

2012

# "The Globe"'s representation of the Armenian genocide and Canada's acknowledgement

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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

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2012

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## ABSTRACT

The Armenian genocide of 1915–1918 was the first of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Armenians and Europe**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 102<sup>nd</sup> 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 indifference<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 placed<sup>2</sup> 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.

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<sup>2</sup> 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 90<sup>th</sup> 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 disorganized by recent defeats. (1915, February 3). *Globe* [Clipping from The *Globe and Mail* Archive], p. 11.
- Turks hard pressed in Armenian fight. (1915, July 13). *Globe* [Clipping from The *Globe and Mail* Archive], p. 3.
- Turks murder without mercy. (1918, April 15). *Globe* [Clipping from The *Globe and Mail* Archive], p. 7.
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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*.  
*Globe*, p. 2.
- 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.
- August 8, 1916. *War summary: The report that the Turkish Ministry has resigned*. Globe,  
p. 2.
- 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.
- June 30, 1917. *To-day's war summary.* Globe, p. 2.
- May 8, 1917. *Turkey wants an "honorable peace."* Globe, p. 6.
- May 15, 1917. *Remember the Armenians to-day.* Globe, p. 6.
- May 17, 1917. *Notes and comments.* Globe, p. 5.
- October 1, 1917. *College staff killed by axe.* Globe, p. 7.
- December 28, 1917. *The menace of a German peace.* Globe, p. 4.
- January 11, 1918. *The Turk must go.* Globe, p. 4.
- January 26, 1918. *The Destial Turk.* Globe, p. 5.
- February 2, 1918. *Cruel Turk swaggers in unspeakable barbarism.* Globe, p. 19.
- February 8, 1918. *Death warrant for 2 millions.* Globe, p. 3.
- February 12, 1918. *Famine in the Near East.* Globe, p. 6.
- February 18, 1918. *New chapter of massacres.* Globe, p. 1.
- 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.
- March 4, 1918. *More murders by the Turks.* Globe, p. 2.
- March 4, 1918. *To-day's war summary.* Globe, p. 2.
- March 15, 1918. *Turk troops in Erzerum.* Globe, p. 1.
- 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.
- April 1, 1918. *Whole race in peril*. Globe, p. 2.
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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>

INTO "PATS" INJURED OR ILL. lore of That Corps ded; Two Canadians Die in Hospitals

Where do YOU Live?

You may not live in a musical centre where there are regular seasons of grand opera. You may be far away from any city where concerts are given by hand and orchestra. And yet with a Victrola and the wonderful repertoire of Records, you can, in your own home, hear the greatest artists and develop a better understanding of the world's best music than if you were privileged to attend such performances.



No Matter WHERE you live, a cash payment of \$5.00 takes a Victrola to YOUR home, direct from the Mason & Rich Victrola Headquarters.

We carry Victrolas in all styles and prices. The Mason & Rich Victrola Service is inaugurated with the view of making the possession of a Victrola, with vigor of body and naturally follows.

Thousands, finding coffee a hindrance, have struck it from their daily and now use

POSTUM

It contains a powerful irritant—caffeine (also in tea)—which first rouses the body as to unnatural speed, and then leaves them in a state of exhaustion. Result—weak nervousness, biliousness, headache, sleeplessness and many other ills and discomforts. Postum—made only of prime wheat and a bit of wholesome molasses—is a pure food—absolutely free from caffeine or any other drug or harmful substance. Postum has delightful flavor, and comes in two forms: Regular Postum—must be 15c and 25c packages; Instant Postum—soluble, made in the cup instantly, 30c and 1c. The cost per cup is about the same for both kinds. When you leave off both coffee and tea ten days and try Postum—and better

"There's a Reason"

Grocers everywhere sell POSTUM.

Canadian Postum Cereal Co. Ltd., Windsor, Ont.

THREE MEN KILLED: ABOUT 25 WOUNDED

Another Estimate of the Recent Casualties of the Princess Patricia's

(Canadian Associated Press.) London, Jan. 20.—Writing his parents under date of January 15, William Miller, drummer, Princess Patricia's Regiment, and one of the survivors of the 4th or 5th Battalion of the 1st Canadian Trench Battalion, writes: "On the morning of the 15th we started over to the front. I was very hungry, we were wearing the battle-dress, getting closer to the line, and we had to be very careful going into the trenches, as they were the most dangerous place. It must be done in the dark, and every precaution is taken to get in as quietly as possible. I am glad to say we got in without losing a man. The Germans hurt what we call 'light machine' which they threw into the air by hand, hitting up a radius of 100 yards. When we were going into the trenches we had to lie flat on the ground when one of these bombs was thrown in the air. If we moved the enemy would spot us and open fire. The Princess Patricia's was in the trenches for two days and two nights, getting relieved on the evening of the 17th for two days. We had three men killed and about 25 wounded."

GAINING BY INCHES

Paris, Jan. 20.—The German War Office this afternoon gave out an official communication reading as follows: "In the western areas of the war the territory between the Meuse and the Lippe was yesterday making better news than artillery exchanges. At Notre Dame de Lorette, southwest of Arras, a trench 200 yards long was taken from the enemy. Here two machine guns were captured, as well as a few prisoners. In one place the ground gained by us during the last few days amounts to 500 yards. "In the forest north of Bessines (Germany), in Alsace, our aircraft made good progress. Aircraft was taken by us, and we also captured two officers and forty men of the Alpine Division."

Thousands of Armenians Perishing in Caucasus

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Boston, Jan. 20.—The condition of 100,000 Armenians who have migrated from Turkish territory to Russian Transcaucasia, is described as deplorable in a telegram from the Central Committee for Armenian Relief at Yerev, received here by Miss Murray, Chairman of the Armenian National Defense Committee. The telegram was authorized by Catherine Suranlian, President of the Armenian Church, and bore the signature of Hovhann Manvel. "As a result of the war with Turkey, about 100,000 Armenians have migrated to the Caucasus to save themselves. The situation is extremely deplorable. Many are dying of cold and hunger. In order to save our people from ruin great assistance is necessary. In the name of those martyrs, we beg you to organize for collection of money. Address contributions to Treasurer, Director of Bank of Commerce, Yerev."

Selections From Simpson's Friday Bargain List

STORE HOURS: 8.30 A.M. TO 5.30 P.M.

Dress, Coat, Skirt and Suit Bargains

15 Dresses at \$1.00.—Taken from our regular stock, made from good quality lengths serge, in black or navy, or soft wool shepherd's check, combined with navy or black. Smart styles for the season or a few smart dresses in the lot. Regularly \$2.00 and \$1.50. Friday bargain \$1.00.

Women's and Misses' Suits, \$2.50.—Suits for smart figures in man's wear serge, blue and heavy woads; colors black and navy; straight skirts and untwisted coats, with lined! skirts full with pleats; sizes 27 to 27. Regularly \$12.50. Friday bargain \$2.50.

The Misses' Suits are in navy and black serge and chevron, in Norfolk, blouse and untwisted skirts; face and pleat skirt; sizes 16 to 20. Regularly \$12.00 to \$15.00. Friday bargain \$2.50.

News of To-days Selling

Advance price in the market for other goods of 1914 to 1915. The market for goods of 1914 to 1915. The market for goods of 1914 to 1915.

Persian Lamb and Black Fox Furs at Less Than Half-price

25 Persian Lamb Suits, wide shoulders, long fronts, made from prime whole skins without removal of hair. Regularly \$10.00, \$12.00 and \$15.00. Your choice Friday \$5.00.

Embroideries

25,000 Yards of Cambria Embroideries, immense variety of patterns; new and clean; 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 inches wide. Friday, per yard \$2.00.

The Robert Simpson Company, Limited

Single Agricultural Society was held here with a good attendance. The Treasurer's report was adopted as satisfactory. The following officers were elected: President, William Fleming; First Vice-President, Albert Hill; Second Vice-President, J. J. Lavery; Auditors, J. H. Shannon and R. A. McCready; Secretary, J. M. Young; Treasurer, W. D. McLaughlin.

WINE WELLINGTON BARRICADES

Wellington, Jan. 20.—(Special.)—The annual meeting of the Wine Wellington Barricades was held here with a good attendance. The Treasurer's report was adopted as satisfactory. The following officers were elected: President, William Fleming; First Vice-President, Albert Hill; Second Vice-President, J. J. Lavery; Auditors, J. H. Shannon and R. A. McCready; Secretary, J. M. Young; Treasurer, W. D. McLaughlin.

WELLAND SHIPPERS' COVENANT

London, Jan. 20.—A Central Convention of the Welland Shippers' Covenant was held here with a good attendance. The Treasurer's report was adopted as satisfactory. The following officers were elected: President, William Fleming; First Vice-President, Albert Hill; Second Vice-President, J. J. Lavery; Auditors, J. H. Shannon and R. A. McCready; Secretary, J. M. Young; Treasurer, W. D. McLaughlin.

# The Globe

VOLUME LXXXII

TORONTO, THURSDAY, JULY 28, 1915—FOURTEEN PAGE

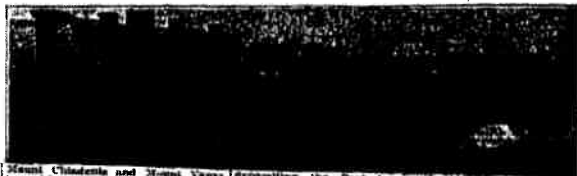
## TWENTY-SIX NATIONAL ARSENALS PERSIST AND TRIUMPH IS PREMIER ASQUITH'S

### GREAT BRITAIN RISES TO ARMY'S NEEDS

#### Extraordinary Provisions Made to Keep Men at the Front Supplied

Mr. Lloyd George's expanded list of the new factories are built the men.

### DRILLING TORONTO'S NEWEST BATTAL



## THE NEWS OF THE DAY

### CONTENTS

- Detailed weather report, page 6.
  - Great British rise in army's needs. War of endurance: victory ours, says Asquith. Leflier found guilty. Russian fighting out in battle of Warsaw. War summary.
  - Germanians active on west front. War summary (continued from page 1). Two more vessels sent by submarine. Leflier guilty (continued from page 1). General Leflier's new command. Hamilton news. Canadian committee.
  - Editorial.
  - Shortage of food in Germany. Chinese reports embargo on Canadian cattle.
  - 7-T. Toronto news. The Ottoman wreck improves. Railway work time-table.
  - 8. A sign for women. Many machine guns for Canadian forces.
  - 10-11. Minard's and commercial. Destroying in eastern Ontario is profitable.
  - 12. Condensed advertisements.
  - 13. Maritime news. D. U. R. sale proposed. Condensed advertisements (continued).
  - 14. Station robbery bill President. London to leave Mr. Robert Gordon. 8. African elections this year.
- TORONTO.**
- An Aene Club was formed at a banquet at the Walter House.
  - Ward Four Conservatives failed to give three machine guns.
  - The Minardians have been ordered to recruit to 1,500 men.
  - An unidentified man was killed by a train at the Union station.
  - About 875 men rallied at a special assembly in St. Paul's Park in the west end.
  - Word was received that Private David Moore had been killed while a prisoner of war in Germany.
- THE DOMINION.**
- W. E. Schulzfeld was elected by acclamation to Mayor of Redwood.
  - MAJOR E. J. GORDON, of Oreston, Ontario.

Mount Chindens and Mount Yama, but without success. Our Alpine attacked and carried part of the Austrian entrenchments in the Val Pielice.

"On the Carso plateau our troops spent yesterday reinforcing the important positions which they captured the preceding day. Our centre advanced and captured several trenches which were strongly fortified. It has been ascertained that the number of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5.)

### MASSACRE BY TURKS IS SPREADING FAST

**CHRISTIANS BEING KILLED IN ARMENIA AND ON THE PERSIAN BORDER.**

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

London, July 28.—The Earl of Crewe, Lord President of the Council, replying in the House of Lords to-day to a question by Viscount Bryce concerning the killing of Christians in Armenia by the Turks, said that information received at the Foreign Office showed that such crimes lately had increased both in number and in degree of atrocity. They included, he declared, both wholesale massacre and wholesale deportations, which were carried out under the guise of enforced evacuation. Similar crimes, he added, had been committed by the Turks against Christians on the Persian border.

The presence of the Germans and the influence they exercised had been, the Earl of Crewe continued, "an absolute and unmitigated curse, both to the Christian and Moslem population. They have shown a most complete cynical disregard for the country and the people who inhabit it."

The Lord President of the Council said he regretted that it was impossible to take immediate steps for the suppression of such atrocities, but that those responsible for them ultimately would receive just punishment.

dynamiting the Peabody plant at Walkerville and also of conspiring with Albert Katscholdt of Detroit and "one Schmidt" to destroy with dynamite other buildings in Windsor and Walkerville. The third charge, that of having dynamite in his possession, was quashed. The court withheld decision on a motion by counsel for the defence for a reserved case. It is expected an appeal will be taken to the High Court on the ground that the indictment against Leflier was defective.

Following the announcement of the court's verdict, Mrs. Leflier, who had sat in the court room all day listening to the different witnesses finished over to the prisoner's box and clasped him in her arms.

His Own International Contention.

Although fourteen witnesses in all testified in the case to-day, the confession made by Leflier to Provinski Officer James P. Smith on the night of his arrest was easily the sensation of the day.

After reciting the story of his early

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4.)

### NEW BRITISH NOTE

**IT WILL BE AMPLIFICATION OF ORIGINAL CONTRABAND NOTE.**

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

London, July 28.—The new British note to the United States, in the course of preparation, will be an amplification of the original American note which arrived in Washington Monday. It will take up the questions which have arisen since the first note was drafted.

**INVENTION BOARD WORKS.**

London, July 28.—(Special.)—It was announced in the House of Commons to-day that the new invention branch of the War Office is now in operation.

**COALITION IS REJECTED.**

Wellington, N.Z., July 28.—The Opposition to-day rejected the Government's proposal for the formation of a coalition Government in New Zealand.

Not Much Progress.

To the west of Warsaw announce the village of Piornow officers follow west of the city, so that it has been made up. There is a great deal and German officials cannot be reconciled whole, the British hopeful than for all (Italians will secure

### PARIS AIR PAVILION

**Aviator is Killed**

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(Special Cable Despatch)

Paris, July 28.—The Paris aeroplane on a to the earth shortly to-night. A passenger from the machine at onto the roof of a hotel Benoit, came down plane, but was burst form he could be seen. Thousands of people catastrophe, which occurred densely populated a square.

The machine took 1 of 750 feet. It was 12 the low aerodrome. Benoit reach the low ground not high enough. managed to swing the down in waste land at twisting the roofs of 1 signal posts of the bell dived earthwards amid and cries of the horrid The passenger was re roof and taken to the hospital in a desperate c

### Steamship Arrivals

From	From
United States.....	New York
London.....	London
Liverpool.....	Liverpool
Manchester.....	Manchester
Bombay.....	Bombay
Calcutta.....	Calcutta
Madras.....	Madras
Amoy.....	Amoy
Swatow.....	Swatow
Hankow.....	Hankow
Yokohama.....	Yokohama
Manila.....	Manila
Cebu.....	Cebu
Singapore.....	Singapore
Batavia.....	Batavia
Sourabaya.....	Sourabaya
Penang.....	Penang
Malacca.....	Malacca
Sumatra.....	Sumatra
Java.....	Java
Sulu.....	Sulu
Mindanao.....	Mindanao
Philippines.....	Philippines
London.....	London
Liverpool.....	Liverpool
Manchester.....	Manchester
Bombay.....	Bombay
Calcutta.....	Calcutta
Madras.....	Madras
Amoy.....	Amoy
Swatow.....	Swatow
Hankow.....	Hankow
Yokohama.....	Yokohama
Manila.....	Manila
Cebu.....	Cebu
Singapore.....	Singapore
Batavia.....	Batavia
Sourabaya.....	Sourabaya
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Malacca.....	Malacca
Sumatra.....	Sumatra
Java.....	Java
Sulu.....	Sulu
Mindanao.....	Mindanao
Philippines.....	Philippines

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# KELLY ASKED NORRIS TO STOP INVESTIGATION

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 4.)

“Premier, that if anyone should be punished for this work, the punishment should be paid for by the Government. He said he had to fight the whole fight and use all the weapons at his disposal. He insisted there were Liberals he could get at.”

Summonsed Chambers to His Office. Norris heard rumors of the payment of money and Chambers' name mentioned. He summonsed Chambers to his office. Norris was not permitted to tell of this interview, but stated that at no time had Chambers ever told him he got any money. Chambers never suggested he had been acting as Norris' agent.

Not a Party to Any Scheme. Cleveland Chiefs Iron Company of Cleveland, Ohio, built in 1912, and was of 1,873 gross tons.

## 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.—Vermonters 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 in its bottom with all hands. She carried a crew of sixteen.

The first hint of possible disaster was here received at the Soo this evening by Capt. H. Brown of the steamer Chocotaw, who reports having sighted a quantity of drifting wreckage of Precious Isle soon after day-break today.

“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 among 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.

The Chocotaw was a wooden boat of 280 feet, and was owned by the member of the Ontario Legislature, Rev. P. A. Jourdain. Her cargo consisted of coal, and she was bound for Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

She was taken up by Controller Thompson, and W. J. Saunders, Toronto. A collection for the Protestant Orphan Home, taken up by Controller Thompson, amounted to the sum of \$50.

The younger element, however, was more interested in sports. At 11 o'clock a lacrosse match was played between Sault Ste. Marie and Uxbridge teams, and in the afternoon the Sault Ste. Marie and Uxbridge baseball teams battled for supremacy. Tag-team matches, races, and many other sporting events were also held during the day.

## Canadian Casualties

### DAY LIST

Ottawa, July 12.—The following list of casualties was issued this morning: ROYAL CANADIAN DRAGOONS. Wounded—Capt. Wm. K. Legg, Vancouver, B.C. 2ND BATTALION. Prisoners of war—Pte. Arthur Thomas Kelly, Brockville, Ont.; Pte. Henry Hunsberger, Toronto, Ont.; Pte. Sam Steele, Edmonton, Alta. 3RD BATTALION. Prisoners of war—Pte. Frank William Miller, Stouffville, Ont. 4TH BATTALION. Died of wounds—Pte. Jack C. Crouch, Owen Sound, Ont. 5TH BATTALION. Suffering from gas poisoning—Capt. Walter William Duffell, Dorchester, Ont. 10TH BATTALION. Missing—Pte. Urie Isobell, Maple Creek, Sask. 15TH BATTALION. Wounded and captured—Pte. Frederick Malvern, Hamilton, Ont.

### NIGHT LIST

1ST BATTALION. Wounded, April 12—Harry Clark, England. 2ND BATTALION. Previously reported missing, now officially reported prisoner—Harvey W. Hunsberger, De Smet, Ont.; Stuart F. Hayes, Oshawa, Ont.; James Gordon, Campbellford, Ont. 3RD BATTALION. Wounded—Lieut.-Col. Ernest William Kenney, England. Previously reported missing, now reported safe—Charles H. Bates, England; Alfred J. De Patis, England. Previously reported wounded and missing, now reported safe—Albert Powell, H. H. 1ST BATTALION. Wounded—Marcel Fenwick, England; Joseph Crump, England. 2ND BATTALION. Previously reported missing, now officially reported prisoner—William J. Elliott, London, Ont.; William Langford, Station Postville, England; Pte. Harry Wain, Shropshire, P. E. I.; Corp. Charles French, England.

## Corns Instant Relief

Drop Out

Drop Out

Drop Out

Drop Out

Drop Out

## 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

## Manana

THIS is a favorite and fatal word much in use among the Mexicans. It means "To-morrow."

If one asks a Mexican to close a deal, he smiles and says, "Manana, Senor." This habit has made the nation poor.

"To-morrow" I will give you an application for a \$10,000 policy," said a contractor to a life agent a few days ago.

That "To-morrow" cost him his \$10,000, for she was a widow before the day dawned on which her husband intended to apply. If he had only said "To-day!"

No life on which other lives depend should be left unsecured for one hour. If in good health you can secure an ideal policy in

## TURKS HARD PRESSED IN ARMENIAN FIGHT

20,000 OF THE ENEMY CORPSES TREATED EAST OF RHYLA

(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

## The Mutual Life Assurance Company of Canada

Waterloo, Ontario

Secure a Mutual Life Policy TO-DAY







### SHOOTING ACCIDENT AT HAMILTON PARTY

#### Young Bank Clerk, Showing Revolver, Critically Hurt

### POLICE SERGEANT'S MISHAP

Node Bicycle Over "Embarkment in the Dark—Memorial Enveloped at Charlton Avenue Church to Mr. and Mrs. Ira Platt.

### Noted Italians Get Commissions

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)  
Rome, June 20.—The following commissions of prominent men as officers in the Italian army were published to-night: Guglielmone, Major, 1st Lieutenant in the Aeroplane Corps; Gabriele d'Annunzio, the poet, as a Lieutenant of Naval Landings; Prince Lanza di Scalea, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as a Lieutenant of Florence Lancers.

### ANOTHER DREADNOUGHT FOR U. S. LAUNCHED

Arizona Afloat as 75,000 People Cheer  
Great Scenes of Enthusiasm Attended Misting Ceremony in Brooklyn Navy Yard — Secretary Daniels Says California Will Come Next.

### FARMER AND WIFE GET DAMAGES FROM RAILWAY

AWARDED \$244 OF CLAIM FOR \$2,400—FARM DESTROYED BY ENGINE SPARK.  
(Special Despatch to The Globe.)  
Perry Sound, June 20.—In the Justice Court yesterday morning the whole session was taken in the hearing of the case Lawson v. Canadian Northern Ontario Railway, being an action for \$2,449 for damages to the farm of plaintiff from a fire caused by a spark from a locomotive. There was dispute as to the liability, but the question of damages was involved, and the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff for the sum of \$2,449. An action by George Seny for \$15,000 against the Canadian Chemical Company and the latter for injury while in the employ of the Chemical Company was commenced and will be resumed Monday morning.

### Navigation News

Collingwood, June 20.—(Special.)—The tugboat "Spartan" was wrecked on the rocks at the mouth of the Collingwood harbor on Sunday afternoon. The vessel was severely damaged. The cause was built to the order of the Department of Public Works, Ottawa. The vessel was built by the Collingwood Harborage, Ltd. The dimensions are: Length 177 ft., beam 22 ft., and depth 14 ft. She has 200 tons of cargo on board. It is self-propelled, and is equipped with a 100-horsepower engine. The vessel is owned by the Collingwood Harborage, Ltd. The vessel was wrecked on the rocks at the mouth of the Collingwood harbor on Sunday afternoon. The vessel was severely damaged. The cause was built to the order of the Department of Public Works, Ottawa. The vessel was built by the Collingwood Harborage, Ltd. The dimensions are: Length 177 ft., beam 22 ft., and depth 14 ft. She has 200 tons of cargo on board. It is self-propelled, and is equipped with a 100-horsepower engine. The vessel is owned by the Collingwood Harborage, Ltd.

### PORTUGAL'S NEW CABINET

Atque Castro Takes Office as War Minister  
Lisbon, June 20.—The new Portuguese Cabinet to succeed the Ministry which resigned June 16 is constituted as follows: Atque Castro, Premier, Minister of War and Minister of the Interior; Pedro Passos, Minister of Justice; Augusto Spars, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Norton de Matos, Minister of the Colonies; Manuel Monteiro, Minister of Public Works; Lopes Martins, Minister of Public Instruction. The posts of Minister of Finance and Minister of Marine have not as yet been filled.

### The Brightest Women Find

... sometimes that they are dull in mind, depressed in spirits, and that they have headaches, backaches, and sufferings that make life seem not worth living. But these conditions need not be only temporary. They are usually caused by indigestion or biliousness and a few doses of BEECHAM'S PILLS



### TURKS AGAIN ACTIVE ON CAUCASIAN FRONT

#### Fresh Troops and Munitions Enable Enemy to Resume the Offensive

(Canadian Press Despatch.)  
Tiflis, June 20 (via Petrograd).—Operations in the Dardanelles apparently are having no effect on Turkish activity along the Caucasian front. They are reported to have replaced in a comparatively short time the 9th Army Corps, which was captured by the Russians at Sarikamish. They also have received and supplied with ammunition the 10th Army Corps, which was seriously reduced in numbers at fighting and disarmament. The main Turkish concentration is being placed against Oltu, Yedigöller and Kizilirmak, which line the 1st and 4th Corps and which the 1st and 2nd Army Corps, which was defeated at Oltu, have been drawn up. In addition to attempting to prevent the Russians from withdrawing Erzurum, the Turks are undertaking offensive maneuvers. Kurd leaders who were responsible for Armenian massacres in the Van district have surrendered voluntarily to the Russians, and are being deported to the interior with their dependents.

### ARMED 244 OF CLAIM FOR \$2,400—FARM DESTROYED BY ENGINE SPARK.

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### TRINITY COLLEGE SCHOOL

Annual Games and Prize Distribution (Special Despatch to The Globe.)  
Port Hope, June 20.—The annual athletic games of Trinity College School were held on Friday on the grounds of the school. The games were a success and the school won the annual cup. The games were a success and the school won the annual cup. The games were a success and the school won the annual cup.

### COULD NOT GO TEN STEPS FOR THE PAIN IN HIS KIDNEYS.

When you get a pain in the back you may not know that it comes from the kidneys. It is often the kidneys that are the cause of the pain. It is often the kidneys that are the cause of the pain. It is often the kidneys that are the cause of the pain.

General Hughes Thinks Devise Would, if Modified, Be Effective.

## MURRAY-KAY, LIMITED

AN OPPORTUNITY TO PURCHASE FURNITURE OF TASTE AND QUALITY AT ASTONISHINGLY LOW PRICES

Here is a list of bargains in furniture of recognized high quality that merits careful reading and calls for quick action. Come to-day, if possible.

By taking advantage of such opportunities as these you can, at remarkably small expense, equip your home with beautiful furnishings, making the home livable and attractive with appointments that will reflect your good taste and judgment.

Whether you are furnishing a house throughout, or are merely looking about for an odd piece or two to complete the furnishing of a room, you should see our stock, and especially the articles included in this list.

- Dining Chair, No. 493—A set of six, including one armchair. These chairs are exceptionally well designed; made of solid oak, turned finish, with upholstered seats and backs covered with high-grade Spanish leather. Reduced from \$119.00 to \$63.00.
- Sideboard, No. 52—Well designed and well built, in solid quarter-cut oak in a dark fumed finish. Width, 4 ft. 6 in.; conveniently arranged with a long drawer for linen, a cupboard and six narrow drawers, two of them lined for cutlery. Regularly \$147.50 each, for \$85.00.
- Sideboard, No. 600—Another great bargain. This number is designed in a quaint early English style, built of solid quarter-cut oak, fumed. It has a long drawer for linen, a cupboard, two cutlery drawers and a roomy cupboard. Regularly \$149.00 each, for \$83.00.
- Library Table, No. 710—A fine reproduction of a handsome Jacobean Table now in the British Museum. The wood is dark oak fumed with shell. Reduced from \$119.00 to \$75.00.
- Ladies' Writing Table, No. 16—A dainty design on Sutherland lines, produced in satin walnut with narrow lines of white latex. Two drawers and a stationery rack are convenient features of this table. Reduced from \$119.00 to \$80.00.
- Mahogany Writing Table, No. 109—A well built table with three drawers and stationery rack. Regularly \$115.00, for \$75.00.
- Mahogany Writing Table, No. 127—Suitable for sitting-room or bedroom. A particularly handsome design, exceptionally well made and finished. Regularly \$21.00, for \$18.00.
- Solid Mahogany Dresser, No. 68—A handsome Colonial design built of solid mahogany, with one veneer waltzer. Regularly \$89.00 each, for \$42.00.
- Solid Mahogany Bedroom Suits—A handsome Period Suite, consisting of Dresser, Bedstead and Dressing Table, exceptionally well made and finished. Regularly \$149.00 each, for \$115.00.
- Bedstead, No. 6—An effective craftsman design, built of satin walnut. Full double size. Regularly \$27.50, for \$19.00.
- Twins Bedsteads, No. 7—Built of solid walnut, with richly marked bird panels and beautifully carved posts. Regularly \$250.00, the pair for \$125.00.
- Easy Chair—Our own make. A very comfortable model, with side wings to the back and self spring upholstered seat. Regularly \$23.00 each, for \$16.00.
- Daybed, No. 60—Our own make. A most useful article upholstered, with spring seat, lacquered arms and covering of strong denim. Regularly \$35.00, for \$20.00.
- Case for Table, No. 50—Built of quarter-cut oak, fumed, with apron turned legs. A most useful table for living-room, library or breakfast room. Top, when open, measures 4 ft. x 6 ft. Regularly \$45.00, for \$30.00.
- Electric Floor Lamp, No. 10—A craftsman design in early English oak, with art glass shade. Regularly \$25.00, for \$12.50.
- Library Table, No. 93—Folishly built of quarter-cut oak, fumed. Regularly \$14.50, for \$9.00.

### June Wedding Gifts

If you wish to select a wedding gift that will be sure of appreciation and will be not only beautiful but useful, suppose you decide on a choice piece of furniture, as, for instance, a wall mirror, a musical cabinet, a carved chair for the hall, a tea tray or a book rack. Such pieces abound in our stock, and many of them very moderate in price. If a handsome rug is preferred there is ample choice in the magnificent stock displayed on our Ground Floor.

### Refrigerators as Gifts

A very practical gift, and one that would make strong appeal to the housewife-to-be, would be that of a refrigerator. Selection is easy from the splendid lines we carry. The price range is wide, \$100, \$200, \$300, \$400, \$500, \$600, \$700, \$800, \$900, \$1,000, \$1,200, \$1,500, \$2,000, \$2,500, \$3,000, \$3,500, \$4,000, \$4,500, \$5,000, \$5,500, \$6,000, \$6,500, \$7,000, \$7,500, \$8,000, \$8,500, \$9,000, \$9,500, \$10,000, \$10,500, \$11,000, \$11,500, \$12,000, \$12,500, \$13,000, \$13,500, \$14,000, \$14,500, \$15,000, \$15,500, \$16,000, \$16,500, \$17,000, \$17,500, \$18,000, \$18,500, \$19,000, \$19,500, \$20,000, \$20,500, \$21,000, \$21,500, \$22,000, \$22,500, \$23,000, \$23,500, \$24,000, \$24,500, \$25,000, \$25,500, \$26,000, \$26,500, \$27,000, \$27,500, \$28,000, \$28,500, \$29,000, \$29,500, \$30,000, \$30,500, \$31,000, \$31,500, \$32,000, \$32,500, \$33,000, \$33,500, \$34,000, \$34,500, \$35,000, \$35,500, \$36,000, \$36,500, \$37,000, \$37,500, \$38,000, \$38,500, \$39,000, \$39,500, \$40,000, \$40,500, \$41,000, \$41,500, \$42,000, \$42,500, \$43,000, \$43,500, \$44,000, \$44,500, \$45,000, \$45,500, \$46,000, \$46,500, \$47,000, \$47,500, \$48,000, \$48,500, \$49,000, \$49,500, \$50,000, \$50,500, \$51,000, \$51,500, \$52,000, \$52,500, \$53,000, \$53,500, \$54,000, \$54,500, \$55,000, \$55,500, \$56,000, \$56,500, \$57,000, \$57,500, \$58,000, \$58,500, \$59,000, \$59,500, \$60,000, \$60,500, \$61,000, \$61,500, \$62,000, \$62,500, \$63,000, \$63,500, \$64,000, \$64,500, \$65,000, \$65,500, \$66,000, \$66,500, \$67,000, \$67,500, \$68,000, \$68,500, \$69,000, \$69,500, \$70,000, \$70,500, \$71,000, \$71,500, \$72,000, \$72,500, \$73,000, \$73,500, \$74,000, \$74,500, \$75,000, \$75,500, \$76,000, \$76,500, \$77,000, \$77,500, \$78,000, \$78,500, \$79,000, \$79,500, \$80,000, \$80,500, \$81,000, \$81,500, \$82,000, \$82,500, \$83,000, \$83,500, \$84,000, \$84,500, \$85,000, \$85,500, \$86,000, \$86,500, \$87,000, \$87,500, \$88,000, \$88,500, \$89,000, \$89,500, \$90,000, \$90,500, \$91,000, \$91,500, \$92,000, \$92,500, \$93,000, \$93,500, \$94,000, \$94,500, \$95,000, \$95,500, \$96,000, \$96,500, \$97,000, \$97,500, \$98,000, \$98,500, \$99,000, \$99,500, \$100,000.

### Key Store: 36 and 38 King Street West

### AMERIK America Under the

### WHITE S

### HOTEL ROYAL

### Children Cry FOR FLETCHER'S CASTORIA

### Household Economy

### Grimsby Steamers

### First Sailing WEDNESDAY

### WEST INDIES

### AM

### CUNA

### AMERIK America Under the

### WHITE S

### HOTEL ROYAL

### Grimsby Steamers





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 - Endeavor 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 roams supreme in the fields, 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. There is nothing on Bruce. 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 return of the "brudials" and the "fatted calf" was never fatter than he is in 1915.

PERIBLE MASSACRES OF THE ARMENIANS

(Canada Press Dispatch.) The "calf" never ate in better pasture in his life, nor did his mother. Looking over the fence to the drain fields, he was content to see the best winter than he had seen. 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 "fatted calf" is going to help pay for the new sink and the help of many other things. By Lake Huron Bruce is developing a fruit-growing section that for certain fruits will be unsurpassed in Canada. It is on the main line 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 forty) trees have not started to bear yet. However, the trees are all hardy. Cherries are the big fruit, as 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

Hot Weather Fatigue not caused by the heat. With digestion good and the body functioning properly, hot weather seldom bothers.

Grape-Nuts (MADE IN CANADA) It's an ideal hot weather food. It's a body-builder—delicious, highly nourishing and easily digestible. It's made of whole wheat and barley, and contains those mineral salts found in...

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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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 (Gowrie), Makin (North Easthope), Zimmerman (Stitterson), Martin (Mickell), Sam Smith (Ellice), Hocking (Lindsay), B. Z. Smith (Wallace), Wood (Jagan), Harris (Falconer), No: Councilors Krue (South Easthope), Armstrong and Yundt (Ellice), Kerr (Mornington), Colquhoun (Mickell).

RECIPE TO STOP DANDRUFF This Home-made Milling Staps Dressing and Fulfills Hair and Aids to Growth.

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

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

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Various small advertisements including 'CAN PA STEER', 'YORK MOTORS, LIMITED', 'CUNA', 'CALIF', 'DONA', 'AUST', 'HARVEST HELP EXCURSIONS', 'CANADA STEAMSHIP LINES LIMITED', 'MANY THOUSAND FARM'.







SCOUTS' BIG FIELD DAY OVER HUNTER VALLEY

760 Boys Engage in Lively Contests

RIVALRY AS MESSENGERS

"Scout's Honor is to be Trusted" Was One Message Borne With Success Through the Opposing Guard—A Profitable Day.

Over a country four miles in length and three miles in width 760 Boy Scouts from Toronto and other camps who were divided into two bands yesterday carried out the most successful field day that this district has ever had.

Between the Weston road and Boxley road on the line with St. John's road the Norths, 400 strong, and their headquarters, and in a circle 100 yards in radius the guard is not more than 30 Scouts were placed. The remainder of the force were despatched, bearing the message: "Scout's Honor is to be trusted," to get through a similar guard around the South's camp near Lambton Mills.

Participants in the game were placed on their knees to observe all the rules. It was not considered necessary to have the Scoutmasters over on the watch for disobedient boys. The Senior Scouts and Scoutmasters only were on duty to assist in previous years complaints had been made by onlookers that the Scoutmasters were much in evidence. This was not the case yesterday.

A Beneficial Day.

"I never saw a game work out better," said Mr. H. O. Hammond, provincial commissioner, who had a number of troops from the lower districts of the city and we got them out into the country for a day's ramble, which is the best thing that could be done for a field day. There are about 100 Scouts from the district of Toronto who are either at the front, in training in England or in training in Canada for overseas service," he continued.

The majority of them," said J. O. Kent, continuing this subject, "are members of the cycling, swimming or ambulance corps."

The Scouts met at the corner of Keele and Dundas streets at 10:30 a.m., and lunched near the Lakeside Golf and Country club before taking up their campaign. An Scoutmaster seen by another was considered captured when the enemy called "hands up," and had to sign on his arm. All market gardens, private property and the grounds of the Lakeside Golf Club were out of bounds and must not be trespassed on. Such advice as the following was placed in papers: "When climbing a wire fence do so at the post, and not to feed a river unless absolutely necessary. Any offence might be injurious to the Scout's health. Scoutmaster J. D. Adams is in command of the North and Scoutmaster McKelvie, the C.O. of the South. Lambton and Oakville Scouts also took part in the field day."

MUSICIANS WANTED TO PLAY FOR TROOPS

TORONTO HIGHLANDERS' BAND AT THE FRONT REORGANIZED—ARTILLERYMEN NEEDED.

Letters from the front indicate that the 15th Battalion (Toronto Highlanders) band has been reformed, and is playing to the troops with good effect when they go to rest behind the trenches. The circumstances of the band now being formed are startling themselves to secure the best possible musicians. Musicians, indeed, are becoming very difficult to secure in Toronto, and good players in outside towns are invited to communicate with the Toronto Recruiting Depot. On a recent day there were candidates for the band, including piano, bass trombone and euphonium players.

The 34th Battery, Garrisoned, is supplying 150 men for two overseas drafts and Major Macleod requires a like number of men to recruit up to strength. This is the battery which thirty-nine athletes left Toronto to join at the beginning of last week.

TORONTO BULGARIANS DECLARE FOR ALLIES

Mass Meeting, With Macedonians, Protests Against Action of Native Land in Support of Teutons—Most Would Join Battalion to Fight Germany

Would Fight For Allies

Toronto Bulgarians do not favor the action of their home Government in throwing in the lot of Bulgaria with that of Germany, Austria and Turkey. The Bulgarian Government's action was condemned yesterday at a meeting of the Toronto Bulgarians and Macedonians in a restaurant which was carried unaccompanied. The meeting was a large one and a large part of the Bulgarian and Macedonian population of Toronto was in attendance. It was held in the meeting room at 214, Park Street, and the pastor, Rev. Michael J. Andock, presided.

The resolution which follows was signed by all those present: "We the Bulgarians and Macedonians of the city of Toronto, whose names are appended here gathered here to express our gratitude for the hospitality which the Dominion of Canada has extended to us. And further, to show our loyalty to the Government, we protest against the present course of the Bulgarian Government in joining hands with Germany, Austria and Turkey against the Allies. Further, we declare our profound conviction that the highest interest of Great Britain and the Allies is that Germany, Austria and Turkey should be utterly crushed and that the Allies win the war. We hereby pledge our hearty support to Great Britain in the present conflict. We further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the police and newspaper press against the present course of the Bulgarian Government."

Bulgarians were in the majority at the meeting. Practically every hand

was raised when it was asked how many would join a battalion to fight against Germany. The mention of the name of Gladstone was greeted with enthusiasm by his remark, "Macedonia for the Macedonians." He remembered, Mr. Andock spoke in Bulgarian, and his address was interpreted for the press. He held the gathering that not only would Canada there were more liberty than in Canada. He declared emphatically that every man who was against Canada should be expelled accordingly. The country needed good, loyal men, and could not tolerate revolutionaries. The Bulgarian King, he said, should go back to Austria and play again with the Austrians. He declared that he would settle down to life in Bulgaria for the Bulgarians, Serbia for the Serbians, Greece for the Greeks, and Macedonia for the Macedonians.

Mr. N. Shortell, the official Bulgarian interpreter, also spoke briefly. He pointed out that they had been protected by Canada and he, therefore, he was loyal. The liberator of Bulgaria would be Russia. The Bulgarians would be loyal to their king and country and must respect the Government. There was no doubt about the fact that the Allies would win. The British Empire will give freedom to every nation and to the world.

Rev. T. T. Shields, pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, then read the police restriction which would be sent to those not in sympathy with Britain. There was no objection to an internment camp for such. They were loyal they were welcomed as good citizens.

GRADUATE OF KNOX ON TURKISH HORRORS

Rev. E. O. Eschoff Tells of Unspeakable Treatment of Armenians

Horror of the Turkish invasion of Mesopotamia are vividly described in a letter to Prof. A. I. Abbott of the University of Toronto by Rev. E. O. Eschoff, an Armenian graduate of Knox College, who left Toronto in January to go back to help his countrymen as he might be able. Mr. Eschoff describes the plains of Urmia. Just after the Russian had driven out the massacring Turks, and concerning his relatives also he says: "When I saw Mr. Eschoff I scarcely knew her. She had nursed and attended many sick people. My mother and sister who lived in Abadan, fled and found refuge in a Mohammedan house. My sister reached the city, but while my mother was riding to the station to see her, she was met by Kurds, who robbed her and beat her so that she fled from the boat for her life. The daughter of one of my brothers died from fear, and the wife of another died from the cruelty. 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 my brothers was taken to a village, his feet were cut off, and he was taken away. Two of his daughters, who were young and where his daughter-in-law were taken into slavery."

TORONTO VIRGIN FOREST WHEN SHE CAME HERE

Mrs. E. L. Allen, Pioneer of Yorkville District, Passes 83 Years Awaiting

Another figure of pioneer days in York county, in the person of Mrs. Elizabeth Allen, who has passed away at the old family home 12 Cumberland street, after a lengthy illness. Mrs. Allen was the youngest daughter of the late William and Mary Leck, who were pioneer settlers in York township eighty years ago. She built their first house on the very spot forty years ago. Mrs. Allen was born in 1832, and after living the greater portion of her life in the town of Yorkville, she spent that portion of York township becoming incorporated in 1883 by the name of Yorkville. She was the wife of the late George Allen, who died in 1888. She was a native of older Canada and after a long residence in Toronto it was changed to Ontario when it was changed to Ontario and when she was settled there that portion of the township was mostly virgin forest, and wild animals and game birds were very plentiful in the district.

The deceased lady was the widow of the late George Allen, a native of York county, who owned a carriage building and shoeing smith establishment on Xmas street in Yorkville. She was nearly fifty years ago. She is survived by an only daughter, Mary E. Allen, who

THANKFUL SPIRIT IS CURE OF PESSIMISM

BISHOP OF TORONTO REVIEWS CAUSES FOR THANK-GIVING

The Bishop of Toronto, preaching in St. Alban's Cathedral yesterday morning, took as his theme the cause of the thankful spirit, and he said that Pauline epistles. He said men were asking where was the room for thanksgiving to-day. He pointed to Canada's great harvest and prosperity. He said that the cause of the thankful spirit was the thankful spirit and the thankful spirit was the thankful spirit. He said that the thankful spirit was the thankful spirit. He said that the thankful spirit was the thankful spirit.

What should thank God that we have neither lost our souls nor our honor. The tremendous sacrifice of Britain's part is an indication of the Methodists' faith in the future. In a striking address at Metropolitan Methodist Church yesterday morning, Bishop of Toronto, speaking on "Duties to a Holy War," he said that the thankful spirit was the thankful spirit. He said that the thankful spirit was the thankful spirit. He said that the thankful spirit was the thankful spirit.

REAL PIANO BARGAINS. A square piano can now be purchased on terms of 50 cents per week. Y. J. White, 100 St. Nicholas St., Toronto.

WESTERN CANADA. The Great Trunk Railway System has issued a list of very low fares from stations in Canada to points in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan, good going each Tuesday until October 26, inclusive. "The National" leaves Toronto at 10 p.m. on Tuesday, October 26, through to Winnipeg via North Bay, without change. Connection in Manitoba to Regina, Edmonton, Calgary, etc. Home-coming tickets are valid returning from destination two months from date of issue. Further information obtainable from the Toronto City Ticket Office, north-west corner of York and Yonge streets, Phone Main 4298.

Try This If You Have Dandruff. A square piano can now be purchased on terms of 50 cents per week. Y. J. White, 100 St. Nicholas St., Toronto.

You See Things in a Different Light

Instead of spending a pleasant summer evening outside, we will now have to turn to our books for the lamp and winter nights. Brighten up those long hours with the soft, cheery glow of a "Ryrie" Reading Lamp, and they won't be "melancholy." Many sizes, from the daintiest of small Boudoir Lamps upward, range in price from \$10.00 to \$60.00. Some "Landscape" Lamps, with landscapes and similar scenes painted on the under side, so as to show softly through the translucent shade when the lamp is lighted, are particularly effective.

Ryrie Bros., Limited. HARRY RYRIE, President. TORONTO.

FIVE OF ONE FAMILY IN HOSPITAL WITH TYPHOID

MR. AND MRS. ERNEST COCKWELL AND THREE DAUGHTERS DRANK WELL WATER. The five members of the family of Ernest Cockwell at 21 Chambers street, in Ward 7, are all in the Western Hospital suffering from typhoid fever. Mr. and Mrs. Cockwell and two of their daughters are in the hospital, but the condition of Beatrice, aged 14, is still giving the doctors some cause for anxiety.

Speaking to a reporter for The Globe last night, one of the doctors in attendance upon the family said that the four young ones, when wells were in common use, whole families frequently found their way into hospitals, but since wells had been practically all closed up such cases are quite rare. Investigation in the Cockwell case has pointed to the five patients becoming infected through a contaminated well. All admit having drunk the water of Beatrice, aged 14, is still giving the doctors some cause for anxiety.

Quick, Safe Way to Remove Hairs. (Tillot Talks.) Keep a little dollops powder on your dressing table, and when using, apply a little of the powder and some water, apply and let remain on the hairy surface for 2 or 3 minutes, then rub off, wash the skin and the hairs have vanished. This treatment is quite safe, and does not irritate the skin. Application is required, but to avoid disappointment care should be used to buy the real dollops.

RAILWAYS. For Soo and Port Arthur. For Soo and Port Arthur. For Soo and Port Arthur.

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109TH REGIMENT SPENDS STRENUOUS FIELD DAY

SEVEN HUNDRED SOLDIERS FIGHT IN MANOEUVRES IN LAWRENCE PARK.

No city regiment spent a more strenuous day yesterday than the 109th, seven hundred of whom were under the command of Major W. G. Donick, last the Army Reserve. The morning and did not return till between 5 and 6 in the evening. The troops marched five and a half miles up Yonge street to the wooded slopes of Lawrence Park, which was reached at 10:30 a.m. The department did excellent work in feeding the regiment in less than three-quarters of an hour, and at 1 o'clock field exercises were engaged in. Two open-order attacks were carried out, one by the right half of the regiment under Captain Boehm and the other by the left half under Captain Robertson. The open-order work was carried on very successfully in conjunction with the signalling and machine gun section. The simulators in particular showed great efficiency. Major Donick and Major Robertson supervised the defence. The regimental canteen under Mr. Lewis acted as the canteen.

Department of Education, Edmonton

NOTICE TO TEACHERS

The Department of Education has established a Teachers' Bureau, with the view of providing a central office for the registration and recording of teachers' requirements and the issuing of certificates. Teachers who have not yet obtained single advice regarding the standing to which they are entitled in this Province should forward for registration any certificates held, together with a recent two-inch portrait photograph and all other necessary information to THE DEPT. MINISTER, Department of Education, Edmonton, Alberta.

AMERICAN COLLEGE

OCEAN NAVIGATION. AUSTRALIA Honolulu and South Seas. "VICTORIA" - 2000 tons. "QUEEN" - 1500 tons. "EMERALD" - 1200 tons. "SAPPHIRE" - 1000 tons. "DIAMOND" - 800 tons. "PEARL" - 600 tons. "JADE" - 400 tons. "GEM" - 200 tons.

DOUGLASS

Glasgow Passenger and Freight Service. From Glasgow. From Montreal. From Toronto.

THE IFRICA - 1000 tons. THE SOUTH AMERICA - 1200 tons. THE NORTH AMERICA - 1500 tons. THE WEST INDIES - 1800 tons. THE EAST INDIES - 2000 tons.

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SANTA WIPIN

MR. ELIAS JAMES DEAD. Was Formerly Superintendent of the York Roads.

Mr. Elias James, one time Superintendent of York roads when the tollage system was in vogue, 40 years ago, died yesterday at 6 Leamy avenue, in his 82nd year. Mr. James was widely known as a pioneer land surveyor and was one of the oldest members of the Ontario Association, also the York Pioneer and Historical Society. He was a native of New Brunswick. The York Colonization Co. claimed him as President. There survive two sons, D. K. and George, and one daughter, Mrs. George Vail, all of Toronto. The funeral takes place Thursday.

WESTINGHOUSE MAZDA LAMPS. Your Money Will be better in paying your lighting bill if you use Westinghouse Mazda Lamps. They give more light and better light for less money.

GEORGE J. BEATTIE. "The Electric Sign." 72 VICTORIA STREET. Phone Main 133.

TENDERS. Tenders for Debarment. Tenders will be received by the undersigned up to 8 o'clock p.m. on Monday, the 15th day of October, 1915, for the purchase of 125,000 lbs. of No. 10 Torpedo Torment. The lowest or any tender not necessarily accepted.

For Sale by Tender. The undersigned has been instructed to offer for sale a large stock of Unmanufactured Lumber.

TENDERS FOR SEWERS. Tenders will be received by registered firms only, for the construction of the Sewerage of the City of Toronto, at the following points: (1) From the intersection of the following sewer, viz.: (a) ... (b) ... (c) ...

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The men were told they need not take provisions with them; they would be fed on the way. Before their eyes the rows were then broken, and they were led to a large grassy already prepared and there killed with poison. Some escaped but were caught. "Kill us with your guns," they said as they were taken back. "Never," was the answer; "a bullet costs a hundred francs; you are not worth it; better as it is."

As for the women, they were sold in all the villages on the way to Mosul, so that at the end there were only left cripples, hunchbacks, and other deformed people.

"Have all the wild beasts of the world congregated in Constantinople," cried the Italian Consul at Trabzon after having witnessed day after day for a month scenes too horrible for description. "Such massacres cry out for the vengeance of all Christendom. If people know what I know, had seen what I have seen, and heard what I have heard, then all the neutral powers would rise against Turkey and cry anathema against that barbarous Government."

The neutral powers may remain inactive, but God is not dead. The monsters who have driven them into blood in the East will not escape their butchery. The Near East will be in the hands of the lands where Christianity spread to the western world. Christ, Jew, and Moslem will ere long lie in peace and unity. The new crusade has begun. It will continue to a triumphant end.

THE WAR MUNITIONS PROBLEM.

The statement publicly made by Mr. D. A. Thomas at Montreal cannot be dismissed by the bare counter-assertions of the Minister of Militia, because Mr. Thomas is in a position to know the facts to which he called attention, and Sir Sam Hughes is not. It will be matter for regret if the controversy between them is allowed to develop into a wrangle; it would be much better to proceed, without further public statements, with the absolutely necessary work of reorganizing the business of shell production, and no doubt this will be done on the arrival of two other British experts who have been sent for: Sir Frederick Donaldson and Mr. Lionel Hitchen.

It may be that the unsatisfactory condition of the shell production industry is due to causes easily eliminated by the application of expert knowledge and the possession of the necessary finances. Certainly the personnel of the Munitions Committee should be materially changed by leaving off all members who have any financial interest, direct or indirect, in any of the firms manufacturing munitions. At such a time as the Government who have any part in the making of shells should not leave themselves open to suspicion of either selfishness or inefficiency. In view of all the facts of the situation, so far as they are known to the public, the sooner and more thorough the reorganization the better for the Government in Canada as well as the army on the firing line.

ROADS AND TRADITIONS.

Tradition from savagery regarding curative and other agents is occasionally sustained by the investigations of modern science. One of the most remarkable instances in recent years is the discovery of medicinal properties in the skin of the toad. Shakespeare gives classic standing to the belief that a toad bears a precious jewel in his head, an idea originating through the brilliant reflection of moonlight and sometimes sunlight from the glassy spots that remain for a short time on a toad's head after he has shed and casten his outworn skin. From ancient times the Chinese have used a preparation of toad skins for the cure of dropsy, and the same remedy is used by them to the present day. They also use the skin of the toad to stop bleeding. These remedies, so long ridiculed, have been shown to have effective properties by Prof. John J. Abel, who contributes to "Science" an article on experimental and chemical studies of the blood. He has discovered that the skin of the South American toad secretes a chemical substance called adonin, which is useful for stopping the flow of blood in small operations.

THE CRUSADE HAS BEGUN.

It would be possible, says a correspondent of The Globe, writing from Buffalo, to form a regiment or army whose sole object would be to fight the Turks "if not for fate," he continues. "It does seem that a crusade should be started to put these maniac animals out of business. There are few who consider themselves white men who would not be glad to contribute in service or money if a way were provided. Unless the neutral world is suffering from degeneration it would support a crusade of this kind strongly."

Mr. Porter's sentiments are most praiseworthy, but they have not reached the proper address. They should have been directed to the White House at Washington. There are no neutrals on this side of the border. So far as Canada is concerned, the crusade against the Turk has begun, and will continue till the blood-stained monster is forced to take refuge in the remotest fastnesses of Anatolia.

The idea of fighting the Turks alone is fantastic. Behind the sands who have made a desert of Armenia and slain 300,000 men, women, and children during the past few months stands William of Germany, the new Salsica, in "shining armor." The Turk can play his bloody simitar in safety outside so long as German guns and German men with material and German officers are at his service. The moment German help fails the Turk will no longer be the curse of the Near East and the horror of civilization. The soldiers of the Kaiser before they can reach the heart of the murdering brute who has but repeated on a larger scale and with more frightful tortures the infamies of the Belgian campaign.

Of the few who warrant the utter destruction of Turkish rule there is no doubt. Lord Bryce, Ambassador Morgenthau of the United States, many American missionaries in Turkey,

either individual or nation, to laborers in the political organization of Mexico. He promulgated some years ago, as head of the Constitutional party, a program of political reforms, the most important of which were a scheme for the settlement of landless people on the portions of the public domain, and the establishment of efficient public schools. His announced intention now is to assume temporarily the part of a "dictator," and in that capacity to formulate his reform schemes and submit them for public approval before providing for the election of a President. Whatever may be thought of this method of procedure from the viewpoint of democracy, it stands a better chance of success than the premature and academic constitutionalism of Llado.

SALE OF STONEHENGE.

What Henry of Huntingdon in the twelfth century described as one of the four wonders of England has been sold for six thousand pounds. Ten years ago the site of Stonehenge, which has passed into the hands of Mr. Clubb of Salisbury, was the subject of litigation, and was declared to be the property of the Alrothra family. Some surprise is expressed in England at the failure of the American relic hunter to bid for the famous ruins, but the submarine party may have proved a deterrent.

Stonehenge has been visited during the past year by thousands of our Canadian troops stationed at Salisbury Plain. Divers theories are advanced from time to time regarding the date, the method, and the purpose of construction of the famous "hanging stones." One theory is that they were erected as a temple by sea voyagers. The horse-shoe formation of the stones, open towards the rising sun, and the position of the moonlight, known as the "Felix's flood," lend weight to this theory. Sir Norman Lockyer, the learned astronomer, after investigating the matter, came to the conclusion that the sun rose exactly above the spot in 1680 B.C. This he regards as the possible date of erection. On the other hand, there are some who hold that it was erected at a moment to the four hundred slain by Hengest, others contend that it came from Ireland, while some believe it to be the burial place of Boadicea. Its erection is variously attributed to the Romans, the Druids, the Pictishians, the Saxons, and the Danes. The weight of archaeological opinion, however, inclines to the belief that Stonehenge is a variation of the stone circles used as burial places by the inhabitants of Britain in the Bronze Age, and that its peculiar formation is of special religious significance.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Your King and country need you—now.

The French are experimenting the swing of victory at La Trappe.

China may make a dynasty while you wait. This leaves despatch in the laundry business a poor second.

The Germans will soon be convinced that the sinking of merchant ships by submarines is contrary to all the laws of warfare.

Manitoba will have a liberal program of legislation. It is too bad the people waited for a scandal to bring them good fortune.

It is getting near Holloway. Mr. D. A. Thomas, on behalf of the Minister of Munitions, is already asking Canada to "shell out."

Refusal to allow clock cleaners in local opinion municipalities will meet with general approval. Wherever we have prohibition it must be for all classes.

Payment of \$5,000,000 per week by the British Government to dependents of soldiers suggests some of the rearmings that that money is not lost, but merely changes hands.

When Monarche him self liberty hawks. And Canadian taxpayers are justified in a slight nervousness when Sir William enters Parliamentarians on a trip across the continent.

The next Technical School should be built in school fashion—convenient and inexpensive. The education imparted in it will be just as good even if it is not a cut-stone architectural triumph.

Reflections on the inability of the men in authority to let the able and idle produce wealth has caused alarm on the part of a contemporary poet the permission might actually be accorded. There seems no immediate danger.

The Trades and Labor Council of Berlin, Ont., has declared in favor of paying the \$20,000 to the Red Cross Fund now instead of paying a debt on by issuing debentures. The cash system has so few advocates that they deserve attention.

Engineers at Ottawa have a conference to devise means of obviating loss through defective work on Toronto harbor. Mischances would be more likely to succeed. Engineers may shift the loss and politicians may help them, but only magicians can obviate it.

BAPTISTS DISCUSS RURAL LIFE PROBLEMS

(Special Session of the O. G. S. in the O. G. S.)

London, Ont., Oct. 13.—Baptists from all parts of Ontario and Quebec are in annual session here tonight. The thirty-third convention will continue for a week. The meetings are being held in the Adelaide Street Church. Of the three hundred and seventy delegates whose names are in the hands of the committee, it is anticipated that the convention will be the largest ever held by the Baptists of these two Provinces.

The features of this evening's meeting were the President's address by Mr. James Hryta of Toronto, which was introduced by the pastor of the church, J. I. Boyd, and the welcome address by the Rev. J. I. Boyd, minister of the church, in behalf of all the Baptists of Ontario, commencing to-morrow evening. Rev. E. J. Mullins, S. L. D., president of the Southern Baptist Convention, will deliver the opening program for an address each day at 7 o'clock. Others who will speak to-morrow are the Rev. W. C. Graham, Rev. Dr. W. J. Cline and Rev. F. L. Lammie of Rochester, former pastor of the church, and the Rev. J. I. Boyd of the publication, Superintendant and foreign Missions Boards are members of the Rural Church.

The President in his address took up the problem of the rural church. That there was a problem was undeniably the essential character of the rural pastorate. He pointed out that the average length of the rural pastorate in the Baptist Church was about five years. He pointed out that in recent years that the conditions were such that the rural pastorate was the most serious issue confronting the church to-day, not only in Ontario but in all the rural churches of the world. He pointed out that the rural pastorate was the most serious issue confronting the church to-day, not only in Ontario but in all the rural churches of the world.

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HAMILTON HOTELMAN BEFORE LICENSE BOARD

Drunken Soldiers Said to Have Been Served at Royal

PROPRIETOR ASKS STAY

Treaty of Inspector That Patrol Wagon Was Called Several Times—Disagree With Conference on Selling to Soldiers.

Charges were made before the Ontario License Board yesterday that on dates from September 23 to October 9 soldiers were served while under the influence of drink at the Royal Hotel, Hamilton.

TERRIBLE ATROCITIES PRACTISED ON SERBS

Helpless Prisoners Are Killed and Tortured by the Bulgarians

Paris, Oct. 22.—Bulgarian troops are accused in despatches from Athens and Bucharest of committing revolting atrocities in Serbia.

A despatch to The Petit Journal states that the Serb Minister at Bucharest protested to the American Minister there against the atrocities of the German troops.

Women were victims of the most horrible violence. Women more than 80 years were carried as prisoners into Austria.

CANADIAN FLOUR FOR CANADIANS BREAD

ARMY SERVICE CORPS TO BE SUPPLIED WITH 5,000 TONS EVERY THREE MONTHS.

Ottawa, Oct. 22.—Canadian soldiers in England are to be supplied with bread baked exclusively from Canadian flour by the bakers of the Canadian Army Service Corps.

DISASTROUS BOOMERANG MADE OF VON TRITPITZ

BRITISH TAKE UP SUBMARINE CHALLENGE AND TRY IN THIS BATTLE SHIPPING.

The official organ of the Government, The Messenger, devotes a long article to the extremely useful work of the British submarines in the Baltic.

SONS OF SCOTLAND CONCERT.

The 21st Annual Scottish Concert of the R. O. S., at Massey Hall, Thursday, Nov. 4, promises to prove an especially attractive.

Newest Dance Records

The time for dances is at hand. Have your Victrola well equipped with the new records. The best way is to come and hear the new ones played for you or

Phone Main 6587

And we will send to you promptly any you wish. Just give the name or leave it to us to pick out good ones for any dance you wish.

Learn About Our Easy Payment Plan

Heintzman Hall 193-195-197 YONGE STREET, Toronto, Canada.

REMEMBER FREE VICTROLA RECITAL EVERY SATURDAY AT 2.15 P.M.

Advertisement for Heintzman Hall dance records, featuring Victrola records and a Saturday recital.

MILLION ARMENIANS WIPE OUT BY TURKS

Only 200,000 Armenian Inhabitants of Turkey Now Remain in Country

(Canadian Press Despatch.) This Transcaucasian (via Petrograd and London), Oct. 27.—The estimate is made by the Armenian newspaper Hahak that at the 1,200,000 Armenian inhabitants of Turkey before the war there remain not more than 200,000.

An Old Remedy

By making this as home you will be cured with the... (Advertisement for a remedy)

31 BELGIANS SENTENCED. Amsterdam, Oct. 22.—The Tribunal has received information from Brussels that 31 Belgians have been sentenced to terms of two months in prison for refusing to work for the Germans.

ARMENIANS AT LONDON. London, Oct. 22.—The Allies have agreed to have a conference in London to discuss the future of Armenia.

BACK FROM GIBSEN.

Piston, Oct. 21.—(Special.)—Friends of Pie Sherman Young of Gibson, who was wounded and captured in the fighting around Ypres last April and has been in a German prison camp at Gissen, have received word that he has returned to England.

TO COMMAND A BRIGADE.

Calgary, Oct. 22.—Col. E. A. Cruikshank, D.O.C. Military District No. 15, will be given the command of a brigade and will go to England shortly, according to local information.

TEETHING

For infants' teeth and best... (Advertisement for teething medicine)

WIPYR AND CHE E. PULLAN

Notary Public

Notice to

Notice is hereby given that the... (Legal notice regarding a will)

ADMINISTRAT CREDITORS

The creditors of the estate of... (Legal notice regarding creditors)

Noti Application

Notice is hereby given that... (Legal notice regarding an application)

Notice to

In the Matter of...

Large advertisement for Overland cars, featuring images of the car and promotional text: 'This car with this additional limousine top - all for \$1325'.

ALL MOTHERS NEED CONSTANT STRENGTH

Their Strength is Taxed and They Are Victims of Weakness and Suffering

When there is a growing family to care for and the mother falls ill it is a serious matter. Many mothers who are on the verge of meeting a night whose work, apparently, is never done, try to disguise their sufferings and keep up an appearance of cheerfulness before their family.

HOMER IN WAR TIME.

OUR DUMB FRIENDS LEAGUE. A society for the management of blind men in Canada.

The B. Hon. the Earl of LORNAIR. President. The Hon. the Earl of LORNAIR. Chairman.

BLIND CROSS FUND. President: LADY EMERY-DORRIS. Chairman: SIR HENRY FLOWER.

AN APPEAL. I'm only a poor fellow. I'm only a poor fellow. I'm only a poor fellow. I'm only a poor fellow.

HON. DR. BRETT. Recently installed as Minister of Education of Ontario.

TO COMMANDER THIRD OF EVERY MAN'S INCOME.

IMPORTANT PROPOSAL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT—FORCIBLY NATION TO SAVE.

Attention From Dominion. London, Oct. 29.—The Daily Express says that the Treasury is considering the advisability of a forced loan with the object of creating private expenditure and converting the national resources for the purpose of war.

NEW EAST END SCHOOL NAMED AFTER KITCHENER.

NEARER HOME RESIDENTS WANT NEARER SCHOOL. A COMMITTEE.

Representing a number of Glen Grove residents, Mr. W. Ferguson appeared before the Property Committee of the Board of Education yesterday and asked that a public school be located at some place in this district.

NEW MARKETS FOR SHEEP.

Woolington Breeders Shipping in Western States and Nova Scotia. (Special Dispatch to The Globe.)

Important Change in Time. Canadian Pacific Railway. Effective October 31, 1915.

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BUILDINGS AND CROPS DESTROYED BY FIRE.

Flames Sweep Several Districts in Saskatchewan—A Hard Battle.

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Swift Current, Sask., Oct. 29.—Lionel Mansfield, aged 57, of Lac Pelletier destroyed his life, and numerous crops and buildings were burned in the prairie fire which swept the district north of Swift Current and southward yesterday.

Flames swept across the prairie fire which swept the district north of Swift Current and southward yesterday.

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CORPORAL L. FONTAINE DIES DURING THE TRENCH.

SUBDUEN TAKEN ILL AFTER BEATING UP CATHARINE—A BULGARIAN VETERAN.

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) St. Catharines, Oct. 29.—Corporal L. Fontaine of the 15th Battalion, who marched from Niagara Falls to St. Catharines with his regiment, has died at McIntyre's undertaking parlour, owing to the effects of a severe attack of influenza which he contracted while in the trench.

Ask Wilson to Protest Against Armenian Massacre.

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) Washington, Oct. 29.—Delegates to the National Council of Congregational Churches recently assembled at New Haven, Conn., have urged that President Wilson today urge that the United States do everything in its power to bring about peace in Europe, and protest against alleged atrocities committed upon the non-Moslem population of Turkey.

THRILLING ADVENTURES OF ENGLISH WOMAN.

HER ESCAPE FROM BELGIUM PERFECTED BY DISGUISE AS COOK AND FOR EXCHANGES.

(Canadian Press Dispatch.) New York, Oct. 29.—Mrs. Mabel Carter, an English woman of Belgian birth, who arrived here on board the Atlantic last night, told her friends today the story of her escape from Belgium by taking refuge in the kitchen of a Paris hotel and escaping upon the hands of one of the Dutch frontier guards.

Mrs. H. T. Smith, secretary of the Assessment Department of Toronto for several years, was present yesterday for the Assessment Commissioner, Mr. James C. Foran.

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How To Make The Quickest, Simplest Cough Remedy.

Much Better Than The Ready-Made Remedies. Fully Guaranteed.

This home-made cough syrup is now used in more homes than any other cough remedy. Its promptness, ease and certainty in relieving distressing coughs, croup and throat sore is really remarkable.

To avoid disappointment, be sure and ask your druggist for "222 cough Syrup" and don't accept anything else.

TORONTO HIGHLANDERS TO PARADE TO CHURCH.

MUSICIANS WILL MARCH UP YONGE STREET ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON.

The 15th Highlanders will parade at the Armoury at 1:30 o'clock tomorrow for the purpose of raising a division service at St. James' Square Presbyterian Church at 3:30.

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JUDGE ADAM JOHNSTON DIES AT VANKLEEK HILL.

Junior Judge of Probate and Wills—A Widely Read Man.

(Special Dispatch to The Globe.) Vankleek Hill, Oct. 29.—Adam Johnston, Junior Judge of Probate and Wills, died at his residence here this evening at 7 o'clock. He had been ill for several months, but his death was unexpected.

His home-made cough syrup is now used in more homes than any other cough remedy. Its promptness, ease and certainty in relieving distressing coughs, croup and throat sore is really remarkable.

PIANOS—PLAY AT SACRIFIC.

We don't need to say much a price and terms tell their own like to say that they have been inside and outside, and are pro Come in and see them. Exam agree that you never heard of out of town, write for complete is guaranteed.

Ye Olde Heintzman & Four Sample Upr.

BERLIN (United Press) (Night) Five and six, each having finished, it was only the matter of time before the world's best and most complete upright piano had been sold.

Five Special Snaj.

HEINTZMAN Player Piano, modern music desk, full metal frame, complete board. Plays 3000 records and will play for one in a living-room or den. A very special bargain at \$125.

Easy Payments.

Just a few dollars each and the instrument is delivered; then a few dollars a month till paid.

HEINTZMAN HALL.

100-102-104 Yonge Street, Toronto.

Men! Here's the logical underwear for you.

In the first place, it's fine, soft, elastic and long-wearing. What is more, it fits right from the day you start to wear it until the time you lay it by.

Have You Seen The Happy Thought Combination Coal and Gas Range? CAN BE OPERATED SIMPLY OR TOGETHER. RIGHT UP TO THE RIMSHINE WITH ALL LATEST DETAILS. Remember It is Made in Canada. SOLD BY LEADING DEALERS EVERYWHERE. R. ENLEY MANUFACTURING CO., Limited. TORONTO AGENTS 96 and 98 QUEEN STREET EAST.

MADE IN CANADA. A man is as old as his arteries. The walls of the arteries grow thick and hard through a constant high-proteid diet. Cut out heavy meats for a while and eat SHREDDED WHEAT. It will postpone old age and help you keep the buoyancy and vigor of youth. Contains all the body-building material in the whole wheat grain in its most digestible form. It contains the bran coat—Nature's laxative for keeping the bowels healthy and active. Why not be "a youngster at fifty?"



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 \$1.50; 6 months \$2.85; 1 year \$5.00.

CIRCULATION OF THE GLOBE. Table showing circulation figures for various months and years.

Declared before me at the City of Toronto, this 21st day of December, 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.

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 importation.

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

Another 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.

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.

THE NUMBER OF SUCCESSFUL MINES IN COBALT has been exceptionally large for some time. The average number of successful mines per year is about 10, almost as good a record in gold mining. This past success warrants enterprising men, with capital which they can afford to risk, in investing further sums in proving and developing the more recent discoveries.

FOR 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 whose wounds are permanent disabilities. A Niagara reader of The Globe suggests that the Government of Canada adopt, in making provision for the maimed, the policy followed by the Government of the United States at the close of the Civil War.

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.

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.

December 2. The New York Tribune divided among its stockholders \$10,000 as the profit of four months' business. The American Government has retained \$1,000,000 for the armaments of captured German ships, the Albatross, which cost \$1,500,000 for the armaments of Mr. Lincoln, was released from prison.

December 2 in History. The small town known as Herpeton, in the State of Virginia, has played an important part in the history of the United States for more than fifty years. It was first mentioned in the records of the Virginia Company in 1610, and was named in honor of the Duke of Northumberland, who was then the proprietor of the colony.

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

What definite steps are being taken to relieve all suitable places in the public service for our late familiar friend, the three-cent stamp.

The automobile has almost driven both the bicycle and the horse of city streets. The run that cyclists dismount at busy crossings is proving the last despairing protest.

Premier Aquilino's appeal to workmen to bear their share of war's burdens will bring a good response. Let employers make sacrifices and workmen will be certain to follow the example.

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.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PRESS

The United States. Victoria (Canada) in holding the Union Jack to the mast of the ship that is the top of the mast. The flag is flying in the top and the red with the white stars in the top and the white stars in the top.

Wanted: News-Correspondent. Room and Colonel Lawrence are employed in Montreal and Quebec, where they are in the service, as it is a distinction. Advertising in Montreal and Quebec, where they are in the service, as it is a distinction.

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THE DAILY SHORT STORY

"CLASS" IN BREWSTER

BY JANE OSBORN.

"None class" ejaculated Timothy Green, and he bowed, poor fellow, to the superior, self-consciously smiling her way along the main street. "Did in the morning, the main street, the main street."

BOO

THE EDITOR OF THE GLOBE. I did not think that your editorial on "The Spirit of the Press" in the Globe of the 21st inst. was altogether correct.

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HUMOR

"I'm afraid, I school teacher, I never meet you. I'm afraid, I school teacher, I never meet you. I'm afraid, I school teacher, I never meet you."











SHIP FIGURES BAD SHOWING

Total British Traffic Showing Also Has a Big Slump

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What More Ships Mean If Sub War is Not Curbed

London Times Cable Service to The Globe Copyright, 1918.

London, March 15.—The Times naval correspondent, commenting on the weekly submarine figures, characterizes the figures as "a bad showing" and draws attention also to the total traffic movement, which shows a considerable slump.

RUMOR RULES IN PETROGRAD

Advancing Germans Keep the City in Ignorance and Guessing

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MORE STRIKES BY AUSTRIANS

Men in Vienna and Budapest Are Making Trouble

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London Times Cable Service to The Globe Copyright, 1918.

London, March 15.—The Times naval correspondent, commenting on the weekly submarine figures, characterizes the figures as "a bad showing" and draws attention also to the total traffic movement, which shows a considerable slump.

Egyptian Cotton Crop is Acquired

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

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URGENT ATTACKS ON AIR BASES

Paris Papers Want Foe Raiders Struck at Their Homes

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SIMPSON New Home Furnish

You will want many things this Spring to make your home more comfortable—suitable wall paper, rugs and curtain materials make a vast difference to the air of the home.

25,000 Rolls New Spring Wall Papers at 7c to 25c per roll. Buy now.

Extraordinary Sale of Fresh Nottingham Curtains, Nets, S

Just in time for housecleaning! A special purchase of Nottingham Lace and Scrims—all in new goods at a much reduced cost—enables us to offer it at the following extremely moderate prices:

Curtains at 58c Pair. 1,000 pairs Dimple-loom and Bedroom Curtains... 2,000 yards white and cream... 1,000 yards white, cream, and blue.

Beautiful New Chintzes

That Chintzes have lost none of their favor is evidenced by the beautiful art chintzes so artistically displayed in our extensive Drapery Department.

As to patterns—here birds fitting among the branches, three great blossoms bursting with color, or again a ravishing Oriental pattern of ancient origin.

You will be pleased, too, with the moderate prices at 59c, 69c and 99c per yard, while shadow cloth is softly bleached laces are priced at \$2.00 per yard.

The Robert SIMPSON Company Limited

ELDERLY STRANGER DIES AT BRAMPTON

GAVE HIS NAME AS ALBERT HAIGT, BUT LETTERS COULD BE FOUND OUT.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Drummond, March 17.—An elderly, well-nourished and respectable-looking man of about 70, with grey hair and mustache, died here yesterday.

Beyond the fact that the top joints of the body were missing, and that a band around the neck was missing, it was found that the man was Albert Haigt, who had been in the neighborhood.

Good Electric Traction. (Special Despatch to The Globe.)

London, March 17.—(Special.) The Public Utilities Commission has permitted the Electric Light and Power Company to raise the rate for electricity.

Child FOR CAS HEART W NERV

Very important have a clear heart. The more you understand to fit and social obtain the best gain in life and day the stronger the heart is. It is the best gain in life and day the stronger the heart is.

If you are a martyr to Pains in the Back, Urinary or Bladder Troubles, Backache, Headache, Painful Urination, Swollen Joints, or any of the various symptoms of Kidney Trouble, take...

FOE TO ACCEPT CZAR ROUBLES

But None Issued Since Fall of Romanoffs Will be Honored

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TURKS TAKE GREAT BOOTY

Claim to Have Captured 168 Guns and Other Prizes in Erzerum

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RESIST, RESIST, AGAIN RESIST

People of Venice Believe it Their Sacred Right to Defend City

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GERMAN NAVAL PERIL IN EAST

(Continued From Page 1, Col. 2.)

Osman Jews are probably pro-German. They are anxious that the despoiling centers of the Ukraine, whose treatment of the Jews has been so atrocious, should be in the hands of the pro-Germans.

In the harbor at Odessa is now a collection of British, French, Italian and Roumanian steamships. The British have been authorized to maintain German trade on the Black Sea. The Roumanians are anxious to maintain German trade on the Black Sea.

Their loss already is enormous in the case of machinery, foodstuffs and goods of all kinds. The Roumanians are anxious to maintain German trade on the Black Sea.

Population of 100,000. (Special Despatch to The Globe.)

London, March 17.—(Special.) The Public Utilities Commission has permitted the Electric Light and Power Company to raise the rate for electricity.

Swedish Vessels Seized by German Plungers

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

London, March 17.—A number of Swedish vessels and one of the largest Gothenburg steamers have been captured by German submarines.

AUSTRIAN AVIATORS PASS NEAR ROME

Italian Captain May Soon be a Target of Foo Bombers

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Rome, March 17.—The Austrian aviators who made the raid on the city of Rome on Saturday night returned yesterday.

At the Vatican the opinion was expressed that the presence of the Austrian aviators over the city was a serious matter.

German Cut Off Sweden. (Canadian Press Despatch.)

Stockholm, March 17.—Communication with Sweden and other points in northern Europe has been cut off by German submarines.

The German fleet has captured a number of Swedish vessels in the Baltic Sea.

Many Houses Destroyed by Anabasis Cyclone

(Special Cable Service to The Globe.)

London, March 17.—(Special.) The Anabasis cyclone has destroyed many houses in the north of England.

DESERTER SHOT AND MAY DIE

Private Nowak Badly Wounded in Tussle With Policeman

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LEAVE NO ARMENIAN ALIVE, TURK POLICY

POES DELIBERATE PURPOSE TO WIPE OUT THE NATIVE POPULATION.

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DANISH STEAMER SUNK BY GERMANS

Ranching Destroyed by Sub—Men Are Left to Their Fate

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

# 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. His 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 privately 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 elections until 2000, though the polls show he is in bad odour 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 option 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 it won, start the ball rolling right away toward independence without bothering to hold a referendum first. Polls last year showed that two-thirds of Québecers were against that idea. When radicals 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-

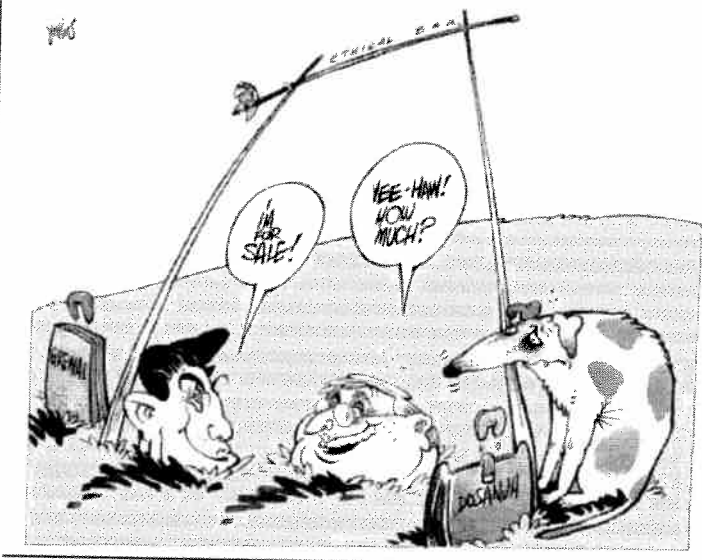
turn the constitutional order and break away from Canada.

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 1980. 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 1980. He later shuffled 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 any 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 existence, the separatist cause is in a lull, 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 MAWDSLEY, Calgary

### Clear and present danger

What is wrong with our justice system? (Karl's Homeless 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 Ms. 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

### "She is forbidden from working with people under 16"

What happens when Karl becomes a mother? WILLIAM EMMIGH, Victoria

### True justice now would be to never hear her name or see her face again.

MICHAEL REDHILL, Toronto

### There are good reasons to bring back the death penalty in Canada. Here's one: Karl Homolka.

KAYE HARRIS, Victoria

### A perfect storm

I will now be able to sleep a lot better knowing that the government of Canada is ever vigilant in keeping riff-raff out of the country (The Seafaring Bondarenkos Seek Journey's End In Canada — June 4). And I can rest easy knowing that the country with demonstrated MBAs to offer Canada, a guaranteed job and a healthy young family who already has been warmly welcomed into a Nova Scotia community will not be similarly welcomed to become a citizen by our Immigration Department. Don't the Bondarenkos have any black marks or offences in their records that allow them to jump to the head of the line for priority acceptance?

### Good luck to them in their efforts to become Canadians.

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 than 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, because that jogs 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.

### 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"? D. AYRE, Middle 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 Gorman 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 conversations. 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 Jono Beach and the poems from Sanjeev. We fought them On The Beaches, and an Inventory Of Losses. We visited England a year ago and stopped at Lincoln Cathedral. ROBERT WAGER, Malapena 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 may

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

Imagine a country that denies the Holocaust. Imagine that the same country insists Jews were killed because they were disloyal to Germany. Bizarre? Yet something very similar has been asserted for the past 90 years by the Turkish government. Fatma Müge Göçek and other Turkish academics who tried to organize the Istanbul conference on the Armenian genocide deserve our admiration for their courage in challenging the Turkish government's policy of denial. ANNE BARBERIAN, Toronto

### When you go home

Tell them of us and say For your tomorrow We gave our today. It could have been a sword from those who died at Anzac Beach. HUGH WATSON, Toronto

### In the backdrop of Ottawa's anti-Watergate, June 6, 1984, is hardly a day to upstage, and give pause to reflect on a more substantive kind of drama that was about to unfold on the beaches of Normandy that would decide the fate of Europe, if not the free world. Never to be forgotten... CLAUDE McDONALD, Cambridge, Ont.

### My kingdom for a source

Even the best journalists seem to periodically suffer from angst attacks about journalistic integrity. The Question of Anonymous Sources And The Big Lesson Of Deep Throat — June 4.

### It's all in your head

The chins that organic food is safer do not stand up to scrutiny (Foeschies 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 believed 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 pesticides, herbicides or antibiotics. 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, Malapena University College, Nanaimo, B.C.

### What a wonderful world

I have never enjoyed a Margaret White 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. White, 35, has no silly 30s or sexy 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 are 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, Swanton, B.C.

### Members of the Regina Rifles

Keep an eye out for history.

## 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.

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, Chinese 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 Keping 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 posting an on-line discussion that dealt with the massacre. A group tracked to the Tiananmen Mothers, which represents relatives of those killed there, faces constant surveillance and intimidation from security police.

Beijing revealed the power of its gunnery 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 15 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 months later, authorities arrested a respected Hong Kong journalist, Cheng Chong, 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 beef about China's environmental and economic dynamo and potential world power, it is easy to forget that this is still — by nature if not capacity — a totalitarian state. The land of skyscrapers and cellphones is also the land of labour camps and political prisoners. New York-based Human Rights Watch says China retains a "highly repressive state" where authorities routinely violate basic freedoms. To give 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 Jiang Zemin, 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.

### 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

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

# 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 (and often mathematics) are wretched. 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 84. 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 on 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 failed. The University in Burnaby, B.C., will give English tests next year to all applicants who score less than 90 in high-school English; those who do poorly may be turned away. The University of Toronto has hired two full-time statisticians who keep watch 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 2005, 26 per cent of freshmen enrolled in public or private colleges showed 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, as usual.

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 know 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 should 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 enrolling 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' shabby lack of fluency for post-secondary studies, and yet still take their money, should it be called stealing?

## Turkey muzzles speech

It is still a crime to speak freely about the past in Turkey. Earlier this month a Turkish prosecutor charged leading novelist Orhan 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 and news dispatches at the time. (Canadiana were so distressed they made an exception to 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. Littering or overflowing in the wide open spaces of Toronto'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.

garbage. Burnaby, B.C., has a big incinerator that has been operating for years with few complaints. Yet Toronto politicians, including Mayor David Miliband, 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 NIMBYism. The not-in-my-backyard mentality has prevented governments from considering new landfills in the wide open spaces of Toronto's hinterland. The province over-averaged a sensible proposal to ship the city's garbage to an abandoned mine in northern Ontario.



## 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. I have a grasp of the evidence on the efficacy of early learning centres on children under five and its potential for nation-building is weak at best (Jennifer Gault's *Help Us Grow Up* — Sept. 24).

Hundreds of studies show that nations with high-quality, universal, early learning programs perform better than other countries 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 conclusively 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 SENGEMUELLER, Ottawa, Ont.

### Tick, tick, tick

Re Europe's Ticking Bomb (Sept. 25): Owen Bennett-Jones suggests that Canada must learn from the attacks on the United Kingdom and Netherlands that multiculturalism is fragile and fast changing — however, these insights are not enough to enlighten the public that the forced multicultural-

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 common values, belief systems and rights are shared by all in order to create the essential feeling of "oneness". JENNIFER BURGESS, Guelph, Ont.

### A beacon of hope

How very fitting that you dedicated significant space to profile Chillywack MP (Sept. 23). Strahl and his fight against cancer (Strahl Determined To 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 OCKER, Chilliwack

### 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, a.k.a. "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-throat. "Brick this woman up, Canada. Puh-uh, self-possessed, funny and spirited," writes Sarah Hampson blather. Am I the only one who thinks that sounds a awful lot like another political pundit and virginal blonde who married a dashing heir to a throne? KELLY ANTHONY, Waterloo, Ont.

### Trust issues

Finance Minister Ralph Goodale's uninformative 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.

under sunny skies, although rain was forecast. "Take a sign 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 SCHWARTZ, Toronto

### The Queen's donation

In response to your editorial "Why Return 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 return 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 reasonable 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 Mr. Kadler's donation, the failure to return the gift would call into serious question the public's respect for the university. GEORGE N. HOOD, Queen's University, administrator, Queen's University, Kingston.

36-30 days after the Gemery report is released. JOHN MURPHY, Bala, Ont.

Last week's ill-considered shot by Ralph Goodale to cross the bow of income trusts was limited to address \$300-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 pension option Finance 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 Mayor 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 in a "workaway") are inherently wrong. It's that some Torontonians, and others, think that maintenance of these amenities constitutes the real world. LORNE 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 HOOGLARTH, 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 individualism, and not the blind luck of having been born to the black staff, has built its towers, now awash in their own creeping tide of latte? WILL TUMBLINSON, Striding, Ont.

### Dear Russell

To Russell Smith (Suits You — Sept. 24): Okay, I've thrown out my fancy pack, dried spectacles and Ikea fishermen's cups (thankably, 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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Sophie Grégoire is like Canada's new princess

# 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 1912, 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: Garabet Hachemian: 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 fall 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.

# 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/1,000
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

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."

come Turkey, but also offered words of caution: "This is the start of a negotiation process... It is going to be a long road ahead."

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 AGLIONBY, KUALA LUMPUR, SINGAPORE

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 Soerjono 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 Asyraf Hidayat 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 Sukris, 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, moreover, 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 arduous work for European 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 become a member 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 snorts, 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 further out 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 terrorism 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 1945 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 impatient. 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 most 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.

Once noble organization has descended to the status of a propaganda vehicle. Regrettably, I have no choice but to curtail my membership. DAVID SOJWAL, Hudson, Que.

The Globe (That Anti-U.S. Tone — editorial, Oct. 6) 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 tinhead?

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 took 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

• Methinks you protest too much about Paul Williams Roberts and 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 politicized 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 Schmeidlerman 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 controversial 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

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 PELEG, chief statistician, Statistics Canada, Ottawa

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 AULD, 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 Iraq or any other country interfering in Iraq." Many people have made exactly the same point to oppose the U.S. lock down 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 francophone communities of Ontario and Manitoba. It would seem that, according to Ms. Gagnon, Canada includes only French- and English-speaking Canadians in Quebec, and French-Canada includes only Quebec. DEREK SIMON, Toronto

### A matter of trust

Your article Elections Chief Would Share Data On Voters (Sept. 30) contains a speculation by the president of the B.L.C. Civil Liberties Association that Statistics Canada "might be" free if it has 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 PELEG, chief statistician, Statistics Canada, Ottawa

• It's a pretty good bet it was a lot like Toronto. C. E. HOPPER, Halifax

• A "tap" measure in every physician's armamentarium? Are we to assume that we must bring our own keg to the annual physical? DAVID AULD, Stirling, Ont.

### A dog's tale

ROY MacGregor is a talented scribe who embraces Canada's diverse vastness with compassion and humour. But he writes about animals, yesterday in "The Humbling Chimney," he lightened my morning with cat and chipmunk tales, under-scoring 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 connected again. Her world makes sense, if only for a few seconds. Then she asks: "I have spoken recently to her long deceased mother — and I envision a long walk with the dog once the visit is over. CN-THEA SAND, Toronto, Que.

### What letter rot

The latest theory concerning the authorship of Shakespeare's plays (What Is 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 DEWOLF, 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

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## 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. The invention catches on, it will come with a heads-up.

On top: Why we're looking forward to the next checkup.



# 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 initiated 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 \$600 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 compensate Canadians to remember officially the health care imposed on a few of their ancestors and to provide money for commemorations.

The Conservatives have trumpeted 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, to, 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-

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 nute 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 *Choc* 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-Exite 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 *Paris* 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 Srs had a lunch, believe me."

"All the Srs had a bash." There's a T-shirt slogan worth a million. "I care" wristbands. All the Srs, the *Urban* Grays of rock geriatrics, are caricatures of themselves.

Hocking to the palace for tea, japped in ermine (bush too 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's 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

Caroly 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 damn 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.

Knocking from my mail, 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.

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