89th anniversary. As for myself, I will be leaving politics soon. Nothing could make me happier than if, before I finish my mandate, I could have contributed in my own way to presenting the Armenian people with the best gift of all: recognition of its history.

Émile Henriot wrote:

The dead live on in the memories of those they leave behind.

Each and every one of us has the duty to remember. Thank you for your support and for the solidarity you will show to the Armenian people in the vote on Motion M-380.

The Speaker: It being 6:56 p.m., the time provided for this debate has now expired. The question is on the motion. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some hon. members: Agreed.

Some hon. members: No.

The Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some hon. members: Yea.

The Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some hon. members: Nay.

The Speaker: In my opinion the nays have it.

And more than five members having risen:

The Speaker: Pursuant to Standing Order 93 the division stands deferred until April 21, 2004, just before private members' business.

Source:

<http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=37&Ses=3&DocId=1306269#T1810>

On April 21, 2004 the motion was carried.

The Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

Source:

<http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=37&Ses=3&DocId=1300662#SOB-893364>

HAS WELFTH

id Biggest Turn Out

SPEECHES

the Orange Day—Many Mount Lodge

to pass a resolution

A. Boye, M.P., P.P. Aiez, P.M.P., and

12—Sixty-seven

VARIABLE

STOCKINGS

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ST. EAST

ST. EAST

KELLY ASKED NORRIS TO STOP INVESTIGATION

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 4.)

Mr. Norris was asked about his meeting with Howden, which was the result of a request from Chambers. Howden denied absolutely Howden's version of what took place. There was, he said, no mention of Chambers' name, no mention of a man of money, and no mention of election petitions or their withdrawal. "Howden said," added the Premier, "that the Commission seemed very vindictive, and were after the Governor."

Premier, "that if anyone should be punished for this work, Howden should be punished for building the Grand Trunk Pacific. He said he had to fight the world fight and use all the weapons at his disposal. He insisted there were Liberals he could get at."

CHOCOTAW AND CREW LOST ON LAKE SUPERIOR

Believed at the Soo That Collision Occurred; Sinking the Steamer Chocotaw

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)
Sault Ste. Marie, July 12.—Voyagers here believe that the steamer Chocotaw, bound up with a cargo of coal from Cleveland, has been in collision with some unknown vessel on Lake Superior, and has gone to the bottom with all hands. She carried a crew of sixteen.

"We were steaming along, and when abreast of Precious Isle we saw what appeared to be the cabin of a steamer floating off to starboard. As we got closer I was able to make out plainly with the aid of glasses the name 'Chocotaw.' I moved up at once and stood by for a while, but saw no signs of life in any direction. Other wreckage was also floating around in a small space, and amongst it were a number of empty oil barrels."

As the Chocotaw did not carry oil, the opinion here is that she was struck by some boat which did carry oil, and that the other boat was also badly damaged.

Canadian Casualties

DAY LIST

Ottawa, July 12.—The following list of casualties was issued this morning:—
ROYAL CANADIAN DRAGOONS.
Wounded—Capt. Wm. K. Legg, Newfoundland, B.C.

2ND BATTALION.
Private of war—Pte. Arthur Thomas Kelly, Brockville, Ont.; Pte. Henry Hunsberger, Toronto, Ont.; Pte. Sam Steele, Edmonton, Alta.

3RD BATTALION.
Private of war—Pte. Frank William Miller, Stouffville, Ont.

4TH BATTALION.
Died of wounds—Pte. Jack C. Crouch, Owen Sound, Ont.

5TH BATTALION.
Previously reported wounded and killed and now unofficially reported prisoner—Hughes—William H. Miller, Scotland.

6TH BATTALION.
Wounded—Pte. Walter W. 1,041 Carleton street, Montreal.

7TH BATTALION.
Killed in Action.
Sergeant William J. McLeod, Scotland.

8TH BATTALION.
Previously reported missing and now unofficially reported prisoner—Harvey W. Hunsberger, De Montigny, Ont.; Stuart F. Hayes, Quebec, Ont.; James Rodgers, Campbellford, Ont.

9TH BATTALION.
Previously reported missing, now unofficially reported prisoner—Harvey W. Hunsberger, De Montigny, Ont.; Stuart F. Hayes, Quebec, Ont.; James Rodgers, Campbellford, Ont.

10TH BATTALION.
Previously reported missing, now unofficially reported prisoner—Charles H. Bates, England; Alfred J. De Patis, England.

11TH BATTALION.
Previously reported missing and now unofficially reported prisoner—Albert Powell, H. H. Barry, London, England.

12TH BATTALION.
Previously reported missing, now unofficially reported prisoner—William J. J. Elliott, London, Ont.; William Langford, Station Postville, England; Pte. Harry Wain, Jamaica, P. E. I.; Corp. Charles French, England.

Corns Instant Relief

Drop Out
Patent on Footwear's Corns Extender is light and wears fast better in the morning. Against the way "Prevention" does the job, it keeps the corns from returning. Get a bottle of "Prevention" to-day.

THE DAILY NEWS OF BUSINESS

A BULLETIN FOR BUYERS

VOLUME 1 TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1915. NUMBER 23

Published as part of
Simpson
Advertisement
70 PHONES TO CENTRAL
For Groceries All Other Departments
Adelaide 4100 Main 7941
These bulletins are intended to help readers of this paper to get full benefit

edged with a broad band of white lustrous, while down the front of both waist and skirt is a double row of white braid fringe, each finished with a small pearl button. The price of this suit is \$4.50. Another suit at the same price is of bright red lustrous with trimming of white braid in two widths. A smart little suit of dark blue with white and steel buttons of Paddy

and south of Van Lake, Turkish Armenia, 55 miles west of Kars. All of these encounters are said to have resulted favorably for the Russians. According to these reports, a Turkish force of 30,000 men, which was concentrated in the east of Erzurum, near Van Lake, is being hard pressed by the Russians. Organized massacre of Armenians in Bitlis is taken as an indication that the Turks intend to retreat from that point. The Turks distributed 40,000 rifles among Kurds in Mush Valley for use against Armenians. Notwithstanding ungenerous and epidemic, the Armenians are resisting bravely. Their forces have been strengthened by the arrival of 150 Armenian volunteers from America.

Death—Major Currie (formerly 13th Battalion), England.
Killed in Action, June 28.
Emanuel Bincher (formerly 5th), Malta.
Death—Alexander S. Andrew (formerly 2nd), Scotland.
Surgically wounded—William Finch (formerly 2nd), England.
5TH BATTALION.
Previously reported wounded and killed and now unofficially reported prisoner—Hughes—William H. Miller, Scotland.
Wounded—Robert James Gerris, Ireland; John C. Brumet, England.
6TH BATTALION.
Wounded—Thomas Stewart (formerly of the 2nd), Victoria, B.C.
7TH BATTALION.
Wounded—Peter Walsh, No. 1,041 Carleton street, Montreal.
Killed in Action.
Sergeant William J. McLeod, Scotland.
8TH BATTALION.
Sergeant Stewart, Ottawa, Ont.
9TH BATTALION.
Previously reported missing and now unofficially reported prisoner—Lange—Corp. Sam Massey, Rural Route No. 4, Toronto, Ont.
10TH BATTALION.
Previously reported missing and now unofficially reported prisoner—Corp. Maurice Lee, Windsor, Ont.
11TH BATTALION.
Surgically 1st—John Turner, Sherbrooke, Massachusetts.
ROYAL CANADIAN DRAGOONS.
Wounded—Stanley John Smith (formerly of the 4th Battalion), 116 Baggins street, Windsor; Peter Macdonald (formerly of the 4th Battalion), Greenlaw, Alta.
1ST FIELD ARTILLERY BRIGADE.
Died of wounds, June 28.
Corp. Murray Thomas King, England.

TURKS HARD PRESSED IN ARMENIAN FIGHT

50,000 OF THE ENEMY CONFINED TO EAST OF ERZURUM

(Canadian Press Despatch.)
Tiflis, Transcaucasia (via Petrograd), July 13.—Reports from the various fronts in the Russo-Turkish campaign indicate that heavy fighting has occurred recently betwixt

Administrator or Executor?

If a man dies without having appointed an executor, the court appoints an administrator to wind up his affairs. The administrator, where so will is left, distributes the estate among the legal heirs. The previous owner's wishes are not considered. An executor carries out the owner's wishes, but receives no more for his services than the administrator.

National Trust Company Limited

18-22 KING STREET EAST, TORONTO Acts as Executor Under Will.

FINANCIAL STANDING

OF BANK OF FRANCE

Paris, Feb. 4. A statement published today shows that the condition of the Bank of France up to January 31 was as follows: Assets, 1,232,731,000 francs (1,232,731,000 francs); Liabilities, 1,232,731,000 francs (1,232,731,000 francs); Reserves, 1,232,731,000 francs (1,232,731,000 francs); Total, 1,232,731,000 francs (1,232,731,000 francs).

PARIS FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Paris, Feb. 4. The foreign exchange market today shows a steady decline in the value of the franc against the dollar and the pound.

LIVERPOOL COGNAC AND FLOUR

Liverpool, Feb. 4. The market for cognac and flour today shows a general decline in prices.

LONDON WHEAT

London, Feb. 4. The wheat market today shows a decline in prices for all grades.

CHICAGO WHEAT

Chicago, Feb. 4. The wheat market today shows a decline in prices for all grades.

MINNEAPOLIS GRAIN

Minneapolis, Feb. 4. The grain market today shows a decline in prices for all grades.

CHICAGO FET OFFSHORE

Chicago, Feb. 4. The market for fet offshore today shows a decline in prices.

NEW YORK COFFEE

New York, Feb. 4. The coffee market today shows a decline in prices for all grades.

BALED HAY AND STRAW

Local markets are now showing a decline in prices for baled hay and straw.

"PROPHET" GAVE UP WITH KEMP'S FORCE

Forty Officers and 500 Men in Latest Boer Rebel Surrender

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Pretoria, Feb. 4.—The rebel leader Buraidah and the so-called "prophet," Vankensburg, surrendered to the British forces with 400 men. The commander-in-chief gave up his arms also included 400 burghers. The rebels capitulated at Uptington. Vankensburg's influence is credited with having largely responsible for the rebellion. The announcement states that additional surrenders are expected to-night, and that Lieut.-Col. G. Morris and his men probably will give themselves up before the end of the week.

TALK DOG, NOT SHEEP, AT BREEDERS' MEETING

PROVINCIAL LAW AGAINST STRAY CANINER IS NOT ENFORCED. "Let us talk sheep, not dogs. We have talked dog and sheep for some time," said the speaker at the meeting of the Ontario Sheep Breeders' Association. The speaker, a well-known breeder, sums up the consensus of opinion at the meeting. The speaker stated that he was pleased to see that the provincial law against stray caninering was not enforced.

NEW YORK METALS

New York, Feb. 4. The market for metals today shows a decline in prices for all grades.

NEW YORK COFFEE

New York, Feb. 4. The coffee market today shows a decline in prices for all grades.

PRESSURE DEVELOPING IN HEALTHY MANNER

"Gold Week" Now Proposed in Germany by the Berliner Tageblatt

TURKS DISORGANIZED BY RECENT DEFEATS

Lost Half Their Troops and Practically All Their Stores

IF CATARRH HAS SPOILED YOUR HEARING

GET CURED TO-DAY BY "CATARRHOZONE"

GIRLS! DRAW A MOIST CLOTH THROUGH HAIR

TRY THIS! HAIR GETS THICK, GLOSSY, WAVY AND BEAUTIFUL AT ONCE.

Immediate?—Yes! Certain!—That's the joy of it. Your hair comes light, wavy, fluffy, abundant and appears as soft, lustrous and beautiful as a young girl's. Dandruff hair cleans. Just try this! Moisture in a cloth with a little dandruff and carefully draw it through your hair, taking one small strand at a time. The cloth cleans the hair of dirt, oil, and excess oil, and in just a few moments you have washed the beauty of your hair. A delightful surprise awaits those whose hair is neglected or is scraggy, faded, brittle or thin. The dandruff cleanser will be after a few weeks you will be all over the scalp. If you care for your hair, draw it through the hair. Dandruff cleanser purifies and softens the hair, forever stopping itching and falling out. It will be after a few weeks you will be all over the scalp. If you care for your hair, draw it through the hair. Dandruff cleanser purifies and softens the hair, forever stopping itching and falling out.

HUSBAND AND WIFE CHARGED WITH MURDER

Alleged to Have Poisoned Man for Whom They Kept House

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Rainy River, Feb. 4.—Xavier Seguin and his wife, Josephine Seguin, were arrested to-day by Ontario Police Officer J. D. Oram, charged with the murder of Joseph Forget by putting strychnine on his food. Forget had been living on his homestead, some miles east of the town of Rainy River, in the township of Ives, and his wife, Josephine, kept house for him and helping on the homestead. On January 9 Forget had dinner, and within a very few minutes took sick and died at once. An analysis was made of the contents of the stomach, which left no doubt of the fact that death had been caused by strychnine. The coroner's jury, at the inquest, returned a verdict that Forget came to his death through strychnine placed in his food, and Seguin and his wife were responsible. The accused are in jail at Rainy River awaiting examination of the stomach by Police Magistrate W. O. Chapman. The case is being prosecuted by N. L. Croome, Acting Crown Attorney.

U. S. AID ENLISTED TO IMPROVE CAMPS

Sir Edward Grey Announces the Consideration of Scheme Regarding Prisoners

DEMY CHARGE OF ARSON

Many Incendiary Fires in Bradford—Father and Son Arrested

EGAL RIGHTS

Legitimate Children Have Recognition in Norway

SCHOONER IN COLLISION

Norfolk, Va., Feb. 4.—A report received here early this morning that the schooner Benjamin A. Van Brunt was badly damaged in a collision with another vessel in lower Chesapeake Bay. The schooner's headgear was reported to be damaged.

Financial Age. We act as agent for individual executors, estate, keeping and rendering systematic account also act as agents for owners who wish to be relieved of the burdensome detail of their assets. An interview or an enquiry will opportunity to explain the details and cost of THE Toronto General CORPORATION W. LANGMUIR, 170 King Street West, Toronto.

CRUSHED BY THE ICE, STEAMER IOWA SINKS

GOES DOWN IN LAKE MICHIGAN OFF CHICAGO HARBOR—30 LIVES LOST.

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Chicago, Feb. 4.—The steamer Iowa of the Goodrich Transit Company sank in Lake Michigan about three miles off the Chicago harbor, after being crushed by what ice men declare was the heaviest ice-jam seen in years off the city. The crew, numbering seventy, and one passenger clambered over the ice-pack as the vessel settled, and struggled over the hummocks to the Iowa, beaten back from the Chicago harbor Tuesday night, made a dash for the Illinois coast. The vessel, valued at \$150,000, carried a miscellaneous cargo. Officials of the harbor here this morning. On July 18, 1912, the Iowa was in a collision in the Chicago River and sank after being hit at her dock. She was raised and rebuilt and was inspected.

Dropped Bombs on German Troop Trains

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Petrograd, Feb. 4.—Russian aviators on February 2 successfully dropped bombs on the mobilized reserves and trains of the Germans at Warsaw, Zarnetz and Boguszyca, about fifty miles southwest of Warsaw, according to a official announcement issued here to-day.

SEWER MURDER

Yves Lewis' Body Found in Ditch—Bullet Wounds in Head.

APPLICATOR

Notice is hereby given to the Legation of the United States of America, New York, N.Y., that the name of the applicator is GEORGE W. GEORGE.

MEETINGS

To the Holders of Six Per Cent Mortgage Gold Star-Ed. C. O. C.

SEND ME SUNKIST SEEDLESS NAVAL ORANGES

California Sunkist Oranges. Say that over the phone to your dealer now. It brings the very finest fruit of its kind—fresh from California, fully ripe, juicy, sweet, firm, tender, delicious—just as it tastes when picked direct from the tree. Eat Sunkist Oranges in salads and desserts—eat them whole between meals and after bedtime. Order today—a dozen or a box. Low prices place them within the reach of all.

The Dominion Permanent Loan Company Twenty-fourth Annual Report. The Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Dominion Permanent Loan Company, submitted to the Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders on Thursday, February 4th, 1915. Your Directors have submitted the Twenty-fourth Annual Report, accompanied by a Statement of Accounts for the year ending December 31st, 1914, and duly audited. During the year ending December 31st, 1914, the dividends paid by the Company during the year amounted to \$11,522.11. There was also transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of \$25,000. There was written off Office Furniture and Fixtures \$6,571.16, leaving a balance to the credit of Profit and Loss Account, for further distribution, the sum of \$64,947.11. All of which is respectfully submitted. D. W. KARN, Vice-President.

Statement of Account for the Year Ending December 31st, 1914. ASSETS: Mortgage and other Securities \$2,935,490.46; Real Estate and Accrued Interest 18,024.78; Office Furniture 5,274.00; Cash on Deposits and on Hand 142,588.12; \$3,101,377.36. LIABILITIES: Deposits and Accrued Interest \$ 198,093.43; Debentures and Accrued Interest 641.70; Sundry Accounts 2,171,999.23; \$ 2,172,714.36. TO THE SHAREHOLDERS: On Capital Stock \$1,202,519.52; Contingent Fund 5,994.68; Reserve Fund 678,900.00; Undivided Profits 1,213,863.12; Balance of January 2nd, 1915 42,942.71; \$1,774,219.03. PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT: Interest on Debentures and Deposits \$121,353.19; Written off Office Furniture 6,571.16; Transferred to Reserve Fund 25,000.00; Balance Carried Forward 22,942.91; \$155,867.26. Less brought forward December 31st, 1913 \$ 26,421.04; Less credited to Terminating Shares 2,190.18; \$ 28,611.22. Interest, Rent, etc., after payment of expenses, including Salaries, Directors' Fees, Government Taxes and Post 329,394.21.

BRITAIN IS BUILDING SPEEDY SUB. HUNTERS

Motor Boats to Go Thirty to Sixty Miles an Hour

DRIVEN BY GAS ENGINES

Their Great Speed and Ease of Handling Will Render Them Almost Invulnerable to Attack by German Torpedoes.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.) Washington, Aug. 2.—Great Britain is answer to the German submarine in the simplest way.

The so-called war zone about the British Isles is to be constantly patrolled by an enormous fleet of extremely speedy motorboats, each of which will mount one or two quick-firing guns.

Within a few weeks it is expected there will be several thousand of these sea monsters in commission. Orders have been already placed for the construction of five hundred of them, and the work of construction is far advanced.

It is planned to guard the sea lanes with swiftly moving patrols of these armed motorboats, a number of them will be sent out to meet and convoy incoming munition ships and merchantmen. They will be fitted with searchlights, and once a screen of them has been formed about a liner it is not thought any submarine will be safe in making its ventures above the surface of the water within the searchlight distance.

GERMANY IS BOWING TO DEMANDS OF U. S.

REQUESTS AMERICAN SHIPS TO POINT FLAG ON BOTH SIDES IN LARGE SIZE.

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Washington, Aug. 2.—Germany's first response to the last American note on submarine warfare has come from the Admiralty, which has requested that American and other American flags painted on their sides in proportions large enough to be noticed at a distance by the line commanders.

Germany's reply to the last American note on the subject of the sailing ship William P. Frye by the Prinz Eitel Friedrich, received here today, is understood to refer to her contention that under the Brussels-American treaty of 1913 Germany may continue to search for and seize American carrying contraband if she pays for them. Germany declines to accept the American position under the treaty protects the ship from destruction, and holds it is only necessary to pay the cost of the prize Court determines the facts. The note will be published later.

INVENTS BODY ARMOR FOR ALLIED SOLDIERS

REVERSIBLE ONE-PIECE SUIT OF IRON HAS ACCOMPANYING HELMET TO PROTECT HEAD

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Detroit, Aug. 2.—Waheman Bradley, a resident of this city and a veteran of the Civil War, has a patent pending in Washington which fulfills the idea of a body armor for soldiers that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has suggested for the British army. Bradley has invented a one-piece body armor that is reversible, and may be worn on the back of the soldier when retreating. This armor protects all the vital parts, and has an accompanying helmet to protect the head.

Bradley called upon J. P. Morgan Co. in New York and says that an showing his invention it was accepted at once, and that he expects to hear shortly of the purchase of the patent by the allies. He also made a trip to Ottawa and says that the invention was favorably received, and is now under consideration.

DOCTOR SEVERELY HURT. Gasconville, Aug. 2.—Word was received yesterday that Dr. Royal Lee, who is taking a special course at the Holy Name Hospital, Brookline, N. C., had met with a serious concussion of the brain in an automobile accident while rushing to an emergency case. Dr. Turner, who was with him, was killed outright, and Lee's condition is considered critical. He is a graduate of Queen's University of the 1813 class.

WAR SUMMARY

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 6 and 7.)

Novo Georgievsk and Ivangorod, the Vistula fortresses, are to be abandoned without standing siege, it looks as if the Germans intend to tackle the fortresses on the Bug-Niemen line—Brest-Litovsk, Grodno and Kovno.

THE GERMAN PLAN seems to involve much more than the driving of the Russian back to the Bug. In Courland the enemy have occupied Mitau, only 25 miles from Riga, and it begins to look as if what is left of the Russian Baltic wheat crop this season after both armies have burned and trampled down the grain is to be harvested under German supervision and shipped out through Riga to German Baltic ports.

IT IS ABOUT TIME that Turkish misrule came to an end. Reports of Kurdish atrocities in Armenia near Bitlis state that 3,000 men, women and children have been massacred there. Mutilated bodies now strew the banks of the Tigris. In the region of the upper Euphrates also thousands of Armenians have been killed. The British army now occupies the Tigris and Euphrates it will fall from the scene of these atrocities, but it will unquestionably push on all the more vigorously because of them in the hope of saving some part of the Christians of Armenia from their bloodthirsty foes.

FROM WASHINGTON COMES A DESCRIPTION of the new British motor patrol built to answer the German submarine menace. Recently they were spoken of as "whippets," a whippet being an extremely fast dog of the greyhound type used in coursing. The latest model is a motor launch with a 100-horsepower engine, fitted with gas engines, and their speed will range from thirty to sixty knots an hour. They will mount one or two quick-firing, and their speed, small size and ability to turn and dodge will make them almost invulnerable to the German submarines. They are reported to be in process of construction, and orders for 500 are now being filled in the United States. They will all have searchlights, and groups of them will act as convoys to merchantmen within the submarine zone.

THE FRENCH BEGIN TO APPRECIATE the part played by their splendid "75" millimeter in the war. The superiority of the French field artillery had established itself in the eyes of the world long before the assault on the German positions in the assurance that the "75's" will provide an effective fire curtain across which reserves cannot be brought up except at the cost of prohibitive losses. The gun recoils on a piston operated on the principle of the steam engine. The chief object of it is taking up the recoil, and the gun returns automatically after each shot to the firing position. The carriage is fixed to the ground by a spade at the end of the trail. Because of this automatic return and fixed position, and a mechanism which enables the gun to be swung to the right to give a "moving" action, the French "75" can fire twenty shots a minute either of millimeter shell or shrapnel. The French has only 120 guns to an army corps, as compared with 144 for a German corps, but the lesser number of French units is more than made up for by the efficiency. If the British army had the French gun, and could use projectiles with the prodigality of the French gunners, the progress made would be very much more marked.

FLAMING LIQUID seems to have taken the place of poisonous gases in the German method of trench warfare. A French official report states that on Sunday night in the region of Hill 213, in the Argonne, the Germans used more than 100 tons of this flaming liquid. It occupied a French trench, which was recovered in part by a counter-attack. Yesterday, after having made use of flaming liquid, the Germans launched a violent attack in the region of Marie Therese, and succeeded in gaining a foothold in the trench. The loss of the trench, and the great loss of the ground lost was regained by an immediate counter-attack.

THE GERMANS HAVE TAKEN THEIR DEFEAT on the heights of the Linze, in Alsace, near Munster, calmly. They have fought hard to recover the lost ground, and Paris reports that a succession of engagements on Linzekopf and the adjoining heights have been in progress since Sunday. The French have captured 50 German machine guns, including heavy losses on the enemy and capturing 50 prisoners.

BRITISH SUBMARINES HAVE SCORED on the German coast the best success since the beginning of the war which has returned to its base reports that on Monday, July 26, it torpedoed and sank a German torpedo-boat destroyer of the G-124 class. This class is quite modern, having been built in 1910 and 1911. Some 70 or 80 men must have been on board. The official statement announces that the submarine was sighted near the German coast. The operations in the Sea of Marmora and in the harbor of Constantinople were during in the extreme, and have already been reported sufficiently in a despatch from the Admiralty. A submarine of the same class, the vessel, believed to be a submarine, close to Karaboga Bay. Torpedoes were fired at lighters alongside the arsenal in Constantinople, and the explosion that followed was heard in the police mills. Another exploit was the shelling of a railway cutting and the blowing up of three truckloads of ammunition.

THE DARING OF THE BRITISH RUBBERBAR RAIDERS must be giving the people of Constantinople a bad attack of nerves. The Times prints a despatch from Mytilene reporting that the famous Galata bridge across the Golden Horn is to be blown up by the British. This must be another vessel that which has turned in the report of the attack upon the arsenal. The Galata bridge is one of the sights of Constantinople, and the news which filled it daily before the war was that the bridge had been blown up. It is now in the works. Still another Athens report announces that a French submarine has returned to Midea, its base, after sinking two transports in the Sea of Marmora near Constantinople. This may be a distorted report of the raid reported recently, but the fact that a French submarine has been credited with sinking the transports makes it appear to be a distinct affair.

ON THE BZOWO the chief interest still centres in the Italian attack on the Austrian positions along the Tarnopol plateau. It is estimated that 170,000 Austrians are on this part of the front. They have been driven from their first line defenses, and are now trying to strengthen their second line in face of a re-entrance from the Italian front. The Italian attack on the Tarnopol plateau was a surprise and a brilliant attack, but it failed. During the struggle, the Italian official report says, an entire regiment of Tyrolean troops, known as the "Kaiser Jaegers," was destroyed, and a hundred and fifty prisoners were taken. It is announced that the Austrians have been driven back and have taken over 17,000 Austrians captive. This is due largely to the fact that the Italian artillery fire frequently cuts off the occupants of advanced trenches from their supports, and nothing is left for them when they are called upon to fight. The Austrians are in a position of great difficulty. The Austrians, it is said, fight well, and do not surrender until that becomes inevitable. In the Carnic range the Austrians have captured Monte Modetta, an almost inaccessible peak, and in the Trentino they have captured the mountain of Monte Corno, an area of strategic importance, which they are making progress, which, if slow, is substantial.

CANADIAN CASUALTIES

- 9 P.M. LIST
Ottawa, Aug. 2.—The 3 p.m. list contains the names of:
DEATHS:
Wounded—Theobald Victor Huss (hus), Westmont. Que.
MIDNIGHT LIST
Ottawa, Aug. 2.—The midnight list of casualties is as follows:
AND BATTALIONS.

SONS OF THE ALPS; THEY KNOW NO FEAR

Italy's Alpine Troops Admirable of the World

70,000 ON BATTLE-FRONT

Cadorina's Mountain Soldiers Never Waste a Shot

Training of These Men Includes Everything from the Rifle to the Infantry Arm and More—Almost Superhuman Feats are Accomplished.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

London, Aug. 2.—I will assume the best opinion will continue for Europe to be another year. Neither side will or can give up their objectives by force, and there is for less appearance now of any such decisive ending than there was a year ago, when the Germans marched upon Paris and had Calais for the taking. They also mean to make the best of the lines of possible internal collapse on either side. I will assume, too, that whatever happens, the United States will remain morally above the possibility of participation in the struggle.

One thing follows upon these assumptions. Almost inevitably, the United States will be drawn into the conflict by the hands of London and because the country of rich men, a neutral country, to which all other countries will be in debt, a Golden Rule.

An estimated Germany will face France with no gold and an enormous debt. The United States will be better positioned for the necessary war capital for war supplies. Just as much as for war supplies, just as much as for war supplies, just as much as for war supplies.

GERMAN PALESTINE SENTENCES

Months at Liverpool. Liverpool, Aug. 2.—Charles Ith, a member of the crew of the American steamer Leclaire, which was sunk last week by a German submarine, was sentenced to six months at Liverpool.

NEW DAILY IN LANGUAGE OF CONQUEST. Brussels, Aug. 2.—The first daily newspaper in the German language appeared yesterday. The newspaper is financed by private parties, although it is expected to be supported officially through the advertising of official announcements. In this connection, the German government has issued the expression of national feelings and sentiments are taken in some quarters as indicating the intention of the Germans to retain Belgium.

HOP OF DEPARTING KENNELS

Halifax, N.S., Aug. 2.—The Canadian Kennel Club has announced that the Fowey, England, for Montreal, went ashore in a dense fog last night at Flat Point, near Sydney harbor. The latest word from the steamer tonight was to the effect that there was some confusion in the harbor, but the position was reported as precarious. The Kennel Club from Fowey on the night of the 29th, and the Canadian Lake Transport Company of Toronto, and was with at Vancouver on the 29th. It is 1,551 tons net and 1,955 tons gross.

These officers call their men by their first names, often inquire about the health of the folks at home, and are very friendly and regular. When the mail reaches the Alpine camp it is the officer who reads it to the men. They are very regular their officers as they learned how to read it.

The training of the Alpine includes everything belonging to the infantry, but it is not the same as the infantry. It is a more difficult and a more dangerous. The Alpine soldier is a more difficult and a more dangerous. The Alpine soldier is a more difficult and a more dangerous. The Alpine soldier is a more difficult and a more dangerous.

Probably the exact history of the capture of the mountain will never be written, but circumstances maintain that the capture of the mountain was a great feat. The Italian Alpine troops, General Cadorna never sent a single word to the effect that the capture of the mountain was a great feat. The Italian Alpine troops, General Cadorna never sent a single word to the effect that the capture of the mountain was a great feat.

U. S. WILL CAPTURE THE MONEY MASTERS

Great Britain to Cease to be the Fat Land

Shifts of the Financial Capital of the World From London to New York

Is Predicted by British Writer—New Property and Low Stimulus (Special Cable Despatch to The Globe.) (By H. G. Wells.)

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AT WAR FOR AN HOUR WITHOUT KNOWING IT

Plight of Great Britain on the Blackest Day

(Special Cable Despatch to The Globe.) London, Aug. 2.—Hall Calton, the official British author, gives the following dramatic description of the historic scene preceding the declaration of war by Great Britain:

In a room in the Prime Minister's house in Downing street the Prime Minister himself and three principal members of the Cabinet are waiting for a reply to the ultimatum sent to Germany at noon. The time for the reply expires at midnight. It is approaching 11 o'clock. In a private room at the British Embassy in London, the British ambassador is waiting for a reply to the ultimatum sent to Germany at noon.

It is a scene of the most dramatic and historic character. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet are waiting for a reply to the ultimatum sent to Germany at noon. The time for the reply expires at midnight. It is approaching 11 o'clock.

After all the reply in the ultimatum is not a declaration of war. Suddenly the British ambassador remembers something that everybody has forgotten: the British ambassador has a message from the German ambassador. The German ambassador has a message from the German ambassador. The German ambassador has a message from the German ambassador.

As they sit there the electric wires may be flashing the awful tidings that a firing signal of life or death through the dark air all over Europe. The four men are waiting for the telephone to ring. It does not ring, and the fingers of the clock are moving. The world seems on these last minutes for the thunder stroke of fate. The minutes are passing. The minutes are passing. The minutes are passing.

VILLA DEGI ON FOREIGN

22 Days for Government cleared G. P. P. was a gathering at Chihuahua.

GREAT SCENE DESCRIBED

Noted Author Tells of the Tragic Moments Through Which the British Ministers Passed Before Hostilities Against German Empire Began.

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HEAT KU

Heavy Toll of I—Tain I (Canadian I Philadelphia, deaths and no were reported on 10-day flight of lands. Although yesterday's high was greater, but it brought some relief local forecast for 10-morrow.

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BISU MAG

For dyspepsia, indigestion, flatulence, heartburn, etc. (Advertisement for Bisu Mag)

WANTED ALSO HO

Without a HO (Advertisement for HO)

HOTEL RO

ACACIA LODGE (Advertisement for Acacia Lodge)

AMUSE ALEXANI THE ROBI THE MARI

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ACACIA LODGE (Advertisement for Acacia Lodge)

AMUSE ALEXANI THE ROBI THE MARI

H. W. PETRIE, LIMITED WAR SUPPLIES MACHINERY (Large advertisement for war supplies)

BRUCE BOYS AT HOME MAKING THINGS "HUM"

Everybody Busy and Optimistic On Her Fine Farms

BECOMING FRUIT SECTION

General Crops Were Never Better - Live Stock in Good Shape - Endless to West is Now Over and Pasture Lands Are Producing.

(Special Staff Correspondence of The Globe.) Port Elgin, Aug. 2.—Bruce county, like Huron, is realizing its own greatness. Bruce county, like Huron, has resources upon which it will be worth while realising. There can be no quarrel with Bruce county farming compared with the other districts of Canada, but it improves with the rest in the progress of the agricultural business. They are fast getting out what the county is adapted for. The fruit districts are growing fruit instead of grain. The grain men are picking out the proper strains; the cattle men the best breeds of cattle and getting rid of the poor ones. Bruce county is in its different parts adapted for almost every line of farming known in Canada.

The late district is becoming a fruit section. In certain localities the dairy cow rears supreme in the field, as she does in Perth. In other sections the beef cattle are the money producers, and still other sections. Any one of the various lines looks good this summer. Any one will help Bruce get to its proper place on the map.

Bruce Counting In Its Own. Bruce county used to watch hundreds of young farmers load stock and settlers' effects in box cars and wish them luck as they went west. They left 100-acre farms, many of them. These were rented by farmers nearby or were taken over by drovers and used as pasture farms for large herds. Bruce people got so common in the west that the rest of Canada wondered if any people were left in the old country. There were. They are staying there now. There will be more there, too, for the west is the common market for Bruce goods. Bruce boys have made good in the west, but they might have been as well off if they had stayed on the homestead. They would this year.

Those boys who went west used to come back home with their coon-skin coats, their fancy riding boots and wealthy manner and tell the boys at home about many money and the free life of the west. That made them go west. They are not doing so much of it now. Bruce is now producing about the west either. The boys are coming back, many of them to real nice country. Bruce is now in increased production and better rural districts will tell the story of the future of the "rural life" and the "rural life" was never farther than he is in 1915.

Prospects Encouraging. The "call" never ate in better pasture in his life, nor did his mother. Looking over the fence to the drain fields, he sees nothing new. There is less winter than he had last. Down the road in the apple orchard things aren't promising, but the trees are the berry bushes and small fruits that twigs hang heavy with fruit. The old barns are impressive and the house is having a new kitchen or bath room installed. The "rural life" is going to help pay for the new thing, and he is going to help pay for the new thing. By Lake Huron Bruce is developing a fruit-growing section that for certain fruits will be unsurpassed in Canada. It is on the wind loan which runs a couple of miles back from the shore. Probably the biggest development has been at Port Elgin. Cherries, peach and plum trees have been planted by the thousand here during the past four years. Many of them (thirty and a few more) have not started to bear yet. However, the trees are all hardy. Cherries are the big fruit, of the crop has been fair. Mr. Jas. H. Johnston, who has a big fruit farm north of the town, told The Globe the necessary work he thought the peaches would be all right. Of those that are bearing, the fruit is splendid quality, and there is every indication that the trees will

In Manitoba's Cabinet



HON. EDWARD BROWN, Provincial Treasurer.

Dear well. He has several thousand peach trees. Late Market for Fruit. Mr. Geo. Falconer, manager of the Port Elgin Fruit Growers' Limited, which has its farm south of the town, pointed out that the Bruce district was well fixed in the matter of seasons. It is just a little later than Niagara or Leamington, and gets the benefit of a late market. All the produce on this farm looks splendid. From Port Elgin station there is a train of berries has been shipped this year. Tomatoes also do well in this district. Mr. Alex. Mitchell, a local fruit man and gardener, has made a success of tomatoes, and has a small cannery here that has turned out some excellent goods.

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PERIBLE MASSACRES OF THE ARMENIANS

TENS OF THOUSANDS SLAIN BY TURKS, WHO WERE ENCOURAGED BY GERMANS.

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) London, Aug. 6.—The Daily Chronicle says this morning: "A tragic episode of the war in the east is the wholesale massacre of Armenians in the eastern provinces of Asia Minor by the Turks and Kurds, regarding the total scale of these massacres, greater than any which occurred under Abdul Hamid, there is now no room for doubt. In certain cases the Armenians have successfully defended themselves, at the cost of a few lives, for instance, to which Enver Pasha sent his brother-in-law with a commission to investigate the victims' case after the massacre had begun, but the Armenians were not allowed to leave their quarters and fled outside the town, and the Armenians, who have been powerless. Tens of thousands, probably hundreds of thousands, are being deported by road hundreds of miles to western Anatolia under conditions amounting to slow extermination by starvation. The Germans, who are masters of the central Ottoman administration, have to the very best advantage not only permitted but rather encouraged these horrors. The allied powers have notified the Turkish government that they will hold the persons responsible, and at this stage they can do no more. There is perhaps some hope for an effective American protest, though we have not yet heard of one. The Chronicle concludes by making an appeal to British private charity."

EVACUATING RIGA: CHURCH BELLS REMOVED

TEN THOUSAND PEOPLE LEAVE—SAWED 300-TON BELL TO PIECES.

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Petrograd, Aug. 6.—Ten thousand persons have been leaving Riga, the Baltic capital, today for a week. Among the objects most carefully removed from the evacuated territory are church bells. Many of these often too heavy to be carried whole without breaking in pieces, were

1916 Studebaker Cars. 40 H.P. FOUR \$1,195. 50 H.P. SIX \$1,395. -more POWER -more ROOM -even HIGHER QUALITY -and LOWER PRICES. York Motors, Limited. 545 Yonge St., Toronto, Ont.

PERTH COUNTY GIVES EIGHT MACHINE GUNS

But One-third of Council Objected to Subscription

Employees of Two Dundas Firms Decide to Contribute a Battery of Ten Guns—Perth Town to Buy Two—N. Harrow Orangemen Vote One.

(Special Dispatches to The Globe.) Perth, Aug. 6.—Perth County Council, in special session here today, voted to purchase eight machine guns for the Canadian troops. The Council also agreed to accept no pay for to-day's session. The resolution to donate the guns was carried by ten to five after a long discussion. Mayor Robert Armstrong and Deputy Mayor George Yundt, Ellice township, fathered the objection that the Government should buy everything needed for the soldiers, thus equalizing the cost to the people, but the resolution to this effect was defeated. The vote on the purchase of eight guns was as follows: Yes: Councilors Lewis (Blanshard), McKay (Newman), Mackie (North), Easthope (Zimmerman) (Stitterson), Martin (Mitchell), Sam Smith (Ellice), Hocking (Lindsay), B. Z. Smith (Wallace), Wood (Jagan), Harris (Falconer), No: Councilors Kerr (South) (Easthope), Armstrong (Yundt) (Ellice), Kerr (Morningside), Colquhoun (Mills). Battery of Ten. Dundas, Ont., Aug. 6.—The John Harrow & Sons Limited, and its associate company, the Pratt & Whitney Company of Canada, Limited, had their employees today donated a battery of ten machine guns for the Canadian troops. The offer has been transmitted to the Militia Department. Perth to Purchase Two. Perth, Aug. 6.—At a representative meeting of Perth citizens held this

THE FIRE RECORD.

Bellville, Aug. 6.—(Special.)—Fire this morning at 1:30 did considerable damage to the upper portion of the McLaughlin Company's garage on Bridge street. The loss on the building will not exceed \$1,000. Ottawa, Aug. 6.—(Special.)—According to information received at militia headquarters here, Major-General Sam Hughes, Minister of Militia, expects to sail for Canada about the end of next week.

NIAGARA ST. CATHARINES LINE. Henley Regatta. St. Catharines August 5, 6 and 7. THE ONLY WAY VIA PORT DALHOUSIE.

ISLAND NAVIGATION.

A COMPLETE VOYAGE VACATION. Northern Navigation Circle Tours include everything. Rocky headlands, wooded inlets, crimson villages, all only a part. Pick-up, take in Falls, hotel stops, dining excursions, etc. which are included in the ticket. FAST STEAMER SERVICE TO SUPERIOR, GEOBORG BAY. Through passenger car and west will also find our big steamers comfortable, safe and rapid—only the water route. Duluth Steamers leave Sarnia Sat. at 4:30 p.m. G. T. Ry. from Toronto, 11:12. Georgian Bay Steamers leave Collingwood on Friday, 10:30, and Sat. Green Island, 11:00 a.m. All Ticket Agents, or W. J. NOFFZAT, G.T. City Ticket Agent, Toronto. Northern Navigation Co., Sarnia, Ont.

R. & O. Vacations. Saguenay Quebec Montreal 1,000 Islands \$47.00 \$34.00 \$25.00 \$13.00. CANADA STEAMSHIP LINES LIMITED.

YORK MOTORS, LIMITED

545 YONGE ST., TORONTO, ONT. GEO. W. STOUT, 212 James St. N., Hamilton, Ont. A. J. FROST, Owen Sound, Ont. W. G. SOMERVILLE & SON, Welland, Ont. J. H. WILLIAMS, Niagara Falls, Ont. J. R. JOHNSON, Guelph, Ont. McDONALD & HENRY, Stratford, Ont.

ADVERTISING. RECIPE TO STOP DANDRUFF. This Home-made Milling Stops Dandruff and Falling Hair and Aids Its Growth.

Various small advertisements including 'CAN PA STEER', 'CUNA', 'CALIF', 'DONA', 'AUST'.

The Globe
GENERAL MANAGER: W. H. GIBSON
EDITOR: J. M. HENNING
PUBLISHED FOR THE PROPRIETOR BY THE GLOBE PRINTING CO., LTD.

THE AMERICAN LOAN TO THE ALLIES.
The negotiations between the allied Commissions and the American financiers have reached such a stage that it is now safe to assume the great transaction will be carried to completion.

THE ONTARIO APPLE CROP.
Of late years very great importance has been attached in Ontario to the growing, harvesting and marketing of winter apples, and therefore the special article on The Globe's agricultural page should be interesting to farmers everywhere.

BRITAIN'S HUGE WAR BURDEN.
The figures presented by Mr. McKenna, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the House of Commons yesterday in regard to the national debt are almost incomprehensibly great.

THE CUP OF TURKEY'S INIQUITY FULL.
Lord Bryce is a man of world-wide reputation, which he has won by historical learning, honest research and accurate statement.

MARKETS AND PRICES.
Marketing problems are complicated by restrictions and simplified by freedom. The subcommittee on marketing the harvest, appointed by the Dominion Government, will assume highly important duties and can render valuable service in insuring the best returns for the phenomenal yield now in immediate prospect.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.
Your King and country need you—now.
The refrain of the first McKenna Budget is 'Pay! Pay! Pay!'
The Balkan puzzle now is: To whom does Macedonia send her S.O.B.?

THE SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.
Ontario's Working Journal—Proprietorship of the working journal in Ontario is more than all the rest of the really top-notch Ontario papers without a shadow of doubt.

THE DAILY SHORT STORY.
ANOTHER DAY.
BY HOPE BROWNING.
"If you could give me just a day's help, Mr. Gray," Maria trembled slightly, looking across the bed, reaching out her hand.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.
Ontario's Working Journal—Proprietorship of the working journal in Ontario is more than all the rest of the really top-notch Ontario papers without a shadow of doubt.

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HUMOR.
"Hello, my dear," said Maria, looking across the bed, reaching out her hand.

UNSPEAKABLE CRUELTY LOT OF ARMENIANS

Massacres of Unsurpassing Horror Committed by Turks

PEOPLE BURNED ALIVE

Torture Exaggerating All Descriptive Language Practiced on Defenceless Christians—Viscount Bryce Pub- lishes Further Revulging Details.

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

London, Nov. 26.—Viscount Bryce to-night made public the details of further Armenian massacres, which, he says, "surpass in horror, if that were possible, what has been published already."

"I feel," his letter continues, "that such crimes ought to be exposed to the utmost, and that the charity of other nations will more than ever be drawn to the unhappy refugees when it is known that their friends and fellow-countrymen have suffered."

Viscount Bryce says the details confirm and amplify the ghastly history of deportations which Armenians in northern and eastern Anatolia were driven to a death of horrible cruelty. The first part of the evidence, he says, was received by the Committee of Inquiry in the United States and the second part came from an Armenian gentleman at Tiflis, who received it from refugees who escaped from regions where the events happened.

Mountainous Worst Sufferers.

"The sufferings of the peasants and the mountaineers in the regions of Van, Mush and Bitlis," Viscount Bryce says, "seem to have been even more terrible than were those of the peaceful townfolk described in Part I of the report. Every successive piece of evidence increases the horror of the story and confirms the dreadful certainty of its truth."

"After giving the parts of the evidence received from the United States, Viscount Bryce says that the following extracts were taken from his correspondence at Tiflis: "On May 13, 1915, I received from Mr. Djevdet Bey, the Military Governor, was expelled from Van. Djevdet fled southward and entered a mountain district with some 8,000 soldiers, whom he called 'butcher battalions.' He massacred multitudes of the Christians and the details of which nothing is known. On the 16th of May he reported that he ordered his troops to burn in the public square of the Armenian Bishopric, the school, the Church and the Children's Hospital, Adalat Sher."

"Useless Lot" Drowned.

"On June 25 the Turks surrounded the town of Bitlis and cut its communications with neighbouring Armenian villages. Then most of the able-bodied men were taken away from their villages and put on the railways. During the following few days all the men under arrest were shot outside the town and buried in deep trenches dug by the victims themselves. The young women and children were driven into the hills, the rabble. The remainder, the 'useless lot,' were driven to the south, and are believed to have been drowned in the Tigris."

15,000 Are Tortured.

"It is in such a fashion that the millions of Armenians at Bitlis, in early June the authorities demanded arms from the Armenians and a large number in response of the latter. The head men of the village were subjected to revolting tortures, floggings and other cruelties; their tombs were forcibly extracted, teeth were knocked out, and in some cases noses were whitened down, the victims thus being down to death under shocking agonizing agonies. The female relatives of victims who came to the rescue were assaulted in public before the very eyes of their mutilated men. The shrieks and death cries of the victims filled the air, yet they did not move the Turkish host."

"In the town of Mush itself the Armenians, under the leadership of Ghoussios and others, entrenched themselves in churches and stone-built houses and fought for four days in self-defence, but Turkish artillery manned by German officers, made

Thousands of Homes are gladdened by the beautiful melodies and the artistic rendition of every kind of music on the

Heintzman & Co.

Player-Piano

"The Different Player-Piano"

And the beauty of it is that any member of the family can play this wonderful instrument without knowing a note of music.

What more beautiful Xmas gift could be given than one of these perfect Player-Pianos? If the question of price has been a difficulty, you can remove that difficulty. Come in and talk it over with us. We can arrange terms that will make your purchase easy. Learn about the many exclusive features of this Player-Piano that put it in a class by itself.

HEINTZMAN HALL, 193-195-197 Yonge Street, Toronto, Canada

HALTON COUNTY WAR AUXILIARY ORGANIZED

TO STIMULATE RECRUITING AND PROMOTE THE WELL-BEING OF SOLDIERS.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)
Mississauga, Nov. 26.—Major Williams, recruiting officer, held a recruiting meeting here to-day. All the municipalities of Halton were represented. The Halton County War Auxiliary was organized to stimulate recruiting and promote the welfare of soldiers. The following officers were elected: Honorary President, Dr. A. W. Nixon, M.P.P.; President, D. S. Robertson; Vice-President, Duncan Campbell; Secretary, Dr. H. K. Anderson; Treasurer, W. H. Clouston; Counsel, Trafalgar, Alex. Porter and C. H. Taylor; Solicitor, W. J. R. Murray; and Dr. C. Armstrong, Burlington. Dr. C. Smith and Rev. F. W. Flavel; Nelson, John A. Pettit and Rev. Geo. H. Hyndes; and Dr. H. H. Moore; Newmarket, Dr. Garbutt and J. M. Johnson; Georgetown, Mayor Grant and C. H. and Treasurer are Misses Wood and the headquarters will be here. Local branches will be organized throughout the county.

DESKETER IS ESCAPED.

Karl Schultz is in the United States.
(Special Despatch to The Globe.)
New York, Nov. 26.—Karl Schultz, the first German deserter to reach the country, and who arrived as a stowaway on board the steamer Norderdijk, was to-day being excluded by the board of special inquiry at Ellis Island. Schultz will be held at Ellis Island until the close of the war.

ST. THOMAS STORM SUPPER.

St. Thomas, Nov. 26.—(Special.)—The water here this afternoon carried heavy damage to the stores of Deaf & Martin, clothing; E. C. Manser, dry goods, and C. G. Stanton, tobacco. The fire started in an upper story from a defective chimney. The loss of stocks over the stores was also heavily.

INSPECTED HOGS DESTROYED.

Bramford, Nov. 26.—(Special.)—Thirty hogs owned by Fred. Guest of Slohewek have been destroyed, having infected Dr. Henderson, Toronto, is investigating.

The Breakfast Shapes the Day

Load the stomach up with a breakfast of rich, greasy food, and you clog both digestion and mind.

For real work—real efficiency—try a breakfast of

Grape-Nuts and Cream



RUSSIANS MAINTAIN STOUT OFFENSIVE

Sharp Battles at Several Points —Mituva Reported Evacuated

(Canadian Press Despatches.)
Belgrade, Nov. 26.—The following official communication was issued to-day:

"The action near the Farm of Bor-semenski continued all day yesterday, but without decisive result. Towards evening the fighting became less violent."

"A violent engagement near the village of Mitrova, north of Vidva, ended in our troops occupying the wood to the south of the village."

"Quiet prevail on all the other sectors of the front from the Gulf of Rigas as far as the Pripet River, and also on the Rye."

"In the region west of the town of Orla, between Rovne and Jolok, the enemy attempted to advance, but being threatened by envelopment, he fell back to his point of departure, the attempt to make progress in the direction of the village of Janowka, northeast of Busacze, was equally unsuccessful."

Berlin, Nov. 26.—An official report to-day says: "Army Group of Field Marshal von Hindenburg: An attempt was made by the Russians to cross the Niemez river near Pulpe, but it was frustrated. Russian attacks near Borsemenski and on the western front of Delink were repulsed. "Army groups of Prince Leopold of Saxe and General von Limning: There is nothing to report."

Paris, Nov. 26.—A Havas dispatch from Petrograd to-day says: "German prisoners brought to Riga from the region of Olai confirm the report of the complete evacuation of Mituva by the German troops."

DISLOGE THE GERMANS: OCCUPY MINE CRATER

FRENCH ACHIEVE SUCCESS NEAR LA FLEUR MOUNT—HEAVY SNOW IN THE FORESE.

(Special Cable Despatch to The Globe.)
Paris, Nov. 26.—To-night's official statement says:

"There was intermittent cannonading during the day on the whole front. Artillery activity has become more spirited in the Argonne, where in one instance the Germans blew up a German mine crater."

"Near La Fleur Mout there was fighting with hand grenades and on the Courtes Chaussee sector we dislodged the Germans from a mine crater and occupied it."

"The afternoon report still heavily especially at the region of the Fiebat and Thur Rivers."

Berlin, Nov. 26.—The text of the statement to-day says: "There were artillery duels at various places on the front, otherwise nothing of importance took place."

COL. HILL TO RETURN

Ottawa, Nov. 26.—It is understood that Col. Hill of Welland, who is now at the front with the 1st Battalion, will return to Canada shortly and be appointed to the Administrative Staff of Military District No. 1 at London.

I. D. McCALLUM WOUNDED.

Kingston, Nov. 26.—(Special.)—Lyman D. McCallum, instructor of the Ontario University Engineers, who is reported wounded, is the son of a Canadian missionary in Turkey. He lived in Kingston since a youth.

COL LABATT INSPECTS 64TH.

Bramford, Nov. 26.—(Special.)—The 64th Brigade is being inspected by Lieut.-Col. R. H. Labatt, from Toronto headquarters, who expressed himself as being pleased with the result.

- ### Canadian Casualties
- (Canadian Press Despatches.)
Ottawa, Nov. 26.—The midnight list of casualties in the 1st Canadian Trenchers is as follows:
1ST BATTALION.
Previously reported killed in action and who will call—Eugene Foster, 128845.
(Details previous reports.) New killed in action—John Patten, England.
2ND BATTALION.
Previously reported in action—(Deaths from the 1st Canadian Trenchers.)
17TH BATTALION.
Died of wounds—Joseph A. Deacon, 11424.
Previously reported in action—(Deaths from the 1st Canadian Trenchers.)
18TH BATTALION.
Previously reported in action—(Deaths from the 1st Canadian Trenchers.)
19TH BATTALION.
Previously reported in action—(Deaths from the 1st Canadian Trenchers.)
20TH BATTALION.
Previously reported in action—(Deaths from the 1st Canadian Trenchers.)



A LONDON FESTIVAL

About the time we were preparing the panoramas of London other Allied Capitals on our Fourth Floor, London itself was with Lord Mayor's procession. The above photograph shows the Lord Mayor's procession, which took place through St. Paul's Churchyard, between the Cathedral and the City, from which this view was taken.

The Simpson offices in London and Paris keep us in very close merchandising conditions in the chief Allied capitals. Such merit the following, which is on sale to-day, could not be had at these prices from the aid of a foreign buying organization of great strength.

- Scotch Piated Linoleum - A new shipment of many block, the painting and floor patterns which will be laid free of charge if ordered to-day, 55c per square yard. —Fourth Floor.
- Children's English Picture Books - A splendid lot to select from, including all the well known favorites—The Boy's Own Annual, 15c; Chums, 15c; Chatterbox, 7c, and many others, among them many containing Cecil Aldin's inimitable pictures of puppies and dogs. —Main Floor.
- Hamkerchiefs - From Ireland and from France a Switzland are handkerchiefs by 1 thousand at almost as many price. They are all exhibited in the Hat kerchief Pergo. —Main Floor.
- China and Pottery - Also from Ireland a shipment of the delicious Belleek China, some 1 decorated with shamrocks by 1 thousand at almost as many price. They are all exhibited in the Hat kerchief Pergo. —Main Floor.

THE SIMPSON COMPANY ROBERT SIMPSON LIMITED

MACHINE GUN FUND

Money Not Withdrawn in a Week to Go to Ambulances and Gas.
(Special Despatch to The Globe.)
Bramford, Nov. 26.—Workmen subscribers to the machine gun fund will be enabled for a week to withdraw their subscriptions, but after that time the money lost, estimated at \$15,000, will be used to purchase four ambulances and about seven machine guns to go to battalions which contain Bramford men.

Navigation News

Maria, Nov. 26.—(Special.)—A ship from Italy which left the harbor at Genoa, which was recently sunk, was secured by the crew of the Maria, which was on duty in the harbor. The ship was carrying a cargo of goods, which were saved. The ship was carrying a cargo of goods, which were saved. The ship was carrying a cargo of goods, which were saved.

Dangerous Throat Troubles Prevented by Nerville

It Ends Misery of Colds Quickly.
Don't wait till sight.
Get your cold now—this very

Humfrey's For Gripe

The Globe

TORONTO.

Published every week-day at 100 King Street West, Toronto, Ont., Canada.

Subscription rates: Single copy 5c; 12 copies 50c; 3 months \$1.25; 6 months \$2.25; 1 year \$4.00.

Table with 4 columns: Date, Circulation, and other metrics for the week ending Dec 1, 1915.

Total copies circulated during October, 1915. 2,250,000. Derived by (inserting) the actual number of copies of the Globe printed during the month of October, 1915, of 55,228.

Declared before me at the City of Toronto, this 21st day of December, 1915. R. A. McLELLAN, a Commissioner.

Table with 4 columns: Date, Circulation, and other metrics for the week ending Dec 1, 1915.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1915.

ARMENIA: THE UNSPEAKABLE TRAGEDY.

Belgium Poland Serbia Armenia! These four national tragedies supply the horrors of the war-stage, and the most unspeakable tragedy is Armenia.

There is not in all history anything to match the deliberate, systematic, and utterly unthinkable ferocity of the campaign waged by the Turkish Government against the whole Armenian race.

But to-day hope itself has no ground on which to stand. The science of German military organization has been joined to the devilish inhumanity of the Turk, and now, for months together, it is one long campaign of cruelties for which even Armenia has no precedent, and the issue of which must be the utter extermination of the race out of the Turkish Empire.

The second report by Lord Bryce's Commission, given to the public in London the other day, makes plain beyond all hope of disproof the bottomless pit of barbarism into which Moslem fanaticism and Turkish atrocity, encouraged, if not also organized and engineered, by German training and thoroughness, have gone.

And the most horrible facts related in the Bryce report are equalled in details of horror in private accounts received in Toronto from sources absolutely reliable. Many Canadians know the name and would testify to the worth of Rev. E. O. Whoo, a graduate of Knox College, whose mission at Perlis was established by a committee of which the late Prefect Caron was the inspiring spirit.

Meanwhile, in a world that once called itself civilized, the unspeakable tragedy of the oldest Christian nation hurries on to the horror of its life act.

bushels, or 20.6 bushels per acre, as compared with 14,222,548 bushels, or 20.9 per acre, from this crop in 1914. As the area under spring wheat in Ontario was only about one-fifth of the acreage of fall wheat last year, and the yield was less than one-fourth, a decrease in the fall wheat seedling, a matter of serious import.

THE DUKE OF CORNAUGHT. The ordinary conception of the Governor-General is that of a political and social "figurehead" for the Dominion Government.

No other Field Marshal in the British army has any greater claim to be regarded as a thoroughly trained veteran or a competent military critic. Down to the minutest details he has mastered the subject to which his life was exclusively devoted, prior to his appointment to his present office, which includes the functions of Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian forces.

To the public, who get occasional glimpses of him in the course of his flying visits to widely separated localities, he is every inch the "British officer": quietly active, habitually reticent, cordially gentlemanly, perennially vigilant, cordially sympathetic, and tactfully tolerant.

HOW IT STRIKES AN AMERICAN. Canadian are apt to grow impatient at times when it is forced in our own consciousness that they are helping the mother country, and her self-sacrificing and loyal European allies, to win a victory for humanity against a gigantic conspiracy of despotism while their neighbors across the border stand by as more or less interested spectators.

PROVIDE CAPITAL FOR THE MINES. Mining must always be a hazardous industry for the capitalist who engages in it. The man who invests his money in exploring mineralized rock in the hope of developing paying veins of gold or silver must necessarily run the risk of losing his money.

THE MINING INDUSTRY IS A VERY GREAT FACTOR in the business of Ontario. Millions of dollars' worth of capital from all over the Province are sent into the North country every season, and many millions of dollars come back in the form of dividends. It is real wealth. Gold is the world's standard of value, and never can be a drug in the market.

NOTES AND COMMENTS. Your King and country need you—now. There are demands for our late familiar friend, the three-cent stamp.

THE DISABLED VETERAN. The returned soldiers, whose wounds do not involve permanent disability, will have much less trouble in finding places in the industrial life of Canada than those who are maimed or permanently disabled.

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA SHOULD PAY all necessary expenses of recruiting in Toronto. The city is doing its part in providing an almost inexhaustible reservoir of patriotic young men.

Winston Churchill is to be given the rank of General and the command of a brigade. If heredity counts, he should prove a good General, and he is unquestionably a very brave man.

Government would appoint Conservative veterans to offices in the Dominion and in the Provinces in which the Conservative party holds power, and Liberal Governments would appoint Liberal veterans. The degree of disability as between Liberal and Conservative applicants of equal merit would not be the deciding factor.

THE PREMIUM LIST OF THE WINTER FAIR. The management of the Ontario Provincial Winter Fair has issued, in a neatly-printed and well-arranged sixty-page pamphlet, the official list of classified premiums offered for competition at its thirty-second exhibition, which will be held this year at Guelph, between the third and the sixth day of December, both days included.

FROM THE GLOBE OF 1865. The New York Tribune divided among its stockholders \$100,000 as the profit of four months business. The American Government has retained \$1,000,000 for the armaments of captured vessels.

December 2 in History. The small town known as Herpeton, in the State of New York, has played an important part in our history for more than a century.

THE DAILY SHORT STORY "CLASS" IN BREWSTER. BY JANE OSBORN. "None class" ejaculated Timothy Green, and his brow, poor fellow, glistened with sweat.

THE DAILY SHORT STORY "CLASS" IN BREWSTER. BY JANE OSBORN. Timothy followed their footsteps as they went on their way, and he felt a little better as he saw the other fellows.

THE DAILY SHORT STORY "CLASS" IN BREWSTER. BY JANE OSBORN. Timothy moved unconsciously in her chair and her eyes were fixed on the speaker.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE PRESS

Victoria (Canada)—In holding the Union Jack to the masthead of the part sent to the top of the mast, the red with the white stripes on the side, in playing the Jack in an emblematic manner, the public service of the United Kingdom is being performed.

Wanderer News-Editorial—Mr. Broom and Colonel Lawrence are expected in Montreal and Quebec, where they are to be active, as in a distance. Advertising is not so much needed as it used to be, and they are all there, though they are all there, though they are all there.

Mr. Tullis of Montreal. The Ontario Provincial Winter Fair has issued, in a neatly-printed and well-arranged sixty-page pamphlet, the official list of classified premiums offered for competition at its thirty-second exhibition, which will be held this year at Guelph, between the third and the sixth day of December, both days included.

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BOO

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GLOBE: I did not think that your editorial on "The Part of Being Neutral," in The Globe of the 19th October, was altogether correct.

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Vertical text on the far right edge of the page, possibly a page number or a small advertisement.

BIG GUN FIGHTS ON WEST FRONT

British Bombard For Positions North of Ypres Canal

Heavy Artillery Fired by Mine Explo- sion Between Two German Trenches About 100 Yards Apart—Foe Attacks Promptly Repulsed.

(Special Cable Dispatch to The Globe.) London, Feb. 18.—The official statement makes no mention of the so-called "linguistic losses" which the Germans claim were inflicted when the British tried to retake the trenches near Ypres. Fighting about 11 1/2 miles in Artois developed to the slight advantage of the French, who were able to occupy the southern edge of a mine crater which they exploded.

Heavy Artillery Fought. The British official statement to-day says: "Our artillery to-day bombarded the enemy's position north of the Ypres-Comines Canal. "Artillery on both sides was generally active during the day on the Ypres front. "On the rest of the front there were artillery bombardments and on at various points by both sides."

Paris, Feb. 18.—To-night's official statement says: "In Artois, northwest of Hill 146, we exploded a mine under a German trench, inflicting heavy damage. "At other of our mines, exploded between two trenches, produced a huge crater, the southern edge of which was occupied. A German attempt to drive us out of it was stopped sharply by our fire. "In the region south of Ypres our artillery, acting in concert with the British artillery, executed a barrier fire which rendered abortive a German attack that was made in preparation. "North of the Alsne we poured a destructive fire, continuing until 10 on the German line in the silent near the Chollers Farm. "In upper Alsne, after an intense artillery preparation, the Germans attacked our positions north of Laszard and succeeded in gaining a temporary footing in our trenches. We counter-attacked and immediately drove them out."

Heavy British Losses. Berlin, Feb. 18.—The army headquarters statement to-day says: "The British are attempting to recapture their positions to the south of Ypres, but were repulsed with many casualties. "To the northwest of Lens and to the south of Arras, our troops effected successful mining operations. "A small German detachment retreated from a sector of the front against English positions near Fossevaert, west of Arras, with a few prisoners and one machine gun. "Directly south of the Somme an attack by fresh British troops broke down under our fire. "On the remainder of the front there were more or less lively artillery duels, but no incidents of any special importance. "Enemy aerial attacks in Flanders were immediately returned by our aviators with the aerial bombardment of Poperinghe."

GERMAN THREATS IF PEACE NOT MADE

(Special Cable Dispatch to The Globe.) London, Feb. 18.—The Times this morning publishes the following translation of an article by Maximilian Harden in his Berlin paper, Die Zukunft: "Six months ago the Germans could be content with defeat, holding and using what they had conquered. Now it is too late. "Can we wait until the enemy has spent all our money, our military and war economic, and then upon us a state of war which at present is a little sleep, and which will be difficult to make good our? "A third harvest will be 'none at all'—not of men, but of important raw materials and our expenditures of money would increase immediately. "After three years of blockade, other would occupy those places in the market which it is now impossible that Germany trade should be supplied. Dure we wait? "There is still a short space of time during which Germany might cause a lull. Without loss of honor her enemies might make a treaty and ending peace, which would not bar the way to gradual reconciliation and European harmony. "These peace offers, it is suggested, might include a little sleep, a little international isolation and a promise to pool war expenses. If these proposals are refused Germany will have paid the last debt she owes to the world, and she will be compelled to more intricate than ever with complete indifference to the views of non-combatants in the United States. "We do not want to be caught in the pincers between a military peace and exhaustion by a long war, with the consolation that long war will devastate the world, remains as well as friends. We will not wait upon our pleasure."

FALLS AT CALEDON EAST

WAR SUMMARY

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 6 and 7.)

ing Serbian Macedonia, has hurried back to Sofia from Vienna to make other arrangements. Turkey is certain to recall her troops from Bulgaria to stay the Russian advance in Asia Minor. The fall of Erzerum may prove the equivalent of the removal of the keystone from an arch—Turkish power may come crashing to the ground in all directions. Trebizond, the chief Turkish port on the southern shores of the Black Sea, is reported to be in straits, and there is no possibility of sending reinforcements, as the Russians control the Black Sea.

THE BRITISH LINES in France are evidently being extended to the south of the Somme. The French midnight report states that "in the region south of Ypres our artillery, acting in concert with the British artillery, executed a barrier fire which rendered abortive a German attack that was in preparation. "Douglas Haig's army consists of a million and a half men, as it is likely to do before the season for field operations, the British will hold the bulk of the trenches between the North Sea and Soissons on the line which the French intend to follow. The number of men in Champagne, the Argonne, Lorraine and Alsace, and add to the possibility of smashing the Germans if the allied artillery can open wide enough breaches in their lines. France has still a million and a half it is difficult to see where the Germans are going to secure an army for the west large enough to withstand a determined attack. "Until they denuded the Rhine-Danubian front recently the Germans had been sent into France. The Germans had not more than 1,850,000 in the west, according to the best information available. The very utmost increase that can be provided for would not bring the total up above 2,500,000. "The Germans will have to hold their reserves on railway trains midway between the two fronts ready to be sent east or west as the need arises most urgent."

HEAVY FIGHTING HAS BEEN RESUMED in Artois, around Hill 140. There the French yesterday exploded a mine under a German trench in the northwest of the front, inflicting heavy damage and produced a huge crater, the southern edge of which we occupied. A German attempt to drive us out of it was stopped sharply by our fire. "An attempt to explode between his first and second the trenches is a very rare proceeding, and the French papers have reason to be proud of their achievement. They must have worked silently as they were in the trenches, and the enemy's lines and removing the earth excavated with the greatest secrecy behind their own trenches so that no spying aerial scout force could discover what was going on. "The mining activity was directed against the German lines on both sides, and from the frequency of explosions during the past few weeks. The armies of all four nations engaged on the western front have thousands of skilled coal miners in the ranks, and from these miner-soldiers the sappers are largely recruited."

THERE HAS BEEN another German offensive in Upper Alsace. North of Lutzitzen, after an intense artillery preparation, the French trenches and succeeded in gaining a temporary footing. They were driven out at once by a French counter-attack.

THE AUSTRIANS ARE HOLDING THEIR own very well along the Isonzo. The latest Vienna reports announce that in recent days they have captured 1,700 rifles, eight machine guns, two mine throwers and 21 prisoners. The Italians have very seldom lost war material in the engagements on this front.

IF ROMANIA IS CONCEALING her army on the Italian border, as reported, she is giving public indication of her intention to join the Allies. The action reported would be that which the Government of Roumania would take preparatory to a combined movement to drive the Germans out of the Balkans and to separate the Transylvanian plain from Roumania while leaving her own territory open to attack all along the Danube by the composite army of Bulgaria, Austria and Germany. The Roumanian army will be to put Bulgaria out of action while the Roumanians hold the Austrians fast to the Gallian and Rousarabian fronts. Roumanian intervention is expected in a few days. An advance from Saloniki simultaneously must have been arranged by the Allies before Bucharest gave consent to the project.

Lord Derby Says the Army and Navy Are Impenetrably Co-ordinated. (Special Cable Dispatch to The Globe.) London, Feb. 18.—"I have always believed," said Lord Derby, Director of Armaments, at a workingmen's meeting here to-night, "that sooner or later the Germans will attempt a great sea raid on this country, and that however well equipped the navy is it will not be able to stop it, but I believe the army and navy are now so co-ordinated that even if a raid comes it will be practically impossible for the land force to come will be wiped out. "Dismissing the air warfare, Lord Derby appeared in the arrangements not to unduly agitate the public mind regarding air raids, because of the effect such agitation would have on the British morale. "It is to be noted that the British airship command have sent up their ships under atmospheric or other conditions, and that the newspapers are to be published reports of that nature."

HAMILTON NEWS

(Special Dispatch to The Globe.) Hamilton, Feb. 18.—The Board of Control to-day passed a resolution recommending the City Council to give the National Natural Gas Com-

BEAUTY DOCTOR TELLS SECRET

(Investment.)

"The Story of Kitchener's First Army"

The Undying Story

By DOUGLAS NEWTON. Cloth, \$1.25 Net. The superb "fighting retreat" of the British Army from Mons to Ypres, which foiled the German dash on Paris and saved the Allies' line. Mr. Newton is considered in England to be the greatest descriptive artist discovered by the war. "When I had read this," says T. P. O'Connor, the celebrated editor, "I knew that I had found the man who could best write a story of battle."

Between the Lines

By BOYD CABLE. Cloth, \$1.25 Net. A FEW OPINIONS. "Each says:—'Will be read and reread in countless homes. One chapter especially, called 'The Mine,' is really a short war story of which any writer in Europe might be proud. For this alone it deserves the place in a book that no one should miss.' "Westminster Gazette says:—'Contains the most vivid, thrilling and intimate picture of the life of our soldiers in Flanders that has yet come from the press. He just makes you see the thing.' "The New York Times says:—'Here is an exceptionally good book for the reader who wishes to understand what the war looks like to those in the middle of it. The whole volume was written within sound of the German guns, and most of it within shot and rifle range; it makes you hear, see, feel, smell the front, and the very taste of the machine is in its pages.' "Knowing standard says:—'Deserves a prominent and enduring place in the abundant literature of the war. The book is second to none we have read on the subject.'"

WM. TYRRELL & CO., LIMITED
786 YONGE STREET, TORONTO

NO ALTERNATIVE FOR ANY FREE MAN

Premier Hughes, at Dinner in His Honor, Speaks on Meaning of the War

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Ottawa, Feb. 18.—(This is not England's war any more than it is Canada's war of Australia's war. This war is for every citizen of the British Empire in Canada or Australia possible. There is no alternative for any freeman. "The Premier of the speech delivered here by Premier W. H. Hughes of Australia at a dinner given in his honor at the Ottawa Club by Sir Robert Borden. "Premier Hughes proposed the toast of 'The Premier of Australia' in a speech in which he referred to the glory with which the troops of Australia and New Zealand had carried the name of the British Empire to the Pacific. He said that the fact that Canada and Australia were able to contribute to the value of the British war, and as one result of the value of the British Empire had not been professed by the foot of the enemy. "Premier Hughes proposed the toast of his audience when he mentioned that in Australia they had three hundred thousand men in the field, and said he thought it was a credit to the British Empire that they had a foothold in the commerce of the Pacific. "With such a general as we gave here that foot-hold, and under the gales of naturalization she is being built."

CANADIANS KEPT FOE CONSTANTLY ON ALERT. (Continued from Page 1, Col. 1.) "The front of our 24th Central Division was shelled about 11 1/2 miles from the front by Lance-Corporal A. V. Mott. "On the front of our 24th Central Division was shelled about 11 1/2 miles from the front by Lance-Corporal A. V. Mott. "The front of our 24th Central Division was shelled about 11 1/2 miles from the front by Lance-Corporal A. V. Mott."

TELECO SERVICE IS UNINTERRUPTED FOR TWENTY-FOUR HOURS OF THE DAY AND FOR THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE DAYS OF THE YEAR.

The Toronto Electric Light Company operates four power lines from Niagara Falls to Toronto, though two lines would be enough to carry all the current used. The other two lines are a guarantee against possible breakdowns. As a further precaution there is the steam reserve plant in Toronto. Something like an earthquake would be necessary to seriously affect Telco service.

LOWER RATES HOTEL ROYAL HAMILTON

PRES. WILSON WARNS THE TURK MURDERERS

Protest to Constantinople Against Continuation of Armenian Atrocities

(Special Dispatch to The Globe.) Washington, D.C., Feb. 18.—The United States Government to-day dispatched a formal protest to Turkey against a continuation of atrocities against the Armenians. In effect the protest to Turkey states: "The American people have been deeply stirred by the tale of the Christians ruthlessly slaughtered in the United States, having received precise official information of the occurrence, no longer can doubt that authorities of the Turkish Government are responsible for hundreds of unreported atrocities which have shocked the civilized world. The United States is prompted to express to the Turkish Government its confidence that the authors of the atrocities will be punished. "Furthermore, the United States, justified by a wholly disinterested desire to uphold the principles of justice and humanity, protests against the toleration of such occurrences and gives warning that in the event of a repetition thereof the American Government will be compelled to take action of a more drastic character."

PIA NO RECITAL

Toronto Concert Association, Feb. 19, 1916. Tickets \$1.00, at 10.

VOCAL F

MISS MAY WILLIAMS (soprano), Mrs. Albert Lewis (contralto), Toronto Conservatory of Music, Feb. 19, 1916.

GAYE BURL GLI TROI

Versatile! NEXT WEEK GRAND OP TO-WAKE-I

Dinner's

140 Yonge Street

ALEXANDRA TO-DAY D

NEXT WEEK MATS. WED. AND SAT. BEST SHOW RETURN TION FROM THE MAYMARK THEATRE. 10N

The QUINNE

OF "THE ANTIQUE SHOP" BY HORACE ANKERLEY VACHELL. BOTH MATINEES

"A PAIR OF SIX"

BY EDWARD FELLS SERVED AT THE RATE OF 50 MILLION A MINUTE BY ITS OWNERS. MAIL ORDERS NOW SHIP THIS DAY.

GEORGE

Headline Attraction: "LITTLE HIPPO" World's Greatest Litteration Method. An Act by Napoleon, The Great. DANIEL AND WALTER, Aerial Artists.

The Globe

Table with financial data: GLOBE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER. Circulation record for various years and months.

price which did not make it a serious competitor of meat. The new Provincial arrangement will be an essential boon if the fish is distributed so that consumers may depend upon being regularly and conveniently served.

A THING TO ATTEMPT. Canada is justly proud of the war record of her soldier athletes.

THE TURK MUST GO. There is one thing the civilized world will not stand for, and that is the demand by Germany for guarantees of respect for the political integrity of Turkey.

Germany seeks the mediation of Sweden or any other neutral in vain so long as the terms of the Allies are rejected. No peace negotiations can be seriously considered that involve the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire.

Many headlines are beginning to wonder whether the British people are in a democratic Dominion is not working a bit better.

The German torpedoes which struck the British hospital ship Rowan went directly through the red cross painted on her side.

Germany is closing her frontiers for a month. The cause of this may be troop movement, or it may be a desire to prevent the outside world from knowing how serious is Germany's lack of food.

The Ontario Fisheries Department announces that it will take power to retain for public use twenty per cent. of the fish caught by licensed fishermen in Provincial waters.

It is reported from Washington that the Food Administration is planning to meet the latest demand from the Allies for foodstuffs by the release of an additional million bushels of wheat, despite the fact that the crop has been almost entirely shipped before the end of 1917.

It is estimated that one-fifth of the catch in the Province will yield eight million pounds a year, a supply which will be an appreciable relief in a time of food shortage if proper distributing arrangements are made.

There is one thing, however, regarding which no chance should be taken. The authorities must guard in the most absolute way against the export of grain required for seed. The acreage of land to be sown in the West with wheat when spring comes is believed to be greater than ever before.

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FINLAND'S LONG STRUGGLE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

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VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

In risk in the case of small farmers, the fact of their being a right number of men who will work for a living is a fact of which we should be very much concerned.

THE SPI

Practical Use. Winnipeg J. Good, has secured King and Queen's consent to a new bill.

TURKS MURDER WITHOUT MERCY

Offensive in Caucasus Followed by Massacre of Armenian Population

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) London, April 14.—A Russian wireless message addressed to Berlin says:

The offensive of the Turkish troops and detachments on the Caucasian front has been followed by the murder of the whole Armenian population. The peaceful population of women and children have been killed without mercy and their property has been plundered and burned. The people, mostly Armenians, were driven from their homes. In some places, the Armenians were taken to concentration camps and then killed.

On the Turkish front the advantage in the war was on the side of Russia, and it was generally given up. Armenia, Kars and Batumi only because Germany was the ally of Turkey. The responsibility for the horrors which the Armenian population is now suffering is the Turkish Government, which directly helped Turkey to secure these regions.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow has issued a statement in which it condemns the actions of the Turkish Government. It demands that the Armenian population be allowed to return to their homes and that the Turkish Government be held responsible for the massacres.

Russia has followed her protest to Germany against the Turkish operations in the Caucasus which have resulted in wholesale murders of the Armenian population. It is forwarding a similar protest by the Armenian National Council, addressed to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the President of the Reichstag.

GERMAN COURTS FOR BELGIUM

REGULAR TRIUNFALES OF COURTY TO BE SUPERSEDED BY REVOLUTION ORGANIZATIONS.

Brussels, April 12.—The German intention to replace Belgian tribunals by German courts is confirmed by a notice issued by Governor van Falkenberg, banning the measure on political manifestos by Belgian courts which refused to sit as a protest against the seizure of Belgium by the invaders. The notice says that until German courts are organized military commanders will continue to take the repression of crime and misdemeanors.

STOPPED FAMOUS LOTTERY.

U. S. Senator Edmund of Louisiana is Dead. (Canadian Press Dispatch.) New Iberia, La., April 13.—Robert P. Edmund, son of United States Senator from Louisiana, died at his home here last night, after an illness of several weeks from a complication of disease, aged fifty-four. He was farm as the man responsible for the destruction of the Louisiana lottery.

OBSCURE SENTENCED.

Five Years in the Penitentiary, With Hard Labor, Imposed on Calgary. (Canadian Press Dispatch.) Calgary, April 14.—Five years in penitentiary with hard labor was the sentence on Saturday imposed by Magistrate Davidson on a Canadian military service objector, Edwin Hargreave, William Joseph Cassidy and R. Brunson. The men had consistently refused to wear uniforms and had refused in every way the authority of the military officers when they were ordered to report.

A POLITICIAN'S SKETCH.

Chicago, April 14.—W. H. Reed, former Attorney-General of Illinois and present Director of Trade of Illinois, was the Administration of Governor Lowden, called to office by the Legislature. Mr. Reed was one of the most important Republican leaders in the State.

DOCTOR COULD NOT HELP HER

But Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound Saved Her from a Serious Operation.

Brooklyn, N.Y.—"I suffered something dreadful from a displacement and attacks of indigestion. My doctor and his kind could do nothing more for me and I would have to go to the hospital for an operation, but Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound and her medicine have entirely cured me and I am now in good health. I am glad to tell you what you should do in my place."

BEHMON TO BOY SCOUTS.

Chicago, April 14.—(Special.)—The Boy Scouts of America have received a letter from the Rev. Dr. Behmon, Bishop of the Episcopalian Church, congratulating them on their work.

Italy's War Cost Seven Billions

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Washington, April 14.—Italy's war expenditures up to March 31 aggregate approximately \$7,000,000,000, according to an official dispatch today from Rome. The most important items are one month of conscription and thirty-three months of war.

CANADA TO GET CANTEEN PROFITS

To Share in Proportion to Actual Purchase by Dominion Troops

(Canadian Associated Cable.) London, April 14.—The Canadian Press has just received a communication which has been effected whereby the Canadians will participate fully in the profits arising from the army canteens in France and Belgium. The Canadian in France have all along been free spenders and the canteens have been operated on a commercial basis. The Canadian Government has been asked to take over the operation of the canteens.

GEN. SYKES CHIEF OF AIR STAFF

Replaces Major-Gen. Trenchard, Who Has Resigned—His Career

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) London, April 14.—Major-General Sykes has been appointed Chief of the Air Staff, replacing Major-General Trenchard, who has resigned.

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HUNS DESIGN RHEIM'S RUIN

Cathedral City on Fire as Result of Bombardment by Germans

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Paris, April 14.—An official dispatch says: The Germans continue to bombard Rheims. One part of the city is in flames. We are making energetic efforts to restrict the fire to the area, notwithstanding the very heavy bombardment of the ancient Cathedral.

A PRESTON Garage

Offset: High Motoring Costs

RIGHT now, when gasoline and oil prices are high to the limit, it is a smart move to buy a Preston Garage. It will save you a great deal of money in the long run. And a Preston garage will bring other valuable advantages, such as a workshop for small motor-cars and a place for storing your car. The Metal Shingles & Siding Co., Ltd., Preston, Ont.

SEEDING HALF DONE IN PRAIRIE PROVINCES

MORE ADVANCED FOR THIS TIME OF SEASON THAN FOR SEVERAL YEARS. (Special Dispatch to The Globe.) Winnipeg, April 14.—Bulletin on crop conditions just received from points all over the three Prairie Provinces report gratifying progress with seeding.

TWO MEN KILLED IN MOTOR ACCIDENT

JOB. BOWLEY, JAMES GAMBLE, JR., CAR SEVERELY DAMAGED, WRECK SUPPOSED. (Special Dispatch to The Globe.) Charleston, April 14.—Joseph Bowley and James Gamble, jr., were killed last evening when the auto in which they were driving was overturned in the ditch on the 3rd corner of Dover towards near Palmyra. There is a turn in the road just after crossing a bridge, and indications are that the auto struck some obstruction just after crossing the bridge and slipped to the ditch, where the front wheel being broken from the car. The machine overturned, pinning the man down in about eight inches of water.

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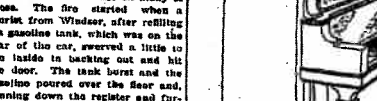
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GARAGE DESTROYED: FIFTY CARS WITH IT

MAN BACKED CAR INTO WALL, BURSTING TANK—GASOLINE RAN INTO FURNACE. (Canadian Press Dispatch.) London, Ont., April 14.—The Ontario Garage, containing fifty cars and large quantities of oil and gasoline, was completely destroyed by fire last evening. The loss is \$100,000. The company's loss of about \$60,000 is fully covered by insurance. The stock included thirty-five brand-new cars belonging to the firm and fifteen autos belonging to local doctors and lawyers, and which were kept in the garage. There was no insurance on many of these. The fire started when a car driven by Windsor, after refilling his gasoline tank, which was on the rear of the car, overturned a little to the inside in backing out and hit the door. The tank burst and the gasoline poured over the floor and ran down the register and burning down the register and burning down the register and burning down the register.

CHILDREN CRY FOR FLETCHER'S CASTORIA

Children Cry For Fletcher's Castoria. It is a gentle laxative and is the best for children. It is the only one that is both safe and effective.



LITTLE HANDS

How Will They Grow? Trained or Untrained? Those little hands are now in your care, mother. You can train them to bring lifelong happiness or let them go untrained. But now is the time to begin their education.

For more than half a century the Gerhard Heintzman piano has trained little hands and little ears. It has the easy action that brings true delicacy of touch and expression. It has the beauty, depth and resonance of tone that brings the highest appreciation of musical values. And because it is Canada's Greatest Piano it is an inspiration, an encouragement to achieve something—and it is a possession worthy of pride.

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Watch Your E

SINCE Bell invented telephone there have been forty-four types of Bells designed to combine strength and utility.



Your desk telephone has a hundred parts and is built to last. The smoothness with which it works depends in no small way upon yourself and those who use it. Rough usage is sure to shorten its life. Telephone economy suggests that you should take care of your desk telephone. Its delicate adjustments damage and its delicate adjustments damage and its delicate adjustments damage.

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DOCTOR COULD NOT HELP HER

But Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound Saved Her from a Serious Operation.

Brooklyn, N.Y.—"I suffered something dreadful from a displacement and attacks of indigestion. My doctor and his kind could do nothing more for me and I would have to go to the hospital for an operation, but Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound and her medicine have entirely cured me and I am now in good health. I am glad to tell you what you should do in my place."

BEHMON TO BOY SCOUTS.

Chicago, April 14.—(Special.)—The Boy Scouts of America have received a letter from the Rev. Dr. Behmon, Bishop of the Episcopalian Church, congratulating them on their work.

A SPRING TONIC

Old Reliable Hood's Sarsaparilla is Pleasant and Effective. In the spring your blood is impure and weak, your appetite is poor and your body is unwell. Hood's Sarsaparilla is the best tonic for the blood and will give you a good appetite and a healthy body.

CHILDREN CRY FOR FLETCHER'S CASTORIA

Children Cry For Fletcher's Castoria. It is a gentle laxative and is the best for children. It is the only one that is both safe and effective.



LITTLE HANDS

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The Globe

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MEMORANDUM... The Globe is a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations... The Globe is a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations.

AUTOCRACY THE ENEMY.

When Sir Robert Borden goes to Versailles to discuss, as one of the political leaders of the overseas Dominions, the conditions of peace, it is desirable that he should be in a position to represent the views of the Canadian people as to the sort of world they desire hereafter to live in.

There are two things, above all others, for the destruction of which thousands of our best have gladly died—giving up, as has been well said, their to-day for our to-morrow—autocracy and militarism. If the Allied nations consent to a peace which shall leave a German monarchial autocrat in control of a Germany in which militarism is still the dominant note, our sons and brothers will have died in vain, and the great work of establishing justice and righteousness in the place hitherto held by unscrupulous might will fall upon the men of the coming generation.

the unobstructed sweep of Alpine, Carpathian, and other mountain ranges... To-day they are scarcely a hundred miles from Baravia, and they have full control of the railway lines and equipment on Austrian soil.

Other terms of the capitulation speak for themselves. The Austrian territory which the Vienna Government agree shall be evacuated embraces half of the Tyrol, a portion of Austria, all of the provinces of Gorizia and Trieste, and the largest part of Dalmatia with its island-studded coast.

THE VETERANS AND HOUSING.

The Great War Veterans' Association is to be commended for its intelligent and practical interest in the housing question. Soldiers who have been through hardship and suffering will have a right to insist on proper living conditions when they return to re-establish their homes.

NEW SITES FOR INDUSTRIES.

Much room has been provided for the expansion of Toronto's industrial life in connection with the waterfront improvement plan. Not only will the front door of the city be kept open, but the needs of transportation and other matters will be considered.

A BUSINESS INVESTMENT.

As a business investment the second Victory Loan stands high. The credit is unshaken, the return is much greater than the average rate of interest before the war.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Our country first. Save—and buy bonds—for victory.

Your King and country need you now. Antocracy is a thimble-dumpy that will not be put together again.

Belgium can now begin to make out her bill for collection at Berlin.

The Dual Monarchy is now apparently another dual to a monarchy.

The tone "Deutschland über Alles" has been changed to "All is Over, Deutschland!"

It is doubtful whether Teutonicism can salvage even a portion of the ramshackle Empire.

The Central Powers have collapsed at the circumference, and the centre must soon go the same way.

The need for funds will not cease with the cashing. The money will flow into constructive channels.

Max Harden calls the Kaiser a slim here. But the audience now sees him as the villain of the piece, not the hero.

If the end of the war brings business disturbance for a time, a safe refuge will be a share of Victory bonds.

Silver bullets are winning the war, but more are required to maintain good times in Canada. Buy Victory bonds.

A Victory bond is more than a scrap of paper. It has the country's pledge behind it and all the country's wealth behind the pledge.

In accepting a new form of government, the Kaiser speaks of "I, with my exalted name, used to be 'Me and Gott,' but the Kaiser's faith is wanting.

New Germany begins to talk of the All Highest as William Hohenzollern. He should remember what happened after the Russian Revolution.

This war has taught Canadians financial self-reliance. The timidities of four years ago, to which even leading financiers and statesmen were a prey, now appear almost ludicrous.

The United States may be a commercial and peace-loving nation, but it is not hesitating to give its men and its dollars in avenging the modern world in order that Liberty may have a place in the sun.

"What's the matter," suggests the New York Post, "with putting a service stripe on your uniform every season it's worn?"

The Danube route is to be kept open, but the Danube route is to be kept open, but the Danube route is to be kept open.

The military leaders of the Allies are the program men to arrange an armistice, but the political leaders will formulate the terms of peace.

The Allies should not ignore Roumania's claims. The country has been the victim of the war, and she should be treated as such.

General F. E. Smith, the British Attorney-General, advocates the establishment of a grand court of allied representatives, civil and military, for the purpose of trying those guilty of crimes during the war.

The London Morning Post echoes Lord Milner's plea for consideration for the present German Government.

Secretary McAdoo is warning the people of the United States against speculation in the market.

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TERMS OF ARMISTICE SIGNED BY ALLIES WITH AUSTRIA

(Associated Press Dispatch) Washington, Nov. 4.—Terms of armistice under which the land and sea forces of what was once the Austro-Hungarian Empire have been laid down their arms were announced today simultaneously in Washington and the allied capitals. They are complete surrender and open Austria and Hungarian territories for American and allied operations against Germany.

From this drastic document, it may be gathered, may be gleaned an accurate outline of the conditions awaiting completion in the Supreme War Council at Versailles under which Germany may have a cessation of hostilities.

The terms under which the debacle on the Italian front ended today at 3 p.m. 19 a.m. Eastern American time) include complete demobilization of Austro-Hungarian troops, withdrawal of all Austro-Hungarian troops from the Balkans, and the evacuation of all Austro-Hungarian troops from the Balkans, and the evacuation of all Austro-Hungarian troops from the Balkans.

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The Passing Jest

Seven—Freedoms of navigation to the north and south of the United States, with their complete armament and equipment, of three hundred and thirty-five miles of coastline, twelve torpedo boats, one mine-sweeper, six Danube monitors, one mine-sweeper, one submarine, one United States of America. All other vessels, including the battleship USS Oregon, are to be concentrated in the United States of America, and are to be placed off and completely demoralized under the supervision of the United States and United States of America.

The subject who is truly loyal to the Chief Magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures. — SENATUS

THE GLOBE AND MAIL

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Separatism's future after Bernard Landry

His party is leading in the polls. His Liberal Party rivals are in deep trouble, both federally and provincially. Support for sovereignty is at its highest point in years. It is a curious time for Bernard Landry to quit as leader of the Parti Québécois. Why did he do it?

One reason is that things are not nearly as rosy for his movement as they appear. The good news for Canada is that it will probably be years before his party can make another serious bid for Quebec independence and, even then, the prospects of success are doubtful. Mr. Landry may have known this when he made the dramatic announcement on Saturday night that he would step down after receiving the support of 76.2 of PQ delegates in a confidence vote — short of the 60 per cent he had previously set as the minimum he would need to continue.

Mr. Landry is 68. He has been a separatist activist since being elected with the first PQ government under Lévesque in 1976. Québec Premier Jean Charest does not need to hold election mid-2000, though the polls show he is bad odds with voters. Even if Mr. Landry held an until then, won the election and became premier again, what were the chances of fulfilling his dream of leading Québec to independence? Very small.

The fast-track motion to independence pushed by party insiders is not an option. Preceded by former premier Jacques Parizeau, they had urged the party to run the next election campaign on a sovereignty platform and, if won, start the ball rolling right away toward independence without bothering to hold a referendum first. Pollsters yearned to hold a referendum of Québecers to agree with the idea. When radical pushed it again at this weekend's convention, delegates rejected it. Instead, they voted for a plan to conduct a referendum "as soon as possible" after a PQ victory.

But what does that mean? Only that party leaders would have the discretion to call a referendum when the polls made victory seemed sure. When that might be, heaven knows. Mr. Landry's movement has lost two referendums already in 1980 and 1995. Opinion polls have never shown anything close to the solid consensus that would be needed for a realistic bid to over-

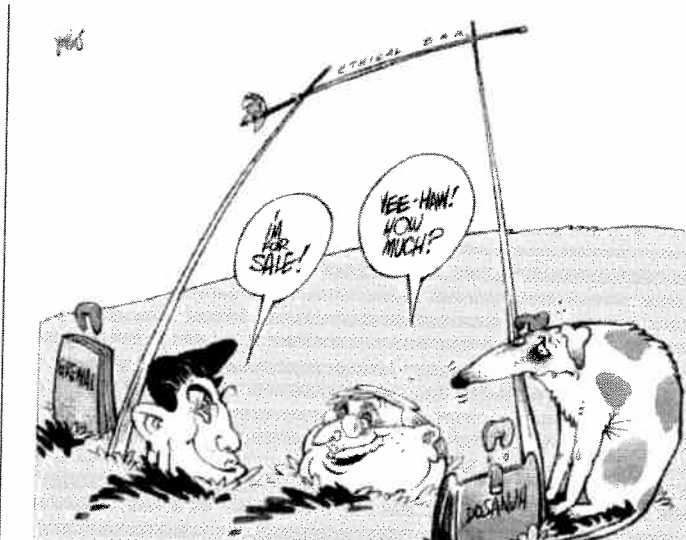
turn the constitutional order and break away from Canada.

There was excitement in the separatist camp recently when an opinion poll showed that 56 per cent of Québecers would vote Yes in another referendum, the biggest proportion since 1998. But what the pollsters actually asked was whether Québecers would support "sovereignty, with an offer of economic and political partnership with Canada." Fudged questions like that always get more support than the real one: Do you want to separate from Canada and become an independent country? But fudged questions are not an option any more. Under the Clarity Act of 2000, the federal government makes it clear that it would not negotiate with Québec after a referendum win for the separatists unless they had a clear majority in a clear question.

This is the cold reality that every separatist leader faces. Most Québecers are still profoundly uncertain about the idea of a full break with Canada. Mr. Lévesque fled it after he lost a referendum in 1995. He later shuffed off the stage a disappointed man. Mr. Parizeau faced it in 1995, when he launched into his infamous rant blaming the "ethnic vote" for the second referendum loss. Even Lucien Bouchard, that charismatic champion of independence, quit in frustration after failing to give the cause the momentum it needs.

Each of these men faced pressure from the impatient PQ rank and file. That is why the job of PQ leader is such a tough one. The party-walks action, but my real leader knows it is foolish to go to the public unless you think you can win. That is why you now that the party has lost two successive referendums. Mr. Bouchard himself ran a stand of the party in 1988, when the faithful punished him by giving him only 76.7 per cent of the vote, barely more than Mr. Landry got on Saturday.

Mr. Bouchard stayed on for another five years before making his dejected exit. Mr. Landry chose to go now. Already the movement is turning another Great White Hope, Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Québécois. But if Mr. Duceppe steps into the job, he will face the same questionable future. After more than 30 years of exile, the separatist cause is flat, and no one has the slightest idea how to get out.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

50 per cent plus one?

I find it extremely ironic that Bernard Landry believes he needed greater than 76.2 per cent to lead a provincial party (Landry's Exit Creates Political Vacuum in Québec — my fine article, June 2). Yet, if a Québec referendum were held, he also believes a vote of 50 per cent plus one would have been enough to break up Canada. JOHN MANNING, Calgary

Clear and present danger

What is wrong with our justice system (Sonia Homolka, Retired in — June 4)? Why can't we simply make her wear an electronic ankle bracelet (you know, like the wife Martha Stewart is required to "endure" until her home detention is over)? After all, based on Mr. Homolka's criminal history, shouldn't the police be tracking her? It's time our justice system become more concerned with the rights of victims and the public at large than a released prisoner's rights. BARBARA CANTILE, Toronto

False alarm?

Why is a British airliner heading from London to New York diverted to a Canadian airport after inadvertently broadcasting a signal indicating a hijack in progress, and kept there until being cleared to continue to the United States (British Jet Lands in New York — on-line edition, June 4)? Afraid of "friendly fire"? DAVID, Adelaide Cove, Nfld.

Testing one, two, three

Dating tape recorders (As The Tapes Unspool — editorial, June 4). They sure don't make em like they used to. Here's good old Gormant Grewal trying to be a good citizen and provide us with a copy of the tapes. But the lousy machine turns four hours of tapes into two hours. Then there's a "technical glitch" that erases some of the conversation. I feel sorry for this guy. They can't put a man on the moon, but they still can't build a reliable tape recorder. PAUL RICHARDS, Toronto

When the smoke clears

Thank you for your full centre page in Saturday's Books section on Juvie Beach and the poems from Sarajevo (We Fought Them On The Beaches, and an Inventory Of Losses). We visited England a year ago and stopped at Lincoln Carbo-

Flight of the Canadian

Roger Watson's ignorance regarding airline flight planning is painfully obvious (Fly Canada — letter, June 4). If he knew the additional costs involved in rerouting flights, he would probably be the first to complain about the higher fares. In an age when even school children know about jet streams, one wonders how he believes that the distance flown is the only factor to be considered. Airlines will often fly considerable extra miles to

take advantage of favourable winds or to minimize exposure to unfavorable ones. The object is to minimize flight time.

An added bonus in using U.S. airspace is that the air traffic control system there is much more sophisticated and requests for preferred routing and altitudes, both of which have a significant effect on fuel consumption and the ultimate cost of the flight. DAVID WALL, Chester, N.S.

John Ibbittson complains that the United States may enforce U.S. sovereignty in U.S. airspace, which has been used by Canadian airlines for years as a shortcut across Canada (U.S. No-Fly Roster May Swat Canadians — June 3). This kind of thinking is exactly why we don't have a four-lane highway across Canada; economic and jobs into the States to save time and money. It's time we started flying and driving in our own country instead of whining about the rules in America. FRANK HILLIARD, Grand Forks, B.C.

It's all in your head

The claims that organic food is safer do not stand up to scrutiny (Responsible in Perspective — editorial, May 31). A good example comes from the Food Standards Agency in the United Kingdom. Last year, it tested 86 organic curries and imports. All failed because they contained a known carcinogen at levels between seven and 30 times the allowable limit. In fact, food safety agencies around the world do not advise organic producers to advertise any safety claims. There is no evidence to support them.

Another myth widely heeded is that organic food is grown without pesticides, chemicals or antibiotics. A visit to the U.S. Department of Agriculture's national organic program list of allowed substances shows many widely used different. People may feel that organic food tastes better, but the facts are that it uses pesticides (naturally derived), chemicals and even antibiotics on some products. ROBERT WAGER, Malpasia University College, Nanaimo B.C.

Mystery of history

I salute Fatma Müge Göçek and her fellow Turkish academics for the unprecedented effort to undertake a conference on the Armenian genocide at Istanbul's Boğaziçi University that has now been postponed because of government pressure (Turkey Still Refuses To Confront Its Past — June 3). It is quite astonishing that, even as Turkey aspires to join the European Union, it persists in its official denial of genocide, despite the fact that many European states — as well as Turkish scholars at home and abroad — have officially recognized it. A few years ago, it would have been unthinkable to see this many Turkish historians and academics promote Turkish values consistent with international standards of human rights. This is truly an encouraging first step that en-

Members of the Regina Rifles

Keep an eye out for history.

rather in Turkey's own experience of *perestroika* as leaders to negotiate to join the EU. AMY HANCOFFAN, Aurora, Ont.

■ When you expect Turkey to confront its past, wouldn't it be fair to expect Armenians to confront their own past, too? Can you organize a conference on the Armenian genocide where our admiration for their courage in challenging the Turkish government's policy of denial. ANNE BARREMAN, Toronto

■ When you expect Turkey to confront its past, wouldn't it be fair to expect Armenians to confront their own past, too? Can you organize a conference in Armenia on the issues concerning their betrayal of the Ottoman Empire? SIMON TORUNGKULU, Istanbul

My kingdom for a source

Even the best journalists seem to periodically suffer from abrupt attacks about journalistic public reputation (The Question of Anonymous Sources And The Big Lesson Of Deep Throat — June 4).

Close editor-in-chief Edward Greenspon writes about recent statements reporting circulation "in chronic decline," media companies "increasingly concerned about an erosion of trust with their readers," and the failure of many newspapers "to keep pace with the changing expectations of their readers." Consoling all this, he warns us of the dangers of turning "a healthy process of introspection into obsessive hand-wringing." And rightly so. Only last month, a CBC poll measuring confidence in our leaders gave the following results for percentage of Canadians having a great deal of confidence or some confidence in political leaders: 35, religious leaders: 52, business leaders: 62, academics: 65. Not too bad, I would say. PETER FISHERBARTS, London, Ont.

What a wonderful world

I have never enjoyed a Margaret Wente column more than her white of the advance of age (The Footprint Of My Father — June 4). As a boomer on the wrong side of 50, I say welcome to the "golden" years. It may come as a surprise. Ms. Wente lists there is no fifty 30s or sixty 40s. You are getting old!

As a cancer patient who has lost his left eye and had his left facial features decimated and parts of his frontal lobe and scalp removed, I suggest they try a host of people who would gladly take your conditions as a substitute. The boomers have to accept they're advancing in age and realize it is part of the path of life. VICTOR G. HUGHES, Swifts, B.C.

Submissions to Letters to the Editor

should be exclusive to The Globe and Mail. To submit a letter, include name, address and daytime phone number. Keep letters under 200 words. The Globe reserves the right to edit for length and clarity. Fax: 416-593-5065. E-mail: letters@globeandmail.ca. Do not send attachments.

Tiananmen's shadow

During China's confrontation with Japan this spring over the legacy of the Second World War, Beijing demanded that the Japanese take responsibility for their brutal wartime treatment of other Asian peoples. Japan needs to face up to its history squarely. Said Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao.

If only China would do the same. Saturday was the 16th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre. On June 4, 1989, China's Communist regime dispatched troops to break up pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of defiant, patriotic Chinese were gunned down in cold blood. Far from facing up to that notorious crime, China's leaders have done everything in their power to suppress the memory of it.

They still insist that the Tiananmen protests were a "counter-revolutionary rebellion." School textbooks, if they mention the subject at all, say the government intervened to "restore calm." Yet Beijing has the nerve to condemn Japanese textbooks that gloss over Japanese atrocities during the war.

At least in Japan, people who protest against the government's handling of history are left alone. In China, anyone who challenges the official version of Tiananmen faces harassment or arrest. Former trade union activist Kong Xingping spent 15 years in prison last year for posting poems and articles on the Internet calling on the regime to reassess Tiananmen. Another man, Huang Qi, got five years in 2003 for hosting an on-line discussion that dealt with the massacre. A group tracked down the Tiananmen Mothers, which represents relatives of those killed there, faces constant surveillance and intimidation from security police.

Beijing revealed the power of its panache about Tiananmen when former premier Zhao Ziyang died in January. Mr. Zhao had opposed the Tiananmen crackdown and was purged from the leadership for his dissent. Spending nearly 17 years of his life under house arrest. The government-controlled media barely mentioned his passing, foreign broadcasts were blocked out and many sympathizers were kept from visiting his house to pay their respects. Several ministers later, authorities arrested a respected Hong Kong journalist, Cheng Chong-ho, who had tried to obtain transcripts of a series of secret interviews

with Mr. Zhao. Mr. Cheng is still in custody, kept from seeing his family and denied access to a lawyer.

"Should the world care? Beijing argues that Tiananmen and its aftermath are an internal affair and that foreign protests about an event 16 years in the past are "outdated." But its persecution of those who challenge the official version of what happened at Tiananmen says a lot about the nature of the regime that governs the world's most populous nation. Amid all the justified bleat about China's environmental and economic dynamo and potential would power, it is easy to forget that this is still — by nature if not capacity — a totalitarian state. The land of skyscrapers and cell phones is also the land about campuses and political prisoners. New York-based Human Rights Watch says China retains a "highly repressive state" where authorities routinely violate basic freedoms.

To get just one example, China has more journalists in detention than any other country (42 at the end of 2004). A dubious distinction it has held for six years in a row.

The hope that economic growth would bring political reform has proved a mirage. Though Chinese who don't challenge the government are much freer in their everyday lives than they were in the days of Mao Zedong, the regime is determined to maintain its monopoly on power and suppress any hint of opposition. President Hu Jintao, in office for two years now, has shown himself to be even more unyielding than his predecessor Jiang Zemin. In recent months, he has cracked down on scholars, the media, dissidents and Internet users.

Even if China were not a rising power, the outside world would be justified in denouncing these abuses. When fundamental rights are trampled anywhere, the whole democratic world has an interest. But China's rise makes it all the more important to speak out, for any regime that abuses its own people is bound to be a threatening presence on the world stage.

Lecturing Japan this spring, Premier Wen said that only a country that "takes responsibility for history" can play a constructive role in the world. If China's leaders really believe that, they should take responsibility for the slaughter at Tiananmen Square.

Members of the Regina Rifles

Keep an eye out for history.

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THE GLOBE AND MAIL

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Johnny can't read, and he's in college

They are an open secret on every university and community college campus in the country. Their presence is an embarrassment to everyone, including themselves. They are the barely literate — students whose skills in reading and writing fall often mathematically low. Some universities are trying to reach them; most leave remedial programs, though very few are mandatory. But Canada's education system on the whole expends little energy talking about how many of them there are and what should be done about them. It is the problem that dare not speak its name.

It is easy to see why. The average high-school mark needed to enter this country's universities is 69 to 64. The universities and colleges are bursting at the seams. To admit the presence of substantial numbers of students struggling with basic literacy is to tarnish a success story. But Canada's unwillingness to address this problem, head-on, does not do the young people any favours. They are being set up for failure.

How have the students come to be so far from such weak skills? There are two possible answers: The school system didn't know of their weaknesses, which would amount to inexcusable ignorance; or the system knew and shielded them along ways, which would be both lazy and dishonest.

The problem is being left at the front door of the universities, when it does not belong. Some take a firm approach. The University of Waterloo, which offers mandatory, year-long remediation for those who fail a proficiency test, says some students in the remedial program received 90s in English in high school. Twenty-five per cent of students in the university's proficiency test in writing were under 40 at the University in Burnaby, B.C., will give English tests next year to all applicants who score less than 80 in high-school English; those who do poorly may be turned away. The University of Ontario has hired two full-time statisticians who keep track on the student body and approach the needy to ask if they'll accept help. (Last year, 2,500 students used the services of the writing help centre.) But on the whole, while most universities have remedial programs, the approach is hit-and-miss.

Some may argue that there have always been barely literate post-secondary students, and they may be right. There are some data, even today, on the extent of the problem. But that is because Canadian educators aren't facing up to this issue. In the United States, educators speak openly about it. In the fall of 2003, 26 per cent of freshmen enrolled in public or private colleges showed a lack of fluency in at least one remedial reading, writing or mathematics course, the National Center

of Education Statistics reports. These courses are widespread. Seventy-six per cent of degree-granting institutions offer them.

Public and private colleges in the U.S. take a much tougher approach than Canadian schools. Roughly 60 per cent of U.S. colleges have tests for all entering students; the vast majority of schools with these tests require those in need of help to enroll in a remedial course. And 40 per cent of professors surveyed by the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California at Los Angeles said modern students they teach lack the basic skills they need for university. Not since, most.

And in Canada? It seems no one wants to know. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada can't begin to estimate how many students have remedial problems. "I don't how you'd tell that," an AUCS spokesman said last winter. The knowledge-gatherers disclaim knowledge about or responsibility for what is happening. Under their rock. Perhaps the AUCS could ask the U.S. National Center for Education Statistics how it knows that about 600,000 freshmen were enrolled in reading, writing or math remedial courses in 2000. (Hint: It asked for the information.)

What should be done? First, all levels need to admit there's a problem. Consider the grade inflation. In Toronto, the public school board boasts that 43 per cent of its graduating class are Ontario scholars — students who have at least an 80 per cent average on a full course load. It seems an empty boast. There is little honour in being on the honour roll any more.

The 25 schools used to do a better job of identifying those with weak skills and making remedial help available to them — before they graduate. Only Ontario insists that its high-school graduates pass a basic literacy test. Ontario's test is hardly stern stuff. It is not to make a level of difficulty. Perhaps the provinces need exit exams (only a small number have them now). All provinces need to demand more of their students, and give them the tools to meet the demand.

As for post-secondary schools. In an era of grade inflation they should consider whether they need proficiency tests, and whether they need to be more insistent on equipping weak students in remedial programs.

It may seem as if the students are fooling the system. But the real question is whether the system has fooled them. If the universities and colleges suspect these students' lacking lack of fluency for post-secondary school, and yet still take their money, should it be called stealing?

Quality child care also provides the foundation for a productive future work force. A solid body of research has convincingly demonstrated that good-quality daycare enhances children's school readiness at age six and their subsequent school performance through out elementary and secondary school. This finding holds true for children from all socioeconomic levels.

GILIAN DOHERTY, adjunct professor, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ont.

New Canadians

Raising immigrant quotas to more than 300,000 annually may well turn out to be a cruel farce if more offers aren't made to help newcomers once they are here (Ontario Set To Announce Immigration Overhaul — Sept. 24). This includes providing them with integration skills and recognizing their qualifications. Already, income levels among immigrants are far lower than national averages and most fail to catch up even after they've been here for years. It's not enough just to open our doors. If we don't invite people to sit down to the table. FRED SENGWELDER, Ottawa, Ont.

Tick, tick, tick

Re Europe's Ticking Bomb (Sept. 23): Owen Bennett-Lewis suggests that Canada must learn from the attacks on the United Kingdom and Netherlands that multiculturalism is fragile and fast changing — however, these insights entrenched it might appear. The reality is that the forced multicultural-



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Daycare debate

Readers should be reminded that Margaret Wente writes an opinion column, not an evidence column and it's a good thing. It is her grasp of the evidence on the effects of early learning centres on children under five and its potential for autism-building is weak at best (Henry's Coat? Help Us, Guelph — Sept. 24).

Hundreds of studies show that nations with high-quality, universal, early learning programs perform better than other nations in standardized literacy and numeracy tests. The positive effects of early learning centres are fewer children with special needs when they get to primary school and teachers who are trained to a higher level in their class. This leads to better students, more satisfied parents, better value for money for the community, and school districts that are more attractive to firms and families contributing to the economy.

If that's not nation-building, I don't know what is. JAMES DUNN, Burlington, Ont.

Contrary to Ms. Wente's claims, good quality, affordable child care is essential for Canada's competitiveness now and in the future. In the present, it enables parents to engage in the labour force. This allows low-income parents to exit social assistance, increases the availability of workers, and increases government income tax revenues.

Quality child care also provides the foundation for a productive future work force. A solid body of research has convincingly demonstrated that good-quality daycare enhances children's school readiness at age six and their subsequent school performance through out elementary and secondary school. This finding holds true for children from all socioeconomic levels. GILIAN DOHERTY, adjunct professor, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ont.

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ism that is so prevalent today is in fact one of the many problems facing society. By showing multiculturalism, down our collective throat, an ever-widening divide among different groups and factions of society is being created. It's easy to live with the belief that complete multiculturalism will lead our diverse nation into a state of shared ease; however the reality is that making multiculturalism mandatory may only serve to entrench the segregation of various ethnic groups. It is of paramount importance that general common values, belief systems and rights are shared by all in order to create the essential feeling of "oneness". JENNIFER BURNESS, Guelph, Ont.

A beacon of hope

How very fitting that you dedicated significant space to profile Chubbick MP (Sept. 23). She and his fight against cancer (Strahl? Determined? Keep Talking Politics — Sept. 24). I met Chuck several times while working as the executive assistant to the base commander of CFB Chilliwack and, despite a greater than average disregard to politicians of every party on my part, he was like a beacon of hope for our political system.

He is soft-spoken but passionate, caring but determined to do what he knows to be the right thing. If only our other politicians could take a look at him and try to emulate what comes so naturally to him: to live his life guided by basic tenets of honesty and service. CHRIS CUKRAN

Just watch her

Re Just Watch Me (Sept. 24): I am new to Canada so forgive my ignorance. Please tell me that "The Globe's "Hampson interview" entails, as it did in the article on Sophie Grégoire, i.e., "Mrs. Justin Trudeau" writing from the perspective of a journalist, say, in 1980, or so. The shallow and saccharine piece on Ms. Grégoire makes her sound like a Victorian cut-out doll. "Drink this woman up, Canada, Polak, self-possessed, funny and spirited," writes Sarah Hampson blather. Am I the only one who thinks that sounds a awful lot like another political, or is it and virginal blonde who married a dashing heir to a throne? KELLY ANTHONY, Waterloo, Ont.



Sophie Grégoire is like Canada's new princess?

Under sunny skies, although rain was forecast, "Take a sigh from tonight," asks Sarah Hampson. Sophie replies, "I totally believe that. It was meant to be. Because what Justin and I share is real and simple, and when there's so much love, I believe in energy. So all this is connected."

This typical New Age thinking is totally devoid of logic or reason. Are we to believe that weather is ruled by our heart's desire? The connection between weather and feelings is that some human beings look for signs in nature that mirror their moods and outlook and draw self-centred conclusions that make them feel powerful and in control of their environment. Comforting perhaps, but totally groundless. DAVID SCHAFER, Toronto

The Queen's donation

In response to your editorial "Why Reveal The Money" (Sept. 23), it is argued that charitable dollars should be used for an organization's own good works or, if not sent to another charity, the Queen's Board of Trustees took the view that David Kadler's guilty plea compromised the integrity of the gifts made to the university. In light of this, the return of the funds was intended to protect the integrity of Queen's University, which surely comprises "our own good works".

"In retain the funds in this particular case would have violated the fundamental principles upon which Queen's University is based. The fact that a plea of guilty was entered to a charge of mail fraud brought into question the integrity of the gift. It was deemed no longer in the best interests of the university to retain the gift and accord the recognition.

These particular facts are, specific and the university does not believe that it has opened itself to pressure to review other gifts. Contrary to what the editorial suggests, the funds used to return the gifts came from general university resources and not from donations. The university felt that, in the case of Ms. Kadler's donation, the failure to return the gift would call into serious question the public's respect for the university. GEORGE H. HOOD, Queen's University, Kingston.

Trust issues

Finance Minister Ralph Goodale's uniformed generalizations and other irresponsible remarks concerning income trusts (Note to Goodale: It Can Be A Healthy Thing For Companies To Share The Wealth — Sept. 24) resulted in billions of dollars being removed from the net worth positions of millions of Canadians. How ironic that one of the huge leaders of a political party that has wasted countless billions of taxpayer dollars for its own self-aggrandizement is now expressing concern about the insubstantial possibility of the loss of a few hundred million. He should be removed from cabinet and resign from Parliament. Hopefully, those millions of citizens will remember which party to hold accountable 36 days after the Gomery report is released. JOHN MURPHY, Bala, Ont.

Last week's ill-avised shot by Ralph Goodale crossed the bow of income trusts was introduced to address \$500-million in tax revenues last year. Instead, it managed to destroy millions of dollars of income trust value in one week, all of it eventually taxable.

Since income trusts have become the investment of choice for retirees who do not benefit from the kind of job pension or Income Minister can expect to receive, many will interrupt his remarks as a direct attack on their livelihood and savings. This will surely be reflected in their votes next spring. WERNER SPIEGEL, Kingston

Christie's city

Re Toronto's new Rex. You're pathetic (Sept. 24). I read Christie Blatchford's article about Toronto being pathetic and two thoughts kept coming to mind — her friend's total hatred of Toronto, which made me wonder if her friend has a life, and Ms. Blatchford's whining that she can't stand it here. Well, Ms. Blatchford, there is a solution — join your friend in Calgary. STEVE LUNA, Toronto

It's not that drinking designer-ettes, driving SUVs and talking on cellphones (unless done "under the hood") are inherently wrong. It's that some Torontonians, and others, think that maintenance of these amenities constitutes the real world. LENORE SHEPPARD, Toronto

Christie Blatchford's rant against Toronto reminded of that old joke: How many Torontoians does it take to screw in a light bulb? Just one. He holds it while the rest of the world revolves around him. GREG HOOBARTE, Mississauga

To Christie Blatchford's series of questions I would add, why is it that Ms. Blatchford is so completely outbalanced by Alberta arrogance that she hasn't the sense to see that Calgary is the new Toronto, filled with pride and self-satisfaction in its imagining that rugged and brilliant in civility, and not the blind luck of having been born to the black staff, but built its towers, now awash in their own creeping tide of latte? WILL TOMLINSON, Striding, Ont.

Dear Russell

To Russell Smith (Suits You — Sept. 24): Okay, I've thrown out my fancy pack, dried spectacles and Incoek fishermans' caps (and unfortunately, I have several of them). What I want to know is in my makeover as a truly daring guy, should I wear urdies under the sarong I've just purchased? JOHN ARMSTRONG, Toronto

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Turkey muzzles speech

It is still a crime to speak freely about the past in Turkey. Earlier this month a Turkish prosecutor charged leading journalist Urban Pamuk with denigrating the Turkish identity, for having said, in an interview with a Swiss newspaper, that the genocide killing of Armenians in 1915 is a historical fact. On Thursday, a Turkish court tried to ban an academic conference on the events of 90 years ago. It also made an outrageous demand to review the credentials of each participant at the conference.

The freedom to think loses meaning if a person can't speak his thoughts and share them with others. Mr. Pamuk is sometimes mentioned as a possible Nobel laureate. His most recent novel, Snow, was lauded by Margaret Atwood in a front-page New York Times Book Review last year. Speaking up, as he has done, may

shape the thoughts of others. Those others may in turn have something to say. The freedom to inquire into a nation's past is closely linked to the freedom to think.

The genocide is, as Mr. Pamuk says, a historical fact, well-established in diplomatic cables and news dispatches at the time. (Canadiana were so impressed they made an exception of their discriminatory immigration rules and took in 100 Armenian orphans in the 1920s) and affirmed since then by independent historians.

Mr. Pamuk's willingness to challenge the official truth is one encouraging sign of change. Another is that the academics that the court wished to silence said they would go ahead anyway at a different venue. As Turkey presses on with its bid to join the European Union, it will find that the country is increasingly buffeted by currents of thought it cannot control.

Toronto's trash troubles

Michigan is moving ahead with plans to ban Ontario garbage from state dumps. Good, if Toronto can't ship its garbage across the border any more, it may actually have to devise a realistic plan for dealing with the stuff itself.

As it stands, Toronto alone sends 120 trucks a day trundling down the highway to Michigan because it claims it has no place to put its city garbage. Loading or unloading in the wide open spaces of Ontario's hinterland, these trucks never overfilled a sensible proposal to ship the city's garbage to an abandoned mine in northern Ontario.

The whole issue is surrounded by misinformation and hysteria. Some common sense is needed. Maybe Michigan's move will wake Ontario up.

garbage. Burnaby, B.C., has a big incinerator that has been operating for years with few complaints. Yet Toronto politicians, including Mayor David Milip, refuse to consider such a "dirty" solution. Building new landfills is another option. Modern landfills trap escaping gases and fluids, causing little or no damage to the environment. The only barrier is NIMBY-ism. The not-in-my-backyard mentality has prevented governments from considering new landfills in the wide open spaces of Ontario's hinterland. The province over-averaged a sensible proposal to ship the city's garbage to an abandoned mine in northern Ontario. The whole issue is surrounded by misinformation and hysteria. Some common sense is needed. Maybe Michigan's move will wake Ontario up.

Family diary ignites distant passions

Charged with insulting Turkish identity and army, publisher faces jail time

BY LEVON SEVUNTS, MONTREAL

When Dora Sakayan first published her grandfather's diary in Montreal, she had no inkling that 10 years later it could land someone a half a world away in court, facing as much as two years in jail.

But then, she never dreamed that her grandfather's diary, an eyewitness account of the events in which several members of his family perished, along with 30,000 Greeks and Armenians at the hands of Turkish nationalist forces in 1915 to 1922, would ever be published in Turkey.

Ragıp Zarakolu, a prominent Turkish publisher and human-rights activist, dared to translate and publish Mrs. Sakayan's book, *An Armenian Doctor in Turkey: Garabed Hachetian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1912*. Now, he is charged with insulting the armed forces, Turkish identity and the memory of Kemal Atatürk, the iconic founder of the Turkish republic.

"I was very worried and upset that he is suffering because of me, because of my book," Mrs. Sakayan said during an interview over a cup of Turkish coffee and homemade sweets in her downtown apartment. "But he calmed me down, saying that he sees this as his calling, to use the courthouse as a platform to speak out on human rights, the rights of Turkey's ethnic minorities and as an opportunity to fight historical revisionism."

Mr. Zarakolu has a track record of defying Turkish authorities. He was imprisoned for three years for his activism in 1971 by the military junta. In 1977, Mr. Zarakolu and his now-deceased wife, Ayşe Nur, founded the Belge (The Document) Publishing House, which has been a target for Turkish censorship laws ever since. The couple was imprisoned, their books were impounded and they were forced to pay heavy fines. In 1995, their offices were firebombed by a right-wing group.

Mr. Zarakolu's legal troubles began because Turkey officially denies that the massacres and deportations of the Armenian population of Ottoman Turkey during the First World War constituted genocide. That puts Turkey at odds with the majority of genocide scholars, as well as more than 20 parliaments,



Dora Sakayan, photographed in her Montreal apartment, had no idea that the translator of her grandfather's diary could wind up in jail. The journal presents an eyewitness account of events that led to the deaths of 30,000 Greeks and Armenians at the hands of Turkish forces.

including Canada's. The Armenian question has been a talon protected by Franco-Turkish censorship laws in Turkey.

What irked the Turkish authorities most about her book is that it deals with massacres perpetrated by some of the founders of the modern Turkish republic, not by Young Turks, which was the case between 1915 and 1918, Mrs. Sakayan said.

In his defence statement during the first court hearing in the case on Sept. 21, Mr. Zarakolu said Turkey owed an apology to Mrs. Sakayan's grandfather, a Turkish citizen and a decorated military doctor, who served his country despite the Armenian massacres.

"Publishing this book can be counted as part of that apology," Mr. Zarakolu told the court. "The accusations that the book insults the Turkish national character or the Turkish army are totally unfair. All these events really happened. Flaming things will not change anything."

Mr. Zarakolu is also facing two different criminal proceedings related to another book on the Armenian genocide that he published and a critical magazine article he wrote about Turkish policy toward Iraqi Kurds.

The trial for the magazine article is set for Oct. 11, and he is due to return to court on Nov. 22 for the hearings on Mrs. Sakayan's book.

The case of Mr. Zarakolu comes at an embarrassing moment for Turkish authorities as they prepare to start negotiations for eventual membership in the European Union. Abolishing their censorship laws is one of the preconditions for Turkey joining the EU.

Yet despite some changes to the penal code, about 90 Turkish writers and publishers are facing trials in Turkey, said Kjell Olaf Jensen, president of the Norwegian PEN Centre, which has been closely

monitoring the trials.

Among them is the world-famous Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk. Mr. Pamuk will be brought before an Istanbul court on Dec. 16, 2005. He faces as many as three years in prison for a comment published in a Swiss newspaper earlier this year, in which he criticized the Turkish position on the Armenian genocide and the Kurdish issue.

"I find the whole thing completely absurd," Mr. Jensen said. "Are these the same authorities who want Turkey to become a member of the EU?"

New rules assure Iraqi constitution will pass

Critics complain of vote fixing

BY ROBERT F. WORTH, BAGHDAD

Iraq's Shia and Kurdish leaders quickly adopted new rules over the weekend that will make it virtually impossible for the country's constitution to fail in the coming national referendum.

The move prompted Sunni Arabs and a range of independent political figures to complain that the vote was being fixed.

Some Sunni leaders who have been organizing a campaign to vote down the proposed constitution said they might now boycott the referendum on Oct. 15. Other political leaders also reacted angrily, saying the change would seriously damage the vote's credibility.

Under the new rules, the constitution will fail only if two-thirds of all registered voters — rather than two-thirds of all those actually casting ballots — reject it in at least three of the 18 provinces.

The change adopted during an unannounced vote in parliament on Sunday afternoon, effectively raises the bar for those who oppose the constitution. Given that fewer than 60 per cent of registered Iraqis voted in the January elections, the chances that two-thirds will both show up at the polls and vote against the document in three provinces would appear to be close to nil.

"This is a mockery of democracy, a mockery of law," said Adnan al-Iraqi, a secular Sunni representative and a member of former prime minister Ayad Allawi's party. "Many Sunnis have been telling me they didn't believe in this democratic process, and now I believe they are vindicated."

The rule change could prove a serious embarrassment to U.S. officials in Iraq, who have spent recent weeks struggling to persuade Sunnis to vote for the constitution and even trying to broker last-minute changes that would make it more palatable to them. There was some confusion yesterday about the origin of the change. One member of Iraq's electoral commission said the commission had already made a similar ruling last month, while another member denied that. But Ali Dabaghi, a moderate Shia member of parliament, said there had been no public ruling until Sunday's vote.

Special to The Globe and Mail

New York Times News Service

Turkey, EU commence accession talks

Austria objects to negotiation terms

LUXEMBOURG

Turkey's long-awaited European Union membership talks were officially launched early today, after the bloc overcame Austrian objections to the terms for the negotiations.

"We have just made history," said British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw at a joint press conference with EU enlargement commissioner Olli Rehn and Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül. After four decades of knocking at Europe's door, EU leaders meeting in December gave the vast and populous Muslim country a date of Oct. 3 to start membership talks, but they were almost scuppered by Austria's demands Vienna had wanted Turkey to be offered something other than a full membership.

Deep public skepticism exists about whether the wealthy Western bloc will ever manage to absorb Turkey.

The opening ceremony was delayed until close to midnight by nearly two days of fierce wrangling over Austria and Turkish objections to the EU's proposed negotiating mandate, reflecting profound distrust on both sides.

"This is a truly historic day for Europe and for the whole of the international community," British Foreign

Europe-bound

Modern Turkey was founded in 1923. Turkey joined the United Nations in 1945 and in 1952 became a member of NATO. In 1964, Turkey became an associate member of the European Community. Over the past decade, it has undertaken many reforms to strengthen its democracy and economy, enabling it to begin accession membership talks with the European Union.



Government type:	Republic with parliamentary democracy
Population:	69,660,529
Birth rate:	16.83 births/1,000 pop.
Infant mortality:	41.04 deaths/5,000
Ethnic groups:	Turkish 80%, Kurdish 20%
Religions:	Muslim 99.8% (mostly Sunni), other 0.2% (mostly Christian and Jewish)
Literacy of total population:	86.5%
Natural hazards:	Very severe earthquakes, especially in northern Turkey

Source: CIA World Factbook, published online. Photo: AP/Wide World Photos

Secretary Jack Straw said after chairing about 30 hours of negotiations.

Mr. Straw said he was convinced the EU would be better off for wel-

"This is the start of a negotiation process. . . . It is going to be a long road ahead."

sh Gül, whose country has waited more than four decades at the European bloc's door, told reporters in Ankara earlier that a deal had been reached and that he was being to meet EU foreign ministers in Luxembourg.

Germany's Joschka Fischer, attending his last EU council meeting as Foreign Minister after the election defeat this month of Germany's ruling centre-left government, also saw strategic advantages.

The eastern Mediterranean will be crucial for peace in the 21st century, not only for Turkey, not only for the region, but for Europe as a whole," he told reporters.

Turkey, whose population is 72 million, now faces a mounting effort to adapt its political, economic and social system and implement 80,000 pages of EU law.

The EU also opened membership negotiations with Croatia early today, after the chief war crimes prosecutor for the United Nations reported Zagreb was co-operating fully in seeking a key fugitive suspect, diplomats said.

Agence France-Press, with a report from Reuters

Indonesia launches campaign to identify Bali bombers

BY JOHN AGLONBY, KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA

Indonesia launched a huge publicity campaign yesterday to identify the three suicide bombers who killed at least 22 people on the island of Bali on Saturday and to track down their accomplices, after detectives admitted they had few new leads.

A senior counterterrorism official said the investigation was focusing on the Islamist terrorist network Ja-

maah Islamiyah. Police spokesman Brigadier Soerjoko said investigators had yet to identify the bombers, despite pictures of their heads that have appeared in the press.

"We are now going to publish pamphlets with their information," he said. "We have also launched telephone hotlines. . . . We hope that we can identify them quickly so we can then find their accomplices who are still at large. The big question is: Who was the design-

er of this operation and who recruited the bombers?"

The head of the Security Ministry's counterterrorism office, Anasud Mihal, yesterday said it was "very likely" that the masterminds were Asyiah Ibrahim and Nourdin Top Malaysian bomb makers and IT operatives, or people close to them.

"We believe the investigation will head in that direction because there are many similarities with their previous operations," Mr. Mihal said,

pointing to the use of suicide bombers and the carefully co-ordinated attacks. He said officers had spoken to Nasir Abbas, a former IT operative who has given evidence against former colleagues.

Ben Sukma, a member of the investigation of Indonesian travel agents, said foreign counterparts were now wary after the second big terrorist attack in three years.

Guanlian News Service

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Considering Turkey as an EU member

Europe's welcome to Turkey this week had all the warmth of a father's front-door greeting to his daughter's latest boyfriend. Come in if you like, but you're not a member of the family — not now and maybe never. French President Jacques Chirac said it would take 10 or 15 years for Turkey to qualify for full membership in the European Union, it would have to undergo a "major cultural revolution" in the meantime. "Will it succeed? I cannot say," Mr. Chirac said. "I hope so, but I am not at all sure." European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso, nonetheless, said that Turkey's entry was "neither guaranteed nor automatic."

That was hardly the endorsement Turkey was looking for after more than 40 years of striving to enter Europe's economic and political club. Turkey originally applied to enter what was then the European Economic Community in 1959. In 1963, the EEC gave the mainly Muslim nation associate status, with the unspoken understanding that it would not seek membership in time. But it took until 1985 for the EU to accept even a customs union with Turkey and until 1993 to accept Turkey as a candidate for membership.

Last December, after endless talks and snarls, Europe's leaders finally agreed to commence membership negotiations on Oct. 3. That historic date has finally come, but only after last-minute dramas that underscored Europe's worries about admitting Turkey. Austria questioned Europe's ability to absorb Turkey and suggested that, instead of membership, Turkey should be offered a "privileged partnership" — a row back that indicated the Turks, whose thinking to finish one of talks ended only when the other European countries persuaded Austria to come round.

Why all the hand-wringing about Turkey, which has done so much to shape itself up for EU membership and wants so badly to join? Is it simple racism? Does a club of mainly Christian nations fear letting an infidel in the door? There is xenophobia in every part of the world, and Europe's recent troubles with terrorist and poorly integrated Muslim immigrants has brought out an innate fear of foreigners. But Europe's equivocation over Turkey has roots more complex than that.

Admitting Turkey is the right decision, and it is not an easy one. Turkey is a big, poor, Muslim nation. On present trends, in a decade it will be more populous than any existing EU member. That has implications not just for the EU's spending, which goes heavily to farmers of which Turkey has many, and lower-income countries of which Turkey is obviously one, but for EU politics. Would Turkey one day be able to outvote France or Germany, the EU's founders?

There are also legitimate questions about whether Turkey can fit into the democratic structure of modern Europe. This is a country that was virtually run by generals until very recently. There have been three coups in the past 45 years. As recently as 1997, the army intervened peacefully to bring down a government it didn't like. The country also has a hard time facing up to unpleasant episodes in its past. Only this year, when Germans were commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1915 genocide, Turkey's government was sticking to its hear-no-evil, speak-no-evil version of that event.

So Europe's worries about Turkey cannot be waved off as silly or groundless. The point is that Turkey is changing. Prodded by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkish legislators have voted to eliminate capital punishment, water down the powers of the generals, do away with special security courts, revise the penal code and allow the Kurdish minority to be schooled in its own language. As the date for the start of accession talks approached, Turkish officials were jumping through hoops to show their determination to reach European standards. Breaking a "taboo," authorities switched tack and allowed a conference of scholars to delve into the Turkish role in the Armenian genocide.

As even Turkish leaders will admit, the country still has a long way to go. Women's rights are poorly protected, policing methods are still backward and sometimes brutal, and the military still hovers in the background of politics. To make sure that Turkey raises its standards, EU officials are about to start an across-the-board screening of Turkey's policies in 35 areas ranging from minority rights to freedom of expression, to fairness in the courts. If EU officials find persistent breaches of the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law, they can call off membership talks.

But Europe shouldn't be patient. The prize at the end of the road is a big one, not just for Turkey but for the EU and the wider world. Admitting Turkey would forge a unique bridge between Islam and the West at a time when the two seem to be drifting apart. If a Muslim country like Turkey can make the transition to full democracy under the EU's guidance, it will show that attempts by the United States and other Western countries to foster democracy in the Islamic world are not as doomed as the critics say — an invaluable message at a time when many Muslim countries are showing signs of emerging authoritarianism.

If the EU opens the door to Turkey, it opens the door to reconciliation with the Islamic world. That is an end worth waiting for.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Losers on the CBC line

As we took off our picket signs to celebrate a victory for the "great unwaged," I saw just one giant face, a cameraman I worked with years ago, an outstanding craftsman (CBC) hurries to the show back on Air — Oct. 6). He told me the new overtime provisions in the collective agreement will mean a 15 per cent loss in income. "My lease pay is so low," he said, "the way I make any money at all is by getting double time after 12 hours of work on the long documentary shows away from home. I'd be much better off doing routine work for commercial TV."

But I don't think he'll jump ship. Many people at the CBC could be similarly affected themselves to the detriment of society. This lockout wasn't about money. It was about keeping the CBC a place where talented people will want to work and, yes, give their lives to. Creativity, commitment and public service. Some things are priceless. Everything else you can put on a credit card.

STEVE BRYAN, producer, CBC, Idaho, Toronto

PEN is mightier than . . .

I have been a member of PEN Canada for 20 years and have gladly contributed dues and my support toward its laudable effort to help embattled writers around the world. But, in offering an award to a literary hawk like Paul Williams Roberts (PEN Canada Names First Winner Of Courage Award — Review, Oct. 6), a writer with a blatantly questionable political agenda, PEN Canada is dishonouring itself.

A once noble organization has descended to the status of a propaganda vehicle. Regrettably, I have no choice but to curtail my membership.

DAVID SOJWAJ, Hudson, Que.

The Globe That Ate U.S. Tea

— editorial, Oct. 10 argues that giving Paul Williams Roberts the Paul Kidd Courage Award is an acknowledgment that PEN Canada shares Mr. Roberts's anti-U.S. prejudices. But didn't The Globe just contribute to that same tradition?

How else does one account for the prominence afforded the 3,000-word article by Mr. Roberts in The Globe (The Flagging Empire — Focus, Sept. 10)? That piece contained, unchallenged, the same outrageous claims that you now cite and describe as making "Michael Moore look mild by comparison."

PEN Canada ought to be ashamed of choosing Mr. Roberts for this award. But is The Globe the one to cast stones? ALANNO, Toronto

Methods you protest too much about Paul Williams Roberts

As his conspiracy theories about U.S. foreign policy, I do concur that his position that Washington may have created the terrorist threat to "have a national decision to replace the defunct Soviet Red Fleet" is over the top.

But it does seem very possible that the Bush administration's reaction to said terrorist threat, the "war on terror," is exactly that. This would be im-

possible for me to prove, but it is equally impossible for you to disprove.

(Of course if you do know how the most powerful military force in history can defeat an enemy in the shadows, I and many other folks would love to understand.) DAVID SMITH, Toronto

It is not "only to Canada"

that a writer such as Paul Williams Roberts could win a "major literary award." And the PEN Canada/Paul Kidd Courage Award is not a prize given for espousing beliefs held by Canadian writers, whatever those beliefs may be. Writers were not polled as with other literary prizes, the winner of this award was selected by a small jury. It is also not "only in Canada" that the decisions of juries are not universally applauded.

More important, it is not "sofly" the case that a writer does not have to have to mount strong criticisms within Canada, whether of the U.S. or anything else. This is called free speech, the practice of which is not always easy.

The Kidd award is for a body of work and is named for an integral journalist who demonstrated courage of many kinds in the course of his career. Mr. Roberts, who has repeatedly put his life on the line, is a worthy recipient.

CONSTANCE ROOPER, president, PEN Canada, Toronto

Boats flipping a coin

Mohamed Ghannay (The CBC Replies — letter, Oct. 5) says the Canadian Islamic Congress objected to the Liberal appointments of Jonathan Schmeidler and Leo Kolber because they are Jewish, but because they are "pro-Israel." He adds that, if one of the appointees had been Naomi Klein, for example, the CBC would have supported the choice. So, I guess that, as long as the appointees are vehemently anti-Israel, Jewish or not, they would be supported by Mr. Ghannay and the CBC.

How thoughtful. MARK BESOUDOU, Montreal

Just say no to beer bellies

It is heartening to read that the medical profession is on the verge of taking steps to diminish the serious threat posed by overextended waistlines (Waist Circumference A Vital Sign, Doctor Says — Oct. 5). The American Heart Association, for example, says "there should be a tap measure in every physician's armamentarium." Any



On tap: Why we're looking forward to the next checkup.

attempt to reduce the ever-increasing number of persons

(mainly men) exhibiting beer bellies is most welcome. CAMPBELL W. ROBINSON, North Vancouver

A "tap" measure in every physician's armamentarium?

Are we to assume that we must bring our own keg to the annual physical? DAVID ALLEN, Stirling, Ont.

Sounds like a plan

According to British Prime Minister Tony Blair (Blair Says Franklin Link Suspected In Attacks In Iraq — on-line edition, Oct. 6), "there is no justification for Iran or any other country interfering in Iraq." Many people have made exactly the same point to oppose the U.S. lockout in Iraq. Does this statement signal an imminent British withdrawal? JOSEPH MACCHUSI, Nantawaka, Ont.

History lesson

While telling us not to write off separatism, Lyndee Gagnon seems to write off much of Canadian history (Separatism: Don't Write It Off Yet — Oct. 3). Ms. Gagnon seems to forget the role that the Métis played in Manitoba's entry into Confederation, and that the treaties with aboriginals were at least as important as the Treaty of Paris as arrangements that built modern Canada.

She ignores the fact that we have diversified immigrant population long before the 20th century, and the role that groups such as Ukrainians and Chinese played in building the foundations of the country, in referring to Quebec as the homeland of what remains of the original French-speaking population. Ms. Gagnon seems to overlook the Acadian settlements of the Maritimes, and the Franco-phonetic communities of Ontario and Manitoba.

It would seem that, according to Ms. Gagnon, Canada includes only French- and English-speaking Canadians, excluding others such as Québécois. DEREK SIMON, Toronto

A matter of trust

Your article Elections Chief Would Share Data On Voters (Sept. 30) contains speculation by the president of the B.L.C. Civil Liberties Association that Statistics Canada "might be" given an equally burning need to share information with security forces. "I would like to assure Canadians that Statistics Canada would never release personal information, no matter who requests it and for whatever reason.

The protection of confidentiality is Statistics Canada's top priority, and the cornerstone of our statistical system. Our ability to produce information in the public interest depends on the co-operation of respondents to provide complete and reliable private information to our surveys and to the census. This co-operation is fragile since it rests on the public's perception of the integrity of our work. The promise of confidentiality, therefore, is a sacred one.

Releasing personal information would be illegal. The Statistics Act states that no employee of Statistics Canada can disclose any information in such a manner that it is possible to identify an individual person, business or organization. To act otherwise, even if one felt that it were defensible, would permanently alter the relationship we now enjoy with our respondents.

IVAN PELEGG, chief statistician, Statistics Canada, Ottawa

A dog's tale

ROY MacGregor is a talented scribe who embraces Canada's diverse vastness with compassion and humour. But he writes about himself when he writes about animals. Yesterday LA Times Humbling Chiapas, he lightened my morning with cat and chipmunk tales, underscoring his insight that animals can soften the edges of the human condition.

My 34-year-old mother now lives in the confused haze of dementia, but when our German shepherd leaves against her and puts her head on her lap, I see her whole body relax. She is conked again. Her world makes sense, if only for a few seconds. Then she asks: If I have spoken recently to her long deceased mother — I envision a long walk with the dog once the visit is over. CHY-THIA SAND, Toronto, Que.

What letter rot

The latest theory concerning the authorship of Shakespeare's plays (Was It Shakespeare? That Is The Question, Oct. 5) contains more holes than an old map of the Indies. The day-to-day realities of creating, rehearsing, acting and staging a play in Elizabethan London would have required a playwright who wasn't roaming Europe on diplomatic missions. Far from being a Tudor, Shakespeare's play would have required a playwright who was brilliant enough to write Hamlet from man for his works would not fool for long the elaborate spy network that the Tudors operated.

And the idea that the "Shakespeare" plays became more southern because Newell was in the Tower of London is laughable. First Tower guard: "I see Sir Eric is writing a play." Second Tower guard: "Not to worry. It's only in 'one for sedition and treason.'" MARK DEWOLFE, Halifax

Once upon a time . . .

E. Sorensen (Timeless Team — letter, Oct. 5) wants to know where God lived before the universe was created. It was about 14 billion years ago, in the centre of a black void. He was very lonely, and then He said: "Let there be light." KEN HIGSON, Kelowna, B.C.

It's a pretty good bet it was a lot like Toronto.

C. E. HOPPER, Halifax

Smoke and surpluses

When governments consistently ring up large budget surpluses, as the federal Liberals have done for years, it means taxpayers are handing over too much of their hard-earned money. The best way to remedy this problem is to lower taxes. Instead, Prime Minister Paul Martin has opted for a complicated rebate scheme that sticks like an election gimmick and may not put a single dime back in anyone's pocket. Worse, his government plans to enshrine the flawed dividend plan in law.

On the surface, Ottawa appears to be borrowing a page from the playbook of Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, who intends to hand every Albertan a so-called prosperity bonus of about \$400 in the wake of windfall revenues from the oil patch. This one-time payment is no substitute for real tax relief, but there is no disputing that it is politically popular. And at least Albertans know roughly how much money they will be getting. That is not the case with the federal plan.

Ottawa intends to divide unexpected future budget surpluses three ways — one-third for new spending, another third for debt repayment and the rest for tax relief. This harks back to the politically successful formula adopted by the Chrétien government, when Mr. Martin was fi-

nance minister. It remains a fiscally responsible method for dealing with surpluses. The formula would take effect only after Ottawa had set aside the \$3-billion emergency reserve in each budget. Such a cushion makes sense. It's what taxpayers after that raises serious questions.

The portion of excess surpluses designated for tax relief would first be applied as a credit on income-tax returns in the following calendar year. The year after that, the basic personal exemption would be boosted by that same amount. The problem is that it's impossible for taxpayers to know how much money they will be handed back in any given year, because the amount will be totally dependent on the size of the surplus. It will also depend on the government holding the line on spending during the fiscal year; it would be far more efficient and more productive for the economy to provide permanent tax relief instead, and to adjust government spending priorities accordingly.

Heading into the next election, the Liberals undoubtedly want to restore their reputation for fiscal discipline. But if Mr. Martin is such a fiscal disciplinarian, why does he need legislation of the sort designed to rein in profligate government? And why does his government continue to overtax Canadians?

Waiter, no weight

Some people enjoy in their beer. Some invent gizmos to spy on their beer. Two students at Germany's University of Saarbrücken have created a plastic coaster with sensors that gauge the weight of a beer mug and send a signal to

the bartender when the stock is empty and needs to be refilled. It's a natural progression, really. Until now, beer has come with a head. If the invention catches on, it will come with a heads-up.

Letters to the Editor

possible for me to prove, but it is equally impossible for you to disprove. (Of course if you do know how the most powerful military force in history can defeat an enemy in the shadows, I and many other folks would love to understand.) DAVID SMITH, Toronto

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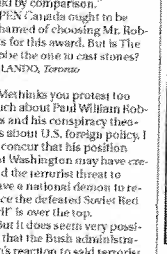
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FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION ONE MAN'S BATTLE

A writer fights the war of words

Turkey's Orhan Pamuk was charged with 'denigrating' his beloved country

BY CONSTANCE ROOKE

Last February, Turkey's most celebrated writer, Orhan Pamuk, told a Swiss newspaper that "thirty thousand Kurds and a million Armenians were killed in these lands and almost no one dares talk about it. Therefore, I do." This caused a furor within Turkey, with liberals defending Pamuk's right to free speech and/or the critical importance of speaking out about this particular matter, and reactionaries branding Pamuk a traitor, burning his books and issuing the anonymous death threats that have forced the writer to flee his country.

In general, the liberal camp passionately supports Turkey's bid for admission to the European Union, while reactionary nationalists forces fiercely oppose it -- and the terrible story of what has happened to Pamuk is strongly linked to this struggle within Turkey.

In July, the prosecutor's office in Istanbul determined that Pamuk's words were indeed protected by free speech. However, in late August, a district prosecutor laid charges against Pamuk -- a world-famous writer whose deep love of Turkey is palpable in all he writes -- and the furor became international. Liberal opponents and supporters of Turkey's admission to the EU were appalled, and the European Parliament launched an initiative to monitor the legal process against Pamuk. His trial on charges of "denigrating Turkey" is scheduled to begin on Dec. 16. Turkey's penal code cites a penalty of up to three years in jail for this offence, and one-third more if, as in Pamuk's case, the supposed insult was voiced outside Turkey.

The charge against Pamuk is in direct opposition to the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the European Convention on Human Rights. Turkey is a signatory to both. Liberals in Turkey are rightly concerned that worldwide attention to this outrageous charge, and suppression of debate on the darkest chapters of their country's history, may lead to rejection by the EU. A powerful minority of Turks on the far right, however, have welcomed it, and probably engineered the charges against Pamuk largely for that reason. The timing is certainly suspicious: Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan began his talks with the EU on Oct. 3, just over a month after charges were brought against Pamuk.

Writers around the world have



Orhan Pamuk will stand trial after speaking about Armenian genocide.

been quick to defend Pamuk and to express their outrage. Michael Ondaatje, for example, has issued this statement through PEN Canada: "Orhan Pamuk is one of the great writers of our time and is also one of the most generous chroniclers of the glories of Turkey and its culture. From *The White Castle* to *Snow* to his recent memoir *Istanbul*, it is clear that this is a writer who loves his country. That he should be accused of 'denigrating' Turkey and threatened with a prison term is shocking. It is an appalling example of censorship in a country seeking admission to the EU and clearly signals a lack of freedom of expression in Turkey."

Within Turkey, the battle for and against free speech continues. Last spring a group of Turkish academics tried to hold an international conference in Istanbul on the Armenian massacres of 1915. They hoped by 'owning' this issue to signal to the European community that Turkey is a maturing democracy, intent on protecting freedom of expression. But Turkey's Justice Minister called the conference "a dagger in the back of the Turkish people," and the con-

ference was postponed. Then the Prime Minister voiced his support for the conference, which was rescheduled for September so as to precede his talks with the EU. To the Prime Minister's great embarrassment, a last-minute court order again prevented the conference from starting. Organizers circumvented this by moving it to another venue, and the conference opened the next day with stormy demonstrations for and against it.

Turkey's Foreign Minister has "shocking" it is an appalling example of censorship in a country seeking admission to the EU and clearly signals a lack of freedom of expression in Turkey."

Moreover, as international PEN reports, despite a recent decline in convictions and prison sentences under laws penalizing free speech, there are currently over fifty writers and publishers before the Turkish courts. In several senses, Orhan Pamuk is not alone.

Writer and academic Constance Rooke is the president of PEN Canada.

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REPORT ON BUSINESS

Harper chasing ethnic vote with Air-India inquiry



JEFFREY SIMPSON

The judicial inquiry into the 1985 Air-India bombing called by the Harper government will serve no useful purpose, except as part of the Conservative Party's newfound determination to play ethnic politics.

Abs for the victims' families, some but not all of whom wanted this step taken, the inquiry under former Supreme Court judge John Major cannot answer the questions they pose.

It cannot, as Prime Minister Stephen Harper acknowledged, verify those already found not guilty in the 2003-2005 trial. Nor will it have the capacity or mandate to investigate the tragedy, such that new prosecutions might emerge.

So the understandable questions victims' families have asked about who perpetrated the crime will remain unanswered. The inquiry will not change this sad fact. Nor will the inquiry serve any useful purpose investigating the activities/weakness/errors of Canadian security agencies in the Air-India affair.

The tragedy occurred 20 years ago. Another two or three years will pass before Mr. Major reports. The agencies have already changed procedures they used two decades ago. Indeed, they would be

shockingly derelict in their duties but their procedures not changed.

If, as is probable, Mr. Major finds serious shortcomings in their work 20 years ago, the agencies will obviously and correctly reply that everything has changed since then. Such a finding would be like saying that the Finance Department used poor methodology in analyzing the economy in 1965, or the Defence Department bought the wrong aircraft two decades ago.

So, as in the case of answering questions about who did it, findings about problems within police practices two decades ago will be of academic interest only, since those practices will obviously have changed.

Therefore, the inquiry simply cannot do what Mr. Harper insisted: to find answers to several key questions that have emerged over the past 20 years. And even if some answers are found, they won't be relevant any more. It's too bad no political party had the courage to say so.

The previous Liberal government sponsored a full-blown judicial inquiry, preferring instead a more focused examination into these "key questions" identified by Bob Rae, now a Liberal leadership candidate. But Conservative candidates in British Columbia's Lower Mainland, eager to gain political points, went one step further and insisted that the Conservative platform include a promise to hold a judicial inquiry.

Judicial inquiries have a bad track record in Canada for timeliness and cost. The Somalia Inquiry rolled on for two

years; the Arar Inquiry hit its second anniversary in February with no early end in sight. Other invertebrate efforts included the Krewer inquiry into the blood system, the Hughes inquiry into the handling of protesters at an international summit meeting in Vancouver, the Arbour inquiry into the treatment of female prisoners at the Kingston prison.

Only the Arbour inquiry proceeded expeditiously. We can only pray that the Major inquiry will fulfill the Prime Minister's hope for a "focused and efficient inquiry." Precedents suggest the hope is foolhardy. As for costs, one news report has it that Mr. Major will be paid \$400 to \$400 an hour.

Speedy or otherwise, the inquiry cannot, by definition, bring "closure" for the victims' families by answering important questions, but it might do some good for the Conservatives in their targeted efforts to play ethnic politics — at which the Liberals had been undisputed masters.

Those savvy R.C. MPs and candidates also pushed the Conservatives to go beyond the Liberal promise to Chinese-Canadians to remember officially the health tax imposed on a few of their ancestors and to provide money for commemorations.

The Conservatives have trumpeted that Liberal policy by agreeing to pay money to people and offer an official apology. We now await the reaction of the Indian and Ukrainian associations, which settled for less with the Liberals. Will they be happy if their grievances are treated differently?

Another fact. Last month, the Prime Minister recognized on behalf of the gov-

ernment of Canada the Armenian "genocide" of 1915 in Turkey, the cause celebre of Armenian associations around the world. Neither the United States nor Britain have taken this course, although France and other European countries have.

The previous Liberal government had wisely refused to support this campaign. Prime Minister Paul Martin and Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham pleaded unsuccessfully for the Liberal caucus to vote against a private member's motion recognizing the "genocide."

To no avail because many Liberals voted for it, as did Conservatives. A bunch of Conservative MPs thought their party's vote didn't want to embarrass their party's then-foreign-affairs critic, Stockwell Day. Moreover, they reported, Mr. Harper worried that the party had to spruce up its image among ethnic minorities. A vote for the Armenian cause *collaboris* might help.

Another fact. This week's budget cut the Right of Permanent Residence Fee from \$975 to \$490.

All these moves, when considered together, suggest the Harper Conservatives intend to contest vigorously the Liberals' dominant position among multicultural groups. Unnecessary judicial inquiries, formal apologies, financial payments and official recognition of events long ago are policies that go beyond even what Liberals, the past masters of ethnic politics, contemplated.

jsimpson@globeandmail.com

The things that happen to Keith



REX MURPHY

I read this week that Keith Richards had fallen out of a palm tree. It was reassuring. Good old Keith. I thought, still rockin' through life, still with a "leggett" locked, in a life ever worked, between his lips, on tour with Sir (Stratocaster) lagges — no Sir for Keith — and still finding time to get up a palm tree somewhere so he can fall out of it.

Things happen around us, or with Keith Richards that don't happen to the whole boring galaxy of super-celebrities, and they always have. There's not a self-respecting palm tree in the world that would drop Paul McCartney, for example.

Keith wasn't badly hurt. I understand. Updates mentioned a concussion — how could they tell? — and there was some early talk of an operation to drain blood from his head, which wouldn't have been a novelty to Keith. In a way, that's what he does for a living.

Apparently, however, that wasn't necessary after all. I'm glad they didn't have to bore. Certain cranial should be left un-mimed.

Some people say Keith Richards hasn't aged well. What they mean, of course, is that in the great conge line of Photosed, breast-sculptured, personal-trained, South-Beach-sleeting, yoga-practiced, old-age-prophetic, health-and-fitness-enthusiasts whose nipped and ticked faces gargle out at us from the front covers of the celebrity magazines — Keith Richards refuses to hop in sequence.

What they mean when they say he hasn't aged well is that he's actually aged, while they, chained to vanity and self-delusion, have tried to put surgery and silicone between them and mortality. They've made the food's bargain. The hell will fall, and a hundred face-peeks won't mute the summation.

The wild, abandoned years have washed over Keith Richards and he's well-worn every splash, and welcomed, too, every line and dent that hard days and long nights have given into that ironic laughing face.

I like him because he's not healthy. When others are sucking extract of seaweed to cleanse their colons, he's outside — probably up a palm tree — having a smoke.

Every time he walks by some deluxe spa — where inside the already super-pampered are toning their muscles, or tripping their abs, or tanning their waxes, or snatching their way to "wellness" (seriously, is aromatherapy a joke?) — he must bless himself to ward off the foily whim.

I like him because he knows who he is. When the present front-row Mick Jagger strided, where Sir Elton and Sir Paul and Sir Bob Geldof had preceded before him, into the meretricious embrace of the British honours system, and accepted knighthoods, it was plain that Keith who was the real rock star that day.

"I don't want to step out onstage with someone wearing a coronet and sporting the old ermine," Keith told British music magazine *Chic* in an explosive 1978 interview. "I told Mick it's a palmy honour. ... It's not what the Stones is about, is it?"

Ah, to have heard the epithets, but "palmy," you'd agree, is perfect.

I like him, too, because he seems to be cause-phobic. No chance of Keith Richards showing up in PEI or Newfoundland some day, shading himself under the blimpish canopy of Pamela Anderson's hyperinflations, to plead the cause of the seals and chimps. No chance of him showing up wearing a Kabala trinket to "raise our consciousness" on the declining pitch of the howler monkey, or whatever happens to be the cause of the work in a Pre-Ex-ite with the Chairman of the Board, Larry King.

I liked it, too, when he declined the world-wide exhibition of the supermodels and the superhit when they gave of their glamorous time to the *Chic* History. He asked the right questions and made the right remarks.

To *Uncut* magazine, he said: "I mean, who's this gratifying and where are the Africans? Where was their say? Referring to the pressure on him to participate, he said, "Oh yeah, all the Sirs had a laugh, believe me."

"All the Sirs had a laugh." There's a T-shirt slogan worth a million. "I care" wristbands. All the Sirs, the *Chic* and *Grays* of rock geriatrics, are caricatures of themselves.

Hocking to the palace for tea, japped in ermine (bush oil scrub), gushing their good will for the world's poor — then back to their castles to check on their gold.

So it is good to hear that Keith Richards is still falling out of trees. He may be the only one in the whole parade of what we deliriously call rock icons who still keeps some honest sense of abandon — which is the heart of music, rock and roll or otherwise — and who doesn't worship his own battered identity. The rest of them are pharaohs and possessors. But Keith Richards is in a palm tree all by himself. (Or as the case may be, just beneath one.)

Rex Murphy is a commentator with CBC-TV's The National and host of CBC Radio One's Cross-Country Checkup.



AN ILLUSTRATION BY THE GLOBE AND MAIL

See mommy run (to the Conservatives)

Liberals have lost touch with traditional families, but Stephen Harper knows what to do



MARGARET WENTE

Carolyn Bennett, who's running for Liberal leader, put her foot in it this week. She went on TV and called the Conservative approach to child care "spiteful," then added: "There's actually no plan for every learning and child-care spaces. So it's a good job they're putting more money for prisons in the budget, because we're going to need them if we don't get this early child-care right."

The unnamed bloggers were not amused. "Should we just hand over our kids now?" asked stay-at-home mom Sara, who identifies herself as one of those "non-working dependents." She added that beer and popcorn make her bump.

With Ms. Bennett on the scene, Stephen Harper needs no further boost from me. So I will merely comment on his superior political astuteness, which is plain to anybody who can do the math. You can fund expensive daycare spaces for 100,000 families. Or you can send cheques to 1,800,000 families. You can do

a lot for a few people, or a little for a whole lot more. It's not a child-care policy, and it's not good tax policy either. But hey! It's ever popular.

Stay-at-home moms are suffering a barrage of insults these days. Not only do the liberals think they don't count, but their attitude is hurting the economy. So says Linda Duxbury, a business professor at Carleton University. She warns that a conservative, "ward cleaver" attitude is bad for Canada, because if the moms don't go back to work, economic growth will stagnate. According to Ms. Duxbury, the answer is universal daycare.

The unspoken assumption here is that any mother in her right mind would rush back to work, if only she could. In fact, Linda Hishman, a U.S. law professor, argues that for women with a higher education, staying home is a total waste. You're overqualified for mothering, and you are also betraying the hard-won gains of feminism. It's time for women to reject, once and for all, the outdated notion that they bear the ultimate responsibility for home, health and kids. "Nice a baby," she advises. "Just don't have two."

Ms. Hishman says the only satisfying life is in the world of work. "It is impossible for interesting, intelligent women to be fulfilled at home," she maintains in a now-notorious article published in *American Prospect*, a liberal magazine. Her verdict on stay-at-home moms:

"Their description of their lives does not sound particularly interesting or fulfilling."

Traditional mothers are, of course, looking back. The most notorious of these is Gillian Flanagan, who's only technically a stay-at-home mother because she's also a famous writer. She happily confesses to being the one in charge of home and health and her twin sons. She calls herself a fleeing liberal who thinks liberals have "let the Republicans have complete ownership of the image of the traditional family." Canadian liberals should take note. They used to own the family platform, but Stephen Harper has stolen it out from under them.

Ms. Flanagan, who is a wonderful, funny writer, makes liberal women crazy. For example, she thinks women should realize that their husbands will never learn to pick up their socks — stop nagging them about it, and have more sex with them. She claims that kids don't give a damn if their mothers are fulfilled — they just want them around. In other words, she's a realist. She says that something is lost if mom goes to work and something is also lost if mom stays home. Sex herbas no illusions about the alleged joys of work. The workplace culture these days is fearfully competitive and often toxic. It can make impossible demands on parents. Who *wouldn't* want to stay home with the kids for a few years, if you had the choice?

As fed up as she is with liberals, Ms. Flanagan is not one to romanticize the joys of motherhood. She confesses that long stretches of it are tedious and dull. "In the end, what did my boys gain from those thousand days they spent with me before school took them out into the larger world?" she wonders in her new book *It Hell with All That*. "Nothing it seems to me, of any quantifiable value — no head start in life assuming their some prize that former studies the children of working mothers. All they gained was an immersion in the most powerful force on Earth: mother love. And perhaps there is something of worth in that alone. My own parenting credentials, I readily confess, are rather slim. I grew up with a working mom. She used to do freelance typing at home with me on her lap. I was proud of her, and sometimes I resented it when she wasn't there. I grew up and started a career, and when my mommy alarm eventually went off, there was, at the time, no husband material in sight. I contemplated the inspiring example of Murphy Brown, and decided she was completely wrong. And so I never did have kids. Even so, I violently disagree with Ms. Flanagan. I think little children need their mothers, even if their mothers don't particularly need them.

Kidding from my mind, no subject is more loaded than how we raise our kids, and how other people do. The decisions we make about marriage and family, sex roles and parenting, arouse more emotions, more guilt, and more ambivalence today than they ever did. Are today's kids better off? I honestly have no idea. But I do know this: if politicians treat traditional families with contempt, they will lose them.

m.wente@globeandmail.com

VITA AUCTORIS

Karen Ashford was born in 1986 in Windsor, Ontario. She graduated from the University of Western Ontario in 2008 with an Honors Specialization in Media, Information, and Technoculture. She is currently an MA Candidate in the Communication and Social Justice program at the University of Windsor.