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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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THE GLOBE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD POST-WAR
EUROPEAN PROBLEMS, 1919-1925

by Arie Hoogenraad

Thesis presented to the Department
of History of the University of
Ottawa as partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts.

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

There is general agreement among scholars on the main events in the history of Canada in the early twenties. The end of World War I brought the decline of the Union parties. The old parties were reconstituted under two new leaders, Arthur Meighen and Mackenzie King. But the election of 1921 was disastrous for the Conservatives, who won only fifty seats. The Liberals did much better with one hundred and seventeen seats but they had to deal with the results of an agrarian upsurge that had netted the newly formed Progressive party sixty-four seats. King solved this problem very well. He managed to transform the majority of Progressives from critics to virtual allies. But in the election of 1925 the Conservatives regained much of their old strength. They emerged with the largest group but fell short of commanding a clear majority. King, however, stood on his constitutional right to meet the House of Commons, in the belief that continued support from the Progressives would enable him to carry on the government. He did in fact succeed in retaining power for six months, although by the slenderest of margins. However the customs scandal in 1926 lost King the support of the Progressives and brought about the short-lived government of Meighen which fell in only a few days. In the subsequent election King swept back to power with a comfortable overall

majority.¹

There is also a considerable amount of literature dealing with imperial affairs of this period. Canadian historians such as Ramsay Cook,² R. MacGregor Dawson,³ James Eayrs,⁴ G.P. de T. Glazebrook,⁵ W.L. Morton,⁶ H. Blair Neatby⁷ and R. Veatch⁸ have seen a successful culmination of the struggle of the Dominion to achieve full autonomy. Borden won the right for Canada to sign the Treaty of

1 W.L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972, p. 415-464.

2 Ramsay Cook, The Politics of John W. Diefenbaker and the Free Press, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963, vii-305 p.

3 R. MacGregor Dawson, William Lyon Mackenzie King: A Political Biography, Vol. I (1874-1923), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1958, vii-521 p.

4 James Eayrs, In Defence of Canada: Appeasement and Rearmament, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967 ix-261 p.

5 G.P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Canadian External Relations, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1950, v-449 p.

6 W.L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972, 1-594 p.

7 H. Blair Neatby, William Lyon Mackenzie King: The Lonely Heights (1924-1932), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963, i-452 p.

8 Richard Veatch, Canada and the League of Nations, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1975, ix-224 p.

Versailles and to a separate membership in the League of Nations. However Meighen, at the Imperial Conference of 1921, showed that he still clung to the idea of a common foreign policy for the whole Empire. Here it was that Mackenzie King was to make his main contribution. In 1922 he refused to heed the appeal of Lloyd George to come to the aid of Great Britain in the Chanak crisis and announced that there could be no commitment without parliamentary approval. Canada was not invited to the subsequent peace conference at Lausanne. At the same time King made it clear that Canada did not wish to be invited. In 1923 Ernest Lapointe, the Minister of Justice, signed the Halibut Treaty with the United States without a British official also being a signatory. At the Imperial Conference of 1923, King won the official right for Canada to have a foreign policy of its own. Significantly the Locarno Treaties of 1925, by which Great Britain guaranteed the eastern boundaries of France and Belgium, contained a clause which stated that the treaties were not binding on any Dominion unless it explicitly accepted the obligations of these agreements. The Imperial Conference of 1926 agreed on a declaration that made clear that Canada's status was absolutely equal to that of Great Britain.⁹

⁹ W.L. Morton, op. cit., p. 415-464.

With respect to European politics in the period 1919-1925, Canadian historians have chiefly confined themselves to discussing Canada's attitude to the League of Nations. They have been mainly interested in showing Canada's opposition to the collective security commitments which League membership entailed. Apart from this interest in the League, the only book that deals with Canada's attitude towards Europe is Aloysius Balawyder's Canadian-Soviet Relations between the World Wars¹⁰ which shows that Canadian policy toward Russia was influenced by both British needs and revolutionary policies of the Comintern.

Yet this indicates that there exists a fruitful field of research in view of the fact that there were seven years of stormy politics in Europe. These years saw not only the economic problems of starvation, German reparations and inter-Allied war debts, but also the political problems of revolution and peace keeping. The intention of this thesis is to make a modest start by recording the views of one important newspaper on these events.

This study will concentrate on The Globe because often as not, it put the vague feelings of its readers into

¹⁰ Aloysius Balawyder, Canadian-Soviet Relations between the World Wars, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972, vii-248 p.

clear and firm language. Its editorials reflected, however indirectly, some segment of public opinion. On the other hand since it was an important paper, the government was likely to see it as a moulder of that opinion. Moreover, because The Globe's journalists wrote in vivid language, their descriptions can do something to give life to the past, to make present-day historians at least sense vaguely what their readers saw with striking immediacy.

Published by William Gladstone Jaffray¹¹, The Globe in the seven years following World War I, remained one of the great papers of the city of Toronto, with a circulation of over 90,000.¹² While deeply committed to the principles of Liberalism, it remained independent of the Liberal party then in power. Mackenzie King made numerous unsuccessful appeals to Jaffray to support the Liberal party in The Globe's editorials. King also pleaded with his party's financial

11 Between 1915 and 1936, William Gladstone Jaffray, son of Senator Robert Jaffray, was president-publisher. Strait-laced, he refused to permit The Globe to carry advertisements for cigarettes, girdles, whisky and cheap clothing. He condemned sexy movies and denied praiseful notice to the novels of Sinclair Lewis because of the author's atheism. Toronto revival meetings, on the other hand, received most sympathetic coverage. (W.H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967, p. 85.)

12 Daily average circulation of The Globe during these years hovered around the 90,000 mark.

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backers such as Senator Hardy and Peter Larkin, owner of the Salada Tea Company, to form:

...a syndicate which would take over the paper and give us a real Liberal organ in the heart of Ontario. I believe it would prove not only the best of investments for the Party, but a first-rate investment financially,...¹³

Jaffray refused to dispose of the newspaper. The Globe also refused to support Mackenzie King in the election of 1925, and thus contributed to the considerable decline in his fortunes in Ontario that year. King expressed his great irritation with The Globe in a letter to a friend:

I wish I were in a position to command the capital necessary for the inauguration of a real Liberal newspaper in Toronto. Friends of mine have done their utmost to secure "The Globe" at almost any price, but thus far they have been unsuccessful. ...had the influence of "The Globe" been as beneficial as it was harmful a very different story would have been told in Ontario. The sad part of it all is that "The Globe's" action has only served to bring ... the near approach of another era of Tory rule in Canada.¹⁴

Thus we are dealing with a paper whose publisher was not a docile follower of the government.

Besides Jaffray's independence The Globe's editor-in-chief, Thomas Stewart Lyon, also possessed an independent

¹³ Public Archives of Canada, W.L.M. King Papers, MG 26, J1, Vol. 101, p. 85555-85556.

¹⁴ Public Archives of Canada, W.L.M. King Papers, MG 26, J1, Vol. 118, p. 100599-100600.

Liberal attitude. Lyon, who was in charge of writing and approving all of the newspaper's editorials, exhibited other attractive qualities. For one thing, he was an experienced newspaperman. He first joined The Globe in 1888, two years after emigrating from Scotland. He covered the police and municipal beats before going on to Ottawa as a Parliamentary correspondent. In 1897 he became a city editor and three years later news editor. In 1910 Lyon was appointed associate editor, and five years later was promoted to managing editor.¹⁵

But it is probable that it was the coming of the war that stimulated his enormous interest in foreign affairs. Indeed from the outbreak of World War I Lyon wrote a daily summary for The Globe, and its quality was such that in February, 1917, he was chosen by the directors of The Canadian Press to become one of the association's war correspondents.¹⁶ He went overseas a few days after his appointment, and for nine months added lustre to his already high reputation by doing a magnificent job, often at great personal risk. A later eulogy described his work this way:

¹⁵ Adam and Charles Black, Who Was Who, Vol. IV (1941-1950), London; Adam and Charles Black, 1958, p. 711.

¹⁶ Ibid.

...Possessed of an almost fanatical desire to get the facts, he tramped many weary miles to see things for himself, and his despatches had a ring of authenticity. He saw at first hand every Canadian operation of any consequence.¹⁷

When Lyon returned to Canada, he wrote of the victory to come, and even in the dark days of the German advance in the spring of 1918, his confidence never wavered. No doubt Lyon's war experience whetted his interest in European politics.

Of course any intelligent journalist who had witnessed the war at first hand was bound to be interested in the post-war period. For one thing, there were the difficulties of dealing with a ruined European economy. Then too, there was the arrival on the scene of strange new powers like Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nationalist Turkey. But despite these new political phenomena, the era was essentially one of hope for a lasting peace through the League of Nations, and when that institution seemed to falter, through the signing of the Locarno Treaties in 1925. Lyon wrote numerous persuasive and passionate editorials on all these subjects.

This thesis will examine the period between the Treaty of Versailles (1919), which officially ended World

¹⁷ "Former Globe Editor, T. Stewart Lyon Dead", The Globe and Mail, June 3, 1946, p. 5.

War I, and the Locarno Treaties (1925), which not only ended a period of economic and political turmoil, but also ushered in a period of prosperous tranquility.¹⁸

Apart from the intrinsic interest in what The Globe said during this period, this thesis would claim a certain significance in what the newspaper said. Certain scholars such as Ramsay Cook,¹⁹ James Eayrs²⁰ and Richard Veatch²¹ have suggested that Canada turned away from Europe - but this thesis will show otherwise.

This thesis will try to offer some clues as to why The Globe took certain attitudes toward Europe. For the purpose of analysis it is convenient to classify the research under three main headings: POST-WAR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS (CHAPTER I), THE NEW POWERS (CHAPTER II) and THE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE (CHAPTER III).

18 Conventionally historians have seen the period between the Locarno Treaties (1925) and the Stock Market Crash (1929) as a period of peace and prosperity.

19 Ramsay Cook, op. cit., p. 86-186.

20 James Eayrs, op. cit., p. 291-395.

21 Richard Veatch, op. cit., p. 3-114.

CHAPTER I

POST-WAR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

1. Starvation

The Globe was not caught up in the euphoria of victory in the fall of 1919. It knew that there was a terrible burden of material destruction, disruption, and privation which would have to be borne for years to come. Starvation was the immediate and most striking peril. The private and public sectors in Canadian society should act immediately to alleviate the suffering of tens of thousands of undernourished people who lived in the devastated lands of Europe.

Canada can help if Canada will. Is our Christmas gift to starving Europe to be a card with the words "Be ye warmed and fed", or a full hamper with Canada's love to her friends and food for them ...?¹

The Globe felt that private benevolence could not cope with the conditions reported from Western and Central Europe, "where the one meal a day provided for children and adults is regarded by the relief workers themselves as but

¹ "The Feeding of Europe", The Globe, December 10, 1919, p. 6. All footnotes unless otherwise stated come from editorials in The Globe.

a sop to the half-starved multitudes".² If no other method of helping the victims of famine was available, credits for the purchase of foodstuffs might be extended to the European states "in which conditions are known to be very bad, and which can offer no satisfactory guarantee of immediate repayment".³ The newspaper even argued that the Canadian Parliament should change the ten million dollars credit "to absolute gifts, while payment for foodstuffs exported in excess of that amount could be deferred and spread over a series of years".⁴ The problem of starvation "ought to have first place in the thoughts and endeavors of European statesmen".⁵ It stressed that the people of the New World could not witness these sufferings with an easy conscience and refuse to make further sacrifices. It also played on the emotions of the Canadian people by describing the sufferings of little children, "who are being enfeebled for life for want of sufficient food of the proper kind".⁶ The

2 "To Help Starving Europe", December 11, 1919,
p. 6.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 "Another Kind of Foch Needed", December 15, 1919,
p. 6.

6 "Europe's Hungry Millions", December 17, 1919,
p. 6.

newspaper believed that "man is his brother's keeper, and that no one can live unto himself".⁷

It was not only the Christian duty of every Canadian to aid the starving of Europe. It was also the logical thing to do. If aid was not given and continental Europe was allowed to go on starving, The Globe prophesied that "there may be a plunge into anarchy there that will set civilization everywhere rocking on its foundations".⁸ The feeding of starving Europe would also provide "a back-fire against the sweep of Red revolution. Moreover, if our Christianity means anything, it is our plain and inescapable duty to help in the task".⁹

The Globe also volunteered to place all the influence it could command at the disposal of the Canadian National Armenian Relief Association in an immediate campaign to raise the funds needed to save thousands of homeless women and children from starvation. With all earnestness the newspaper appealed to its readers for cooperation and assistance in taking a worthwhile share in this humanitarian endeavor. It stated that:

7 Ibid.

8 "To Help Starving Europe", December 11, 1919, p. 6.

9 "For Austrian Relief", January 7, 1920, p. 6.

...It is desirous of sharing with its readers and with the Canadian people generally in the prompt doing of what ought to be-- aye, and what, if we are to prove the human-heartedness we profess, must be-- done largely and well. To that end it will devote its columns during the campaign. To that end, it has subscribed a thousand dollars to the fund.¹⁰

The response was staggering. Over three hundred thousand dollars was collected.¹¹ The Globe wrote that "the cry of the starving in far-away lands has been heard".¹² A perishing people, who:

... 'fell among thieves, which stripped them of their raiment, and wounded them, and departed, leaving them half dead', are to learn that the citizens of this Dominion are not among those who look on and pass by on the other side.¹³

There was also widespread starvation in Russia. The Globe believed that "food should be poured into Russia without stint, ..., and as far as possible without thought of compensation".¹⁴ "The form of the Government of Russia and the needs of the starving Russian people are two things that ought to be kept strictly apart."¹⁵ The newspaper

10 "The Appeal of Armenia", January 9, 1920, p. 6.

11 "The Call of the Needy", December 1, 1920, p. 6.

12 "'Give Ye Them to Eat'", January 10, 1920, p. 6.

13 Ibid.

14 "The Russian Famine", August 19, 1921, p. 4.

15 "Russia's Bitter Need", August 8, 1921, p. 4.

pointed out to the Allies that the starving Russian children were not responsible for Bolshevism and that it was most unfortunate that a political quarrel should interfere with relief.¹⁶ It felt that, however desirable it might be to discredit Bolshevism, that result ought not to be aimed at through withholding relief from people who were dying of starvation. "It would be more wise as well as more humane to try to kill it with kindness."¹⁷ The Globe asked its readers not to blame the rise of Bolshevism on the unorganized, illiterate peasant majority which was "concerned only with its village life and the problems of the soil".¹⁸

Throughout the period The Globe constantly encouraged the Canadian people and the Canadian Government to increase its life-saving efforts in Europe. It advised the Allied Governments to aid the future relief service of voluntary agencies by keeping the peace in Central and Eastern Europe.¹⁹ It also admonished the Europeans to stop their fighting and quarrelling and settle down to steady work. European Governments should drop "their covetous

16 "Famine and Politics", October 6, 1921, p. 4.

17 Ibid.

18 "Lenin's Frank Confessions", October 24, 1921, p. 4.

19 "The Almoner of Europe", October 19, 1920, p. 6.

policies"²⁰ and the people should recover "their habits of industry".²¹

Above all, though, The Globe looked to American aid. Although the newspaper praised the relief efforts of such private American organizations as the Society of Friends, the Near East Relief Association and the Red Cross Society in France, Armenia and Central Europe respectively, it firmly believed that the United States Government itself should be the chief almoner of a starving Europe. Its Christian duty, according to The Globe, was to feed the hungry of Europe. The newspaper also stated that the United States Government did not give enough financial support to its own American Food Relief Commission, which was headed by the dynamic and humane Herbert Hoover.²²

In the terrible winter of 1920 Hoover's recommendation that 150 million dollars be voted as a food credit for "millions of underfed men, women, and children in the cities of Armenia, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland"²³ was delayed by the United States Congress. The Globe pleaded with it "to cease playing party politics long enough to

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 "Starvation en Masse", February 27, 1920, p. 6.

23 Ibid.

adopt the recommendation"²⁴ which would put into operation at once the plan under which "the starving will be fed, the naked clothed, and the sick cared for".²⁵ The Congress could not, "if it has any conscience or respect for the good name of the Republic",²⁶ refuse to do its share. It should not close "its ears to the cry for help".²⁷ By placing party politics before human welfare, Congress had discredited Christian civilization. "This reproach to Christian civilization", according to The Globe, "ought be wiped out at once"²⁸ by voting funds to alleviate the suffering in Europe.

The next year the United States Government delegated future relief service to voluntary agencies. The Globe pleaded with that Government to have compassion and base its political decision "upon the largest altruism".²⁹ It told the United States Government that it should not worry about

24 "To Feed the Hungry", January 31, 1920, p. 6.

25 Ibid.

26 "The Starving Europeans", February 13, 1920,
p. 6.

27 Ibid.

28 "Starvation en Masse", February 27, 1920, p. 6.

29 "The World's Greatest Problem", January 3, 1921,
p. 20.

overproduction, because official aid to Europe was a way of getting rid of some of its surplus, "while at the same time doing something to relieve the infinitely greater troubles of starving communities".³⁰ The United States Government did not respond to The Globe's appeal. But, in the winter of 1922, it granted \$20,000,000 to the starving Russians. The Globe applauded this gracious act.³¹ It stated that the Congress of the United States was the only legislative body in the world that had done anything "on a large scale for the relief of the most terrible situation in Europe-- the starvation of millions of the people of Russia".³² It found this action "all the more remarkable because in no nation in the world, except France, are communistic theories held in more abhorrence than in the United States".³³ The newspaper asserted that "this example ought to be followed by all the solvent nations in the world".³⁴

Again in the winters of 1924 and 1925, The Globe appealed to the United States to aid the refugees in Greece

30 Ibid.

31 "Let Governments Act", February 27, 1922, p. 4.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

who had fled "the murdering Turks".³⁵ These Greeks, who had suffered terribly for the blunders of their politicians, should be fed by the United States, which had "the noble mission of feeding a hungry world".³⁶

At the same time, The Globe did not sympathize with feeding starving German town dwellers because of the "cruelty and inhumanity of one part of the German people in dealing with certain other classes that are now under the harrow".³⁷ It felt that the German Government's devaluation of its currency, its low taxation and profiteering were to blame for starvation in Germany. The salvation of Germany had to come from within.³⁸

The Globe's efforts to promote human welfare were sincere in relation to its friends. It unceasingly prodded the Canadian people and the Canadian Government to think more of the "plain and inescapable"³⁹ Christian duty to help our starving brothers in Europe. It asked pungently: "What is Christianity-- what is humanity-- going to do

35 "The Greek Refugees", September 25, 1924, p. 4.

36 "Famine and Plenty", December 26, 1923, p. 4.

37 "Misspent Tears", January 11, 1924, p. 4.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

about it? Is man his brother's keeper?"⁴⁰ Its answer was to set up a fund to save the starving! The Globe told its readers that "the 'come with us' rather than the 'go on' spirit"⁴¹ must prevail. Action, not advice, had the only place in the service of the starvation cause. Philanthropy, according to The Globe, was "man-lovingness"⁴² and there was no finer proof of genuine Christianity than the desire and determination to help the needy, and thereby "to prove the possession of the love of God by love of the brethren also".⁴³ On the other hand, it showed no desire to help the needy of Germany. It blamed the leaders of this nation for bringing about the starvation and accused them of evading their responsibilities to the starving. Hatred, not "man-lovingness",⁴⁴ dominated The Globe's attitude towards its former enemy.

2. German Reparations

At the time of the Armistice, the Allies had specified that "compensation will be made by Germany for all

⁴⁰ "The Appeal of Armenia", January 9, 1920, p. 6.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "A Martyr Nation", January 21, 1920, p. 6.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property".⁴⁵ This condition was accordingly included as Article 232 of the Treaty of Versailles which the German representatives signed in June, 1919. It stated that Germany would give "compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property".⁴⁶ The Allies, however, could not decide on the sum that Germany should pay before the Treaty of Versailles was signed. Therefore, they set up a Reparation Commission which would not only determine the amount that Germany should be required to pay, but would also supervise its collection. The assessment was to be made by May 1, 1921; and prior to that date Germany was to pay on account the sum of £1,000,000,000.⁴⁷ This really meant requiring Germany in 1919 to sign a blank cheque, and projected the wrangles about reparations far into the post-war years.

The Globe agreed that Germany must pay reparations for damage done. It reminded its readers that:

⁴⁵ David Thomson, Europe Since Napoleon, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963, p. 566.

⁴⁶ E.H. Carr, International Relations Between the Two World Wars (1919-1939), New York, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1961, p. 52.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

...the German army, in the cold-blooded pursuit of a system of sabotage, tried every possible means to ruin the coal mines of Northern France, in violation of the laws and usages of war...⁴⁸

It also mistrusted the German Government. It constantly told the Allies and its readers that they should put "no faith in assurances that Germany has been doing her best and trying faithfully to observe her pledges".⁴⁹ It believed that at times strong-armed methods were necessary in order to compel the German rulers to live up to their responsibilities. At the same time, it counselled the Allies that Germany's total indemnity "be fixed at once, on the ground that Germans will not go on working for the Allies if they see no outlet to the tunnel".⁵⁰ It stated that "so long as her sentence is indeterminate she will lack the spirit and the motive to rebuild her shattered economic fabric, ..." ⁵¹ It also warned that the "menace of revolution will grow with the despair and misery of the people".⁵²

⁴⁸ "Another Crisis in Europe", July 15, 1929, p. 4.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ "Preparing Germany's Bill", July 24, 1920, p. 6.

⁵¹ "A Fateful Meeting", January 29, 1921, p. 4.

⁵² Ibid.

Another example of The Globe's insistence that Germany pay reparations revealed itself when the German Republic proposed in February, 1921 to reimburse the former Kaiser for the loss of his rights and properties. German lawyers felt that an indemnity of 100,000,000 marks was owing to him. The Globe argued that this proposal "will justify the Allies in insisting upon reparation to the extent of Germany's ability to make good the harm done by her armies".⁵³

That same month, The Globe ridiculed the German objections to the initial scale of reparation payments and their declaration that reparation payments would mean ruin for Germany. The newspaper declared that the "idea that because the German Government is on the edge of bankruptcy the German people are all in a similar position as individuals is regarded as 'eye-wash' by students of economics".⁵⁴ It quoted financial experts who claimed that the German economy was booming. The newspaper stated that the German claim to be near bankruptcy was another German plot "to reduce reparations payments to the lowest possible total

p. 4. 53 "'Indemnify' the ex-Kaiser", February 1, 1921,

p. 4. 54 "Germany and Reparations", February 3, 1921,

the Allies will consent to accept".⁵⁵ Even with Germany's threat to go into liquidation, The Globe warned the German Government that:

...., one way or another, she will have to pay for a generation to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars yearly for the havoc her armies caused. Sulking will not help. Belgium and France, the chief sufferers, will not be diverted from pressing their just claims by German exhibitions of ill-temper. The time has come to pay in a form of currency more substantial than scraps of paper.⁵⁶

It also advised the German Government to increase its level of taxation per person to that of Canada in order to pay for the chaos it created in Europe.

In March, Germany failed to complete the preliminary reparation payment of \$1,000,000,000 and made a counter offer. The Globe believed that the German offer "...bore on its face the stamp of insincerity".⁵⁷ When the Allied troops occupied the three German towns of Düsseldorf, Duisberg and Ruhrort on the east of the Rhine, The Globe stated that the:

...action of the Allies cannot be regarded as other than a disagreeable necessity, since the return to peace and normality will be retarded so long as the question of reparations remains an open one.⁵⁸

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 "The Allies' Ultimatum", March 4, 1921, p. 4.

58 "Making Germany Pay", March 8, 1921, p. 4.

It believed that the Germans were engaged in a game of diplomatic bluff and played it "with a duplicity matched only by its stupidity".⁵⁹ The newspaper reproached successive German Governments with their refusal "to impose taxation proportioned to ability to pay.... The Germans are paying a great deal less relatively than Canadians or even Americans."⁶⁰ This lack of taxation was "a scandalous evasion of their obligations"⁶¹ and showed that the German rulers had "persistently avoided their plain duty of impressing on the nation a sense of responsibility"⁶² to pay its debts. The Globe thought that without German indemnity payments, France could not rebuild its ruined cities and towns.

German political leaders had not explained that the German people themselves were responsible for overrunning foreign territories. Thus the average German believed that the "repudiation of the Kaiser absolved Germany from the obligation to make reparation for the havoc wrought at his command,"⁶³ but now these people were learning better.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 "With 'Austere Dignity'", March 9, 1921, p. 4.

Germany had mistaken "forbearance for weakness"⁶⁴ and had by her own "fatuous misunderstanding"⁶⁵ brought an army of occupation into her Rhineland cities which would remain there until "something tangible is contributed by the German people toward the restoration of devastated France".⁶⁶ It hoped that the Germans would show a glimmer of reason as soon as possible so that this economic dislocation could be ended and business conditions could be normalized.

In April in response to an Allied ultimatum to pay £6,600,000,000 or face an army of occupation in the whole of the Ruhr industrial area, the German Cabinet resigned. Immediately The Globe called it "another manoeuvre to postpone the day of reckoning"⁶⁷ and that "it will not avail"⁶⁸ even "if there is no Government to act for Germany".⁶⁹ Finally, in May Germany accepted the ultimatum. The Globe believed that Germany's diplomacy was "never more stupid and insincere than during the period before her surrender".⁷⁰

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 "The Allied Ultimatum", May 6, 1921, p. 4.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 "Germany Surrenders", May 12, 1921, p. 4.

Germany "had forfeited any claim to the moral support of neutral opinion throughout the world".⁷¹ The German Government itself was so "discredited by its twistings and turnings that it had to give way to a set of men who have not been compromised".⁷²

By August, Germany had paid the first instalment of £50,000,000; and this was destined to be her last cash payment for more than three years. Before long, Germany was in the throes of a currency crisis. It was clear that Germany would require large amounts of foreign currency to meet her obligations under the schedule. Meanwhile, the mark was falling with catastrophic results.⁷³ The Globe responded to this crisis by calling for a halt in "the emission of German paper money".⁷⁴ It maintained that any aid to Germany must be conditional upon this measure. It also stated that the repudiation of the paper mark might be necessary. It did not state how this act by itself would restore a sound German currency. It blamed the German Government for refusing to tax its citizens sufficiently to

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 E.H. Carr, op. cit., p. 55.

74 "A New German Crisis", December 17, 1921, p. 4.

meet its obligations to the Allies; yet these very people, "freed from retribution",⁷⁵ were marching to "unexampled prosperity".⁷⁶ It warned that "the German Government is practically subsidizing industrial development at home instead of paying reparation to the countries which it injured by war".⁷⁷ Germany was "simply living on the printing press".⁷⁸

The Globe opposed John Maynard Keynes' proposal to cancel all financial claims by Britain on Germany because it would not be just "that Germany should escape punishment for her illegal and inhuman warfare upon the British merchant marine".⁷⁹ Throughout the summer of 1922, The Globe advised the Allies "to make the profiteers pay their fair share"⁸⁰ of the German debt.

In December of that year, Germany failed by a small margin to fulfill the agreed program of deliveries in kind. Consequently, a month later French and Belgian troops

p. 4. 75 "'Bad Money and Good Trade'", December 19, 1921,

76 Ibid.

p. 4. 77 "Why Germany Does Not Pay", December 24, 1921,

78 "The World's War Debts", January 11, 1922, p. 4.

79 "'Making Germany Pay'", February 6, 1922, p. 4.

80 "German Finance", August 12, 1922, p. 4.

entered the Ruhr. The Globe thought that France had taken the wrong path. It admitted that France had a strong case and that the "outside world ought not to forget the sufferings of France, her sacrifices and her valor".⁸¹ It believed that France without the German reparation payments and coal deliveries "would face national bankruptcy".⁸² France, in other words, depended on German compensation in order to balance its budget. Yet it was possible to wring more from a solvent Germany than one in financial chaos. The newspaper seemed to agree with the British Government on this issue.

When Germany declared a policy of passive resistance, including the cessation of all voluntary reparation payments and coal deliveries, the French Government replied by drawing a line between occupied and unoccupied German territory across which nothing was allowed to pass. The French also imprisoned or expelled recalcitrant officials and industrialists from the occupied area and set up an organization to extract reparation from the output of the Ruhr industries. The occupation brought the whole economic life of Germany to a standstill. Throughout the summer of 1923, the downward fall of the mark continued. Finally, in September of

81 "France Goes Her Way", January 11, 1923, p. 4.

82 "Disarmament, Reparations", July 27, 1923, p. 4.

that year, the election of a new ministry in Berlin restored German co-operation with the Allies. The Globe stated that the end of German reluctance to co-operate provided "the first concrete evidence that Germany means to get to work and try to pay her debts, instead of dodging, loafing and sulking because the bailiff is in possession".⁸³ In particular it blamed the economic chaos on the German "captains of industry, who have invited the collapse of the German currency system as a means of evading war obligations and piling up their own profits".⁸⁴

Before reparation payment on any serious scale could be resumed, Germany's finances would obviously have to be overhauled; and at the end of 1923 the United States agreed to join the Allies in appointing a committee of experts who were to examine the means of putting Germany's financial house in order. The committee, known as the Dawes Committee, after its chairman General Dawes, began its work in Paris in January, 1924. The Globe believed that the only way to put Germany's finances on a sound basis was through high taxes on German industrialists, who had so far evaded the Treasury by paying out worthless paper money.

⁸³ "Germany's Coming Storm", September 25, 1923, p. 4.

⁸⁴ "Will Bavaria Secede?", October 2, 1923, p. 4.

It warned the United States only to make loans "upon guaranteed security"⁸⁵ because it was "the only way of dealing with a deceptive debtor".⁸⁶ It continued by saying that:

The masses have not enough spirit to compel the wealthy of the country to carry a fair share of the burden, and the great industrialists have so little sense of justice and honor that they have debauched the currency, ground the faces of the workmen, destroyed the middle classes, and plunged the country into a financial quagmire, in the effort to evade taxation and the payment of the war indemnity. What can be done for such a nation until it produces leaders who have some capacity, courage and good faith?⁸⁷

It also advised General Dawes that Germany could get well only "if Germany will help herself"⁸⁸ and only if German wealth, "now scandalously favored",⁸⁹ took its due share of the burden.

The Dawes Plan, which was tabled in April, 1924, recommended the creation of a new currency, the Reichsmark,

⁸⁵ "Germany Asks Alms", December 14, 1923, p. 4. In order to ensure the fair working of the Dawes Plan in the interest of the creditors, the Reparation Commission was to have the right of appointing Allied commissioners to the board of the Bank of Issue, to the railways and to the management of the controlled revenues; and there was to be an "Agent for Reparation Payments" in charge of the whole plan.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ "Why Germany Suffers", January 12, 1924, p. 4.

⁸⁸ "The German Inquiry Begins", January 15, 1924, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

which would be controlled by a Bank of Issue independent of the German Government.⁹⁰ Once a stable currency was established, Germany would pay annuities beginning at £50,000,000 and rising, from the fifth year onwards, to a maximum of £125,000,000. The security for these payments was to take three forms: bonds of the state railways, bonds of German industrial enterprises, and revenues from taxes on alcohol, sugar and tobacco. The Dawes Committee also recommended that the Ruhr occupation should be ended and that Germany should be restored to full control of its whole territory. Finally, Germany was to receive a foreign loan of £40,000,000 for the double purpose of providing a currency reserve and helping her to pay the first annuity, which would fall due before the benefits of the plan would have had time to mature.⁹¹ Although The Globe thought that the Dawes Plan offered Germany the opportunity to regain her greatest mining and industrial areas and "to begin life anew",⁹² it suspected that Germany might resort to new evasions because of "old Kaiser-worship and military madness are rapidly reviving".⁹³ The newspaper believed that German refusal to go along with

90 E.H. Carr, op. cit., p. 82.

91 Ibid., p. 83.

92 "Germany's Last Chance", April 10, 1924, p. 4.

93 Ibid.

the plan would bring "economic collapse and moral isolation"⁹⁴ and would sink Germany "deeper into the slough".⁹⁵

After the Allies agreed to the Dawes Plan in June, 1924, The Globe hoped that this united front would have an immense moral effect on Germany and would make it more cooperative in meeting its obligations. In August, Germany accepted the Dawes Plan and two months later the German loan was issued.

The newspaper ardently prayed that the year 1925 would stand out as the starting point of that process of reconstruction "prematurely hoped for and long delayed. With good faith and good-will, there is a clear course ahead".⁹⁶ Throughout the year 1925, The Globe repeatedly warned the German nationalists to keep working for the success of the Dawes Plan of reparation payments. When the French Government withdrew its troops from the Ruhr industrial area in August, the newspaper believed that Paris was satisfied that Germany meant to make its reparation payments. The Globe concluded that "the embers of the flame of hatred seem to be gradually dying".⁹⁷ But still it

94 "Europe's Brighter Sky", April 16, 1924, p. 4.

95 "The German Elections", May 3, 1924, p. 4.

96 "1924 and 1925", January 1, 1925, p. 4.

97 "The Ruhr Withdrawal", August 5, 1925, p. 4.

remained suspicious. In December of that year, it was still insisting that Germany must pay its debts to the Allies for offences against "international morality".⁹⁸

3. Inter-Allied War Debts

Throughout the period from 1919 to 1925, The Globe implored the United States Government to aid in the rehabilitation of Europe by cancelling or radically reducing the inter-Allied war debts.

In the matter of inter-Allied indebtedness, the United States Government was the only creditor. It had lent altogether £1.89 billion to all its Allies. The Continental Allies⁹⁹ were only debtors. The British Government, however, occupied an intermediate position, having lent £1.74 billion to its Allies and having borrowed £842 million from the United States.¹⁰⁰ These debts soon threatened to become burdens as unwieldy and intractable as those of reparations. The total effect of both, according

⁹⁸ "To Absolve Germany", December 25, 1924, p. 4.

⁹⁹ The Continental Allies were France, Italy, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Portugal.

¹⁰⁰ David Thomson, op. cit., p. 570.

to The Globe, was one of recurrent irritation and exasperation, at a moment when it was important to rebuild confidence between the major nations of the world.¹⁰¹

Although The Globe insisted that Germany pay reparation, it stated in 1919 that the United States Government's insistence that the war debts had to be repaid at no matter what cost to the peace and prosperity of the world, was inappropriate to a convalescent world in which interdependence had become unavoidable and in which the sacrifices in a common cause had been so unequal.¹⁰² It firmly believed that normal conditions in the world of commerce could only be resumed if the United States lowered its high tariffs and allowed its Allied nations to pay back their debts "in the shape of materials and goods of which they have surpluses to export".¹⁰³ It argued that the United States' stubborn refusal to accept European imports as payments would continue the one-way transfers of wealth to the United States. This refusal could only lead the European nations into "hopeless bankruptcy".¹⁰⁴ The Globe

101 "Prices and Exchange", December 14, 1920, p. 4.

102 "Making Europe Pay", January 12, 1922, p. 4.

103 "A Lesson in Exchange", December 22, 1919, p. 6.

104 "Prices and Exchange", December 14, 1920, p. 4.

warned that:

...If America will not buy European goods it is as certain as tomorrow's sunrise that Europe, under present conditions, will be utterly unable to buy the products of this continent and continue to pay for them by going more deeply into debt to the American producers, even if the transactions could be financed, which is extremely doubtful.¹⁰⁵

Thus the interests of the United States were "jeopardized by the continuance of the present conditions"¹⁰⁶ in Europe.

It warned Harding, the President-elect, in 1920 that "although the United States may withdraw from world politics, it cannot withdraw from world finance".¹⁰⁷ The United States could "not live to itself alone".¹⁰⁸ It had to take part in the creation of "credit machinery which will strengthen exchange conditions and enable European countries to purchase the food and raw materials they need so urgently".¹⁰⁹

In 1922 the United States Government began seriously to press for repayment. France declared that it could only pay its war debts if and when Germany paid reparations; it was intolerable that victorious France should

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

pay its Allies if defeated Germany failed to pay France. Great Britain, balanced between debit and credit, wished for a complete cancellation of all war debts.¹¹⁰ The Globe echoed this sentiment: "the forgiveness of debts all round would greatly promote the recovery of the world".¹¹¹ This type of financial aid would "establish peace and good-will in Europe.... A restored Europe would mean a restored market for American products".¹¹² The United States could then act as "friend and helper"¹¹³ and "a healer of wounds".¹¹⁴ The Globe also advised the United States to participate "in the world work of preventing war and bringing about international co-operation".¹¹⁵ Since Europe was the chief source of danger, the United States should "be deeply interested in the restoration of the stability and prosperity of Europe".¹¹⁶

In August, 1922, Great Britain informed its Allies that it would expect to receive from them in settlement of

110 E.H. Carr, op. cit., p. 86.

111 "Making Europe Pay", January 12, 1922, p. 4.

112 "American Isolation", June 22, 1922, p. 4.

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid.

115 "National Status", July 25, 1922, p. 4.

116 Ibid.

their debts only such amounts as she herself was obliged to pay to the United States. But Washington resented this British move and hardened its stand against cancellation.¹¹⁷ The Globe warned the Americans that so long as they "persist in demanding the payment of the debt, though it may never be collected, Europe will leave them under the accusation of greed".¹¹⁸ It advised them that:

By writing off the debt, or a large part of it, they would lose nothing, and gain immensely in reputation. Furthermore, by helping to place Europe on its feet, they would create markets and customers for American products....¹¹⁹

In October, 1923, as we have seen, the United States agreed to participate in a conference which would try to solve Europe's economic problems. The Globe believed that this step might save Europe "from the revolution which seems to be impending, and might be the beginning of a world recovery in trade and industry".¹²⁰ It also encouraged the United States to lend "its strength to the distracted continent. Europeans would work with more hope if they knew that such a friend was by their side".¹²¹

117 E.H. Carr, op. cit., p. 86.

118 "Business and Idealism", August 4, 1922, p. 4.

119 Ibid.

120 "Washington's Offer", October 26, 1923, p. 4.

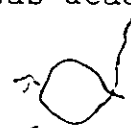
121 "The U.S. and the League", November 13, 1923, p. 4.

The rehabilitation of Europe could only come about with the co-operation of the United States. Thus, when in April, 1924, President Coolidge approved the Dawes report, The Globe felt that Europe was on its way to economic recovery.¹²²

Believing that the prime cause of the first World War was German aggression, The Globe held that country responsible for all the terrible losses in lives and properties that the Allies had suffered. Thus by paying reparations Germany was only making a just retribution. Moreover, this money was necessary to restore the war-ravaged Allied countryside. This money, according to The Globe, was to come from taxing the German industrialists. However, in its demand for reparations The Globe was clearly motivated much more by a desire for revenge rather than economic good sense. None of its proposals were based on a serious analysis of the German economy. Driven by its anger it never stopped to ask itself how a ruined country could pay such enormous sums.¹²³ Altogether in this matter The Globe was

122 "A Momentous Address", April 23, 1924, p. 4.

123 In 1931 President Hoover placed a moratorium of one year on all payments due from foreign governments to the United States on condition that a similar postponement was applied to all other inter-governmental debts, including reparations. Washington's offer was accepted by all concerned. With the German declaration in 1932 that it would not in any circumstances resume payment of reparations, the reparation issue was dead.



inconsistent. It understood clearly why the Allies could not pay, yet it pressed its demand that the Germans pay. On the other hand, it sympathized with the Allies' insistence that Germany pay its debts, yet it was unhappy that the United States insisted that the Allies pay their debts. It did not understand that the question of German reparations and that of the inter-Allied war debts were intimately linked together. Neither did it comprehend that German reparations and inter-Allied debts should have been cancelled simultaneously.¹²⁴ Still, inconsistent or not, The Globe was proposing a policy that was in line with that of Great Britain.

¹²⁴ The inter-Allied war debts were officially cancelled by the United States in 1934.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW POWERS

1. Russia

The Globe firmly opposed the Bolshevik Revolution. It stated repeatedly ~~that~~ the Russian people were discovering that "Bolshevism means hunger and squalor and oppression at the hands of a bureaucracy that is even more tyrannical than the bureaucracy of Czardom".¹ It denounced the Bolshevik regime because of "its denial of democracy, of liberty, of free speech, of the freedom of the Press, of majority rule, and its reliance on force, terrorism, and all the favorite weapons of tyranny"² to stay in power.

During the early Civil War years from 1918 to 1919 when, under War Communism, produce was forcibly taken from the peasants by the Bolsheviks, The Globe warned the working classes of other nations not to adore the Russian form of government because it planned "'a servile State' which will have absolute control of industry as well as of government, laying down a rigid and ruthless code for both alike".³

1 "The World Tension Lessons", June 24, 1919, p. 6.

2 "Socialism and Bolshevism", August 26, 1919, p. 6.

3 "Bolshevism in Action", December 19, 1919, p. 6.

This code would forbid strikes, require a minimum output from every worker on pain of starvation, prescribe the hours of work and exact compulsory military service.⁴ In other words, the Bolshevik government was acquiring control over the Russian people, which was "beyond the power of any Government, despotic or democratic, in any other part of the world".⁵ In the winter of 1920, the newspaper hoped that the military leaders of the Red armies would:

...turn the sword of the revolution against the present dictatorship, and set up some form of constitutional government which could be recognized by other nations.⁶

It clamored constantly for the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime, which was:

...an usurpation sanctioned by a small organized minority, which crushed an Assembly elected by universal suffrage, which rules by terrorism, and will not permit the will of the whole people to be expressed at the polls or to operate through parliamentary institutions.⁷

In January, 1920, Lenin was reported to be trying to sue for peace with the Allies, who were actively backing the anti-Bolshevik White forces in the Russian Civil War. The Globe warned its readers that the story was likely to

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 "Russia's Advancing Reds", January 1, 1920, p. 6.

7 Ibid.

be "a Bolshevik canard for propaganda purposes".⁸ If it were true, the essential to peace with the Bolsheviks "would be a general free and untrammelled election for a constitutional Government".⁹

During that same month the great Co-operative Union of Russia asked⁷ the Allies to resume trade with Russia. When the Bolshevik Government notified the Allies in Paris that it would not resume trade unless it was recognized, The Globe remarked bitterly that:

Russian industry is paralyzed and millions are starving, but this is not a consideration that would deflect the policy of a regime built upon the misery and ruin of those who refuse to bow to it, ...¹⁰

The newspaper hoped that the Russian masses would turn on their "little crack-brained"¹¹ oppressors of their own volition and permit Russia to re-enter the comity of nations. If this did not come about, it thought that:

...it is possible that the wolfish regime at Moscow will be completely overturned by the inrush of Western ideas, or that there will be evolution into a democratic system, whether or not it retains some of its Socialistic features.¹²

8 "Lenin and Peace Rumors", January 8, 1920, p. 6.

9 Ibid.

10 "Russia and the Allies", January 28, 1920, p. 6.

11 "A Menace to Civilization", January 7, 1921, p. 4.

12 "Russia's Peace Overtures", February 27, 1920, p. 6.

It did not state, however, how these "Western ideas"¹³ would reach the Bolshevik regime in Moscow.

In April, 1920, the Allies were willing to resume trade relations with Russia on the condition that Russia receive a body of impartial investigators to report on the state of Russia. The Globe commented that "the Moscow Government seems afraid of the truth and the light"¹⁴ and that it could only feed and grow strong "upon distrust, and hatred, and selfishness. It starves and collapses in the presence of confidence, and friendship, and large-heartedness".¹⁵

The Globe constantly condemned the economic theories of the Bolshevik revolutionaries. In April, 1920, the Bolshevik Government brought in industrial conscription; by which men were "compelled to serve in labor armies as formerly they were compelled to serve in the armies of the Czar".¹⁶ The newspaper exclaimed: "What a commentary on the high-sounding theories of Lenin and Trotsky!"¹⁷ It

13 Ibid.

14 "Economic Chaos in Russia", April 16, 1920, p. 6.

15 "The Opportunity of May Day", April 30, 1920, p. 6.

16 "The Red Flag Droops", May 4, 1920, p. 6.

17 "Economic Chaos in Russia", April 16, 1920, p. 6.

also wrote that:

Two years of Lenin's rule and of experimentation with Marx's theories have brought Russia economically to the brink of ruin. ...the Great Experiment has failed, as it deserved to fail, through the suppression and the continued oppression of the unorganized majority of the Russian people by a highly organized minority determined to rule by force in default of the consent of the governed.¹⁸

The Bolshevik economic scheme was a ghastly experiment which starved and enslaved the Russian people. The lesson of Russia for the world "is that an economic system which has stood the test for many generations cannot be lightly substituted for another without long and careful study".¹⁹ Communism, according to The Globe, was the greatest menace to civilization.

In March, 1921, Lenin introduced his New Economic Policy, which allowed the price of farm products to be set by market forces. The Globe was jubilant: the N.E.P. was "the language of undiluted capitalism"²⁰ and that it was more likely now "that the whole country will be de-Communized in much less time".²¹ Lenin's surrender to the old economic order was "in his own interest and the interest of

18 "The Red Flag Droops", May 4, 1920, p. 6.

19 "The Light that Failed", December 9, 1920, p. 4.

20 "Lenin Admits Failure", April 28, 1921, p. 4.

21 Ibid.

his country".²² The Globe felt that he was "wise in bowing to the logic of facts, but is discredited as the prophet of a new economic dispensation".²³ It predicted that the hundred million peasants, having tasted freedom, would never again "be dragooned into servitude"²⁴ and that "stagnation and chaos"²⁵ would end soon.

Moreover, the adoption of the N.E.P. showed that the Russian Bolsheviki had "buried Communism without a word of eulogy, and apparently without a sign of regret".²⁶ The dictatorship of the proletariat had "simmered down to supervision by trades unions which will fix the rate of wages, and inspection of the factories by officials of the Government".²⁷ It believed without any doubt that:

...The book of Marx is ended. Lenin himself has written "finis". For a generation at least we shall not have another endeavor on a great scale to dispense with capital and the capitalist in the creation of the world's wealth.²⁸

It also predicted that Russia, "relieved of the ball and

22 "Lenin's Compromise", May 16, 1921, p. 4.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 "Russian Prospects", May 30, 1921, p. 4.

26 "Personal Initiative Wins", June 3, 1921, p. 4.

27 Ibid.

28 "Lenin Welcomes Capital", June 14, 1921, p. 4.

chain of Communism",²⁹ would move forward rapidly toward political freedom and material prosperity.³⁰

The Globe constantly advocated the resumption of trade between Russia and "the free nations".³¹ In 1920, it already stated that trade would speed up "Russia's reformation ...and help the Russians to find themselves".³² It did not say how trade would speed up this process. It also believed that trade was "a better aid to civilization than war, which is the greatest human agency for destructiveness".³³ Allied trading with Russia would mean not only a return to normal conditions, but also "a cessation of the excesses within its borders".³⁴

In December, 1921, Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, invited Russia to an economic conference of all the European Powers, including Germany, which was to be held in Genoa in April, 1922. The Globe was delighted. It stated that Lloyd George's view that Europe could not live without Russian trade was sound. Moreover, it seemed rather

29 "Personal Initiative Wins", June 3, 1921, p. 4.

30 Ibid.

31 "Trade with Russia", June 9, 1920, p. 6.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 "The Soviet and the Allies", July 28, 1920, p. 6.

hard "that the Russian people should have to pay the penalty, not only in paralysis of trade, but in death from starvation".³⁵ Economic conditions could only improve when "the nations of Europe" recover their sense of unity and learn to co-operate".³⁶ The Globe also believed that Lenin had been taught "this lesson by bitter adversity. He has ceased prescribing for other countries, and is trying to save his own".³⁷

When the Genoa Conference took place, Lloyd George's strategy to use the conference to bring about an agreement between Russia and the other nations was checkmated by the intransigence of the French and Belgian delegations, who insisted on making trade negotiations conditional on Russia agreeing to repay its pre-war debts.³⁸ The only result of the conference was one which its convenors neither expected nor desired: the Rapallo Treaty of friendship between Russia and Germany, which assured for the Bolshevik regime its first official recognition by a great power. The Allies treated the treaty with indignation even though it was the

35 "Trade with Russia", December 29, 1921, p. 4.

36 "Lenin at Genoa", February 3, 1922, p. 4.

37 Ibid.

38 E.H. Carr, International Relations Between the Two World Wars (1919-1939), New York, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1961, p. 75.

direct consequence of their policy of treating Russia and Germany as inferior countries.³⁹ The Globe echoed the Allied sentiment, maintaining that the treaty was a technical violation of the Treaty of Versailles and that the Allies had a right to protest against the method of the negotiations between Russia and Germany.⁴⁰

In July, 1922, Russia offered to compensate aliens for confiscated property and to repay outstanding debts in return for an Allied loan. The Globe scoffed at this proposal and remarked that:

...That sort of bait may catch gudgeons, but the financial experts ...are not likely to be fooled for a minute by so absurd a proposal. Once robbed, twice shy.⁴¹

It agreed with the Allies when they turned down Russia's proposal. It believed that these debts were not negotiable and urged the Allies not to concede to:

...the claim of the Russian delegates that, as the result of a revolution which has put the Government of their country into the hands of men who do not believe in private property, Russia has a right to repudiate the legitimate debts her people owe to foreign creditors...⁴²

39 Ibid.

40 "The Conference Crisis", April 19, 1922, p. 4.

41 "Repudiation the Rock", July 20, 1922, p. 4.

42 Ibid.

During 1923, The Globe continued to denounce the Bolshevik regime. It stated that the regime had:

...promised that the social fabric should be fundamentally altered, yet the social pyramid remains practically unchanged. Certain classes have replaced each other, or changed their order in the scheme, but the scheme remains the same. It was promised that working-men should work fewer hours. Instead, they are working twelve to fourteen hours a day. Instead of wages of twenty-five gold rubles a month they now receive three for the same time. Their former exploitation is now slavery. Their former paternalism has become a tyrannic control. Their peace has brought war, their industrial democracy dead factories.... Instead of bread, ..., the Russian people feed upon bark, clay and weeds The destruction of capital which was promised has also brought the destruction of the means of production, and Government capitalism in its worst form has followed. Not a slogan of the Bolsheviks has been confirmed.⁴³

Throughout 1923 it hoped that Russia, whose "development has been thrown back two centuries",⁴⁴ would have peace for a few years in order to "solve its own problems".⁴⁵

At the beginning of 1924, the first British Labor Government of Ramsay MacDonald granted official recognition to the Moscow regime. The Globe changed its position from January, 1920,⁴⁶ when it seemed to oppose recognition to

⁴³ "Conditions in Russia", May 10, 1923, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Refer to footnotes 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

one of reluctant acknowledgement. It took advantage of the occasion to discuss the future of Russia. It commented that "Communism is not likely to become popular with people who are passionately attached to their holdings of land".⁴⁷ It also changed its attitude towards Russia as the greatest menace of civilization.⁴⁸ It now believed that it did:

...not seem probable that the people would be easily inflamed by ambitious plans for conquest. A foreign war involving invasion of any other country would mean leaving the farm. It is said that one of the reasons why Russia made peace with Germany in advance of the Allies was that the soldiers wanted to take possession of their holdings of land. The idea of such a people moving westward in a crusade for the purpose of spreading Communism looks fanciful.⁴⁹

The notion of a vast "Russian horde"⁵⁰ eager to overrun Western Europe did not correspond with "what we know of the peasant, who is a stay-at-home person, not easily fired by dreams of foreign conquest".⁵¹ The newspaper, however, did warn its readers that no one could foretell what could happen in Russia in the future. It said that Russia was:

⁴⁷ "The Future of Russia", January 17, 1924, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Refer to footnote 11.

⁴⁹ "The Future of Russia", January 17, 1924, p. 4.

⁵⁰ "Anglo-Russian Relations", January 23, 1924,
p. 4.

⁵¹ Ibid.

...the most incalculable of all countries. There is something primordial and elemental in the people themselves, and they produce human monsters like Lenin corresponding to the mammoths that emerged out of primeval slime.⁵²

On the eve of the general election of October, 1924, a British Conservative newspaper published what was purported to be a letter from Zinoviev, the president of Comintern,⁵³ giving instructions to British communists for the conduct of communist propoganda in Great Britain. It was almost certainly a forgery. But it was generally believed in, and helped to give the Conservatives a large majority over the Labor party. The Globe, believing the letter genuine, remarked that this only proved that:

...Russia cannot be dealt with as a civilized country, and that its Government has no respect for its pledges or for the agreements and conventions which make political and commercial intercourse among nations possible....⁵⁴

The Bolshevik revolution, according to the newspaper, was an "international blight.... In every country it has given a setback to orderly progress".⁵⁵ It regarded Communism

52 "Lenin", January 23, 1924, p. 4.

53 The Communist International which worked through its local branches to overthrow the capitalist governments of other countries. Its directors were also the directors of the Soviet Government.

54 "The Zinoviev Letter", October 28, 1924, p. 4.

55 "An International Blight", December 23, 1924, p. 4.

more as "a neurosis than a social or economic philosophy".⁵⁶ To the Bolshevik revolutionaries, revolution seemed "to be their whole objective, their be-all and end-all".⁵⁷ The Globe believed that the Bolsheviks had "no clearly wrought out or really feasible plan for the construction of a new human society after the social revolution shall have overturned the existing one".⁵⁸ They did not only work insidiously and unceasingly, but also had:

...thrown to the winds all regard for law, human and divine. Anarchy is their aim, and they are governed by the fiercest desire for the destruction of everything that is held sacred by mankind....⁵⁹

With the election of the British Conservative party to power, The Globe tended to follow the hard Conservative line instead of the Labor party's compromising attitude.

In the fall of 1925, Russia made it known to the world that it desired to become a member of the League of Nations. The Globe thought that the Bolshevik regime was:

56 "He Wants a Revolution", September 4, 1925, p. 4.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 "Baldwin and Communism", October 10, 1925, p. 4.

...discarding, one by one, the principles to which it owes its supremacy it has attained in Russia, and is now more concerned with consolidating its power than with carrying out the doctrines of communism. It is alarmed, too, at the prospect of being isolated politically and economically. Perhaps the influence of Tchitcherin, the ablest man in its Administration, has been exercised in creating a disposition to re-establish Russia once more as a member of the community of civilized Powers.⁶⁰

It warned Russia "to correct its manners and morals",⁶¹ to discontinue its revolutionary propaganda, to pay its debts and to pledge for future good conduct before it would "be trusted within the fold of peace-loving nations"⁶² and "be accepted on an equal footing by the Western Powers".⁶³ It still looked upon Soviet Russia as a regime which fomented discord, bred revolution and upset "in every possible way the confidence of man in man".⁶⁴ It cautioned the League of Nations to "warn the world against Soviet methods".⁶⁵

Believing that the Russian Revolutionary regime was even more tyrannical than Czardom, The Globe vehemently

⁶⁰ "Does Russia Want to be Good?", October 23, 1925, p. 4.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ "Soviet Reasoning", December 1, 1925, p. 4.

⁶⁵ Ibid. With the aid of France, Russia finally became a League member in 1934.

opposed it. It showed its attitude towards this revolution by the way it responded to the main events. It looked upon War Communism as an attempt by the Bolshevik regime to create a servile state. With the introduction of the New Economic Policy, The Globe thought that it would hopefully bring about undiluted capitalism. It also constantly advocated the resumption of trade between Russia and the Allies in order to speed up the de-communization of Russia. The newspaper therefore backed Lloyd George's and Ramsay MacDonald's attempts to establish better relations in trade with the Bolshevik regime. With the revelation of the Zinoviev letter and the subsequent defeat of the British Labor party by the Conservatives, The Globe's attitude towards the Moscow regime hardened again. The newspaper constantly objected to the Bolshevik revolution because it not only did away with liberal democracy, but also because it abolished private property.

2. Italy

The Globe also showed a great deal of concern over the Fascist movement in Italy. In September, 1919, an unofficial Italian army under the Fascist poet, D'Annunzio, with the tacit connivance of the Italian Government, took possession of Fiume, a Dalmation port under international control. The Globe immediately condemned this illegal move

and demanded that the Italian Government remove the Fascist troops from Fiume.⁶⁶ It called D'Annunzio "a fustian Garibaldi"⁶⁷ who followed the Fascist policy of "fascismo, or direct action".⁶⁸ This direct action was "characterized by shooting, bombing and assaults"⁶⁹ on the opponents of Fascism. Fascismo, according to the newspaper, was:

...an expression of self-centered, raucous adolescence of a nation without governmental traditions or achievements in the sense that these are possessed by France, Spain or England.⁷⁰

It believed that "tradition and precedent and respect for law"⁷¹ were slow to develop in any country, and especially in a United Italy which was "only of yesterday".⁷² In November, 1920, Italy and Yugoslavia signed the Treaty of Rapallo which not only made Fiume an independent state, but also ordered D'Annunzio to leave the port immediately. The Globe believed that the Fascist adventurer had received his

p. 4. 66 "It is Italy's Problem", September 26, 1919,

67 "A Fustian Garibaldi", January 20, 1920, p. 4.

68 "Fascisti in Fiume", March 10, 1922, p. 4.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid. The unification of Italy was completed only in 1871.

proper punishment.⁷³

In 1921, the Coalition Government under the liberal Prime Minister Giolitti lost its Roman Catholic support against the Socialists. Mussolini and his Fascists were asked to join the Government bloc. Giolitti believed that he could easily dominate Mussolini, and once in power again he would discard the tougher elements among the Fascists. He made a sad mistake and must be held responsible for giving Mussolini a chance to gain political power. In the election of that year, the Government used the Fascist support and its strong-arm methods to unseat Socialist and Roman Catholic deputies.⁷⁴ When Mussolini and thirty-four of his followers were elected to Parliament, The Globe commented that the Fascist party's only claim to fame was its disorderly behavior.⁷⁵

Throughout that year, Mussolini increased his party's reign of terror against Socialists and Communists. The Globe condemned the Fascist terrorist methods and blamed Mussolini for setting "Italy in a turmoil".⁷⁶ It

73 "D'Annunzio gives up Fiume", December 30, 1920, p. 4.

74 C. Bayne-Jardine, *Mussolini and Italy*, London, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1966, p. 23.

75 "Elections in Italy", May 19, 1921, p. 4.

76 "Strife in Italy", August 10, 1922, p. 4.

maintained that he had lost control of his party lieutenants, who had "found that they could bulldoze the authorities of the State".⁷⁷ The newspaper hoped that the Government, which had already proclaimed martial law in five provinces, would not be too late in using "the force of the State to restore order".⁷⁸

Late in October, 1922, Mussolini staged his March on Rome and seized political power. The Globe stated that "Italy and the peace of Europe have been put in peril by the new madness of the Fascisti".⁷⁹ It believed that the Fascist movement had "taken a revolutionary form"⁸⁰ and condemned it for "having usurped the functions of the State".⁸¹ In addition, it opposed the Fascists because they were animated by a "spirit of frenzied nationalism and militarism"⁸² and were determined to use force in order "to establish an Italian hegemony in the Mediterranean and make the Adriatic an Italian lake".⁸³ It hoped that the Italian

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 "Italy in Danger", October 30, 1922, p. 4.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

people would "refuse to allow an armed and organized minority to seize power and plunge Europe into a fresh catastrophe".⁸⁴ Europe, The Globe stated, needed "peace and unity for the purpose of restoring the industry and commerce of the continent".⁸⁵ It felt that Italy "ought to be a stabilizing force for Europe"⁸⁶ instead of being a menace to its neighbors.

In May, 1923, Mussolini condemned Liberalism and declared that a benevolent despot could govern people better than they could govern themselves. The Globe commented sarcastically that it "would agree if the despot were omniscient and endowed with perpetual life".⁸⁷ It pointed out that "even if one admits that Mussolini is a wise and benevolent despot there is no assurance that he would be succeeded by a line of such protégés".⁸⁸ The newspaper warned that "some fool or criminal could make a terrible use of despotic power".⁸⁹ Then The Globe stated firmly that there was no good government but self-government,

84 Ibid.

85 "Italy's New Masters", October 28, 1922, p. 6.

86 "Europe's New Peril", October 31, 1922, p. 6.

87 "Despotism no Remedy", May 19, 1923, p. 4.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid.

"resting on a broad basis of intelligence and self-reliance"⁹⁰ and lectured Mussolini on the necessity for government based on liberal principles by which it meant reason and open-mindedness.⁹¹ Liberalism, according to The Globe, implied:

...confidence in human nature, in the possibility of improvement in the human race, and in the influence of argument and persuasion. No doubt this confidence needs to be checked by practical wisdom.... Liberalism never loses faith in the power of reason and good-will, and its deliverances will always be marked by an appeal that draws upon these forces.⁹²

Even though The Globe admitted that Mussolini might be a necessity for the time being in Italy because of its internal disorders, despotism was no remedy.⁹³ Government on a broad basis of popular suffrage was the best form of government because it constantly worked for the improvement of mankind and gave its people "a large measure of freedom of thought and expression".⁹⁴

In July, 1923, Mussolini forced through a cowed parliament a new electoral law which gave two-thirds of the

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid.

seats to the party which received support from twenty-five per cent of the electorate. The Globe called Mussolini "another Cromwell"⁹⁵ whose new system "cannot be said to represent the will of the people".⁹⁶

After this so-called parliamentary triumph, Mussolini naturally looked for a favorable situation with which to go to the country. His opportunity arose in August, when the Italian representative on a boundary commission was shot by Greek bandits. Mussolini decided to act at once without waiting for full information about the incident. He sent a stiff note to the Greek Government demanding a full apology and compensation amounting to fifty million lire. When the Greeks refused and demanded that the League of Nations should investigate, the Italian navy bombarded Corfu and Italian marines landed on the island.⁹⁷ The Globe was disgusted with "Mussolini's high-handed attitude toward Greece, his defiance of world opinion and disregard of Italy's obligations to the League of Nations".⁹⁸ It suggested that Mussolini's design went "beyond his immediate object: the humiliation of the

95 "Another Cromwell", July 17, 1923, p. 4.

96 Ibid.

97 C. Bayne-Jardine, op. cit., p. 29.

98 "Mussolini's Motives", September 4, 1923, p. 4.

Athens Government"⁹⁹ and that the Corfu incident gave "the Italian Premier a pretext for developing the first stage of a far-reaching imperialistic policy".¹⁰⁰ The newspaper decried the shelling of Corfu as "an act unwarranted by international law or civilized usage".¹⁰¹ It was even more disgusted by Mussolini's refusal to accept the mediation of the League of Nations and feared that "Mussolini's resolve to treat with Greece by force"¹⁰² would lead to "a Balkan blaze which could not be localized".¹⁰³ The Globe warned the League of Nations to use its economic pressure to compel the Italian would-be conqueror into obedience and not to fail "Christian civilization".¹⁰⁴ Because the League refused to act, the Greeks were forced to accept the Italian demands.

In April, 1924, Mussolini and his Fascist revolutionaries went to the country and polled over fifty per cent of all the votes cast. The Globe commented that the "new experiment in government has been 'regularized' by the

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 "The League on Trial", September 6, 1923, p. 4. •

electorate".¹⁰⁵ It warned the democratic countries not to copy this Fascist system because it dominated Italy by violence. What the Fascists called law and order was "simply the result of a system of intimidation and of repression of all liberties".¹⁰⁶

Two months later Matteoti, a Socialist leader, who had been particularly outspoken in his criticism of Mussolini and his Fascist revolutionaries, was murdered by some Fascist sympathizers. The Globe was appalled: The murder of Matteoti was "the culmination of a long list of Fascist outrages... by adventurers who seek to support their authority by the methods which they used to win with".¹⁰⁷ Matteoti's murder also caused an outcry in Italy and the world. Fortunately for Mussolini, the Socialist opposition failed to exploit the situation by withdrawing from Parliament to protest the outrage. The Globe commented that Mussolini had to make a choice between governing a tired and unwilling nation "by the club, the dagger and the castor oil bottle on the one hand and making peace with

105 "Triumph of the Fascisti", April 8, 1924, p. 4.

106 "Violence in Italy", April 22, 1924, p. 4.

107 "Italy's Sensation", June 18, 1924, p. 4.

legality on the other".¹⁰⁸ On January 3, 1925, Mussolini made the move which was finally to transform his regime into a genuine dictatorship. In a speech to Parliament, he declared in defiant tones that he assumed entire responsibility for whatever had occurred till then: "If Fascism is an association of criminals, well, then, I am the head of that association".¹⁰⁹ Through the dissolution of subversive organizations, the closing down of opposition clubs, the arrests and searches, the progressive smothering of the liberty of the press and the ever-increasing recourse to police repression and operations by the Fascist militia, he consolidated his personal power. The Globe claimed that Mussolini had "stripped himself of all pretense of constitutionality, and frankly proclaimed himself a despot, using the weapons of despotism";¹¹⁰ the Fascist leader had placed himself "above the law and public opinion. He depends on force, and he exercises and controls it".¹¹¹ It hoped that Italy had not turned its back on its liberty-loving past and that "the Fascist Beelzebub of lawlessness could ease

108 "Dictators and Democracy", October 8, 1924, p. 28.

109 "The Italian Tyrant", January 25, 1925, p. 4.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

Italy of this plague...".¹¹² It called upon the Italian king, Victor Emmanuel, to restore the constitution and "the blood-bought liberties of the Italian people"¹¹³ which he had sworn to defend. The newspaper believed that Mussolini's dictatorial regime not only meant violence and tyranny while it lasted, but when it came to an end, as it was bound to do, it would leave "the people untrained in self-government and helpless".¹¹⁴ It looked upon the Fascist movement as an "armed revolution"¹¹⁵ which destroyed the Italian constitution "from above in the name of a Fascisti Dictatorship".¹¹⁶

In October, 1925, Mussolini endorsed the Locarno Treaty, which guaranteed the Franco-German and Belgo-German frontier. The Globe accused Mussolini of being not only insincere in his endorsement, but also of being "no champion of peace"¹¹⁷ because of his imperialistic ambitions. It warned that under Mussolini the whole people were being "drilled ceaselessly and thoroughly, and it will not be

112 "Post-war Reaction", February 7, 1925, p. 4.

113 "Italy's Lost Liberties", June 29, 1925, p. 4.

114 "Doubts as to Democracy", July 23, 1925, p. 4.

115 "Italy's Lost Liberties", June 29, 1925, p. 4.

116 Ibid.

117 "No Champion of Peace", November 6, 1925, p. 4.

long before the country will be able to put a powerful army in the field"¹¹⁸, which would "restore the fabric of the Empire of Rome as it existed under the first Caesars!"¹¹⁹ Still it believed that such an ambitious scheme "might well tax the energies of a longer life than Mussolini is likely to enjoy, even if he should possess the capacity for its accomplishment".¹²⁰ It hoped that Mussolini would limit his ambitions to the domestic scene and not "jeopardize the fruits of that labor in foreign adventures impossible of achievement".¹²¹

Throughout the period from 1919 to 1925, The Globe was unequivocally opposed to the Fascist movement because it was clearly out to destroy the liberal parliamentary system by force. But after Mussolini was in the saddle, it was clear that he would be in power for the foreseeable future. It hoped that Mussolini could be persuaded to limit his work to strengthening Italy domestically and to abandon his imperialistic intentions.

p. 4. 118 "Making Italy Powerful", December 14, 1925,

p. 4. 119 "Italy's Imperial Dream", December 29, 1925,

120 Ibid.

121 Ibid.

3. Turkey

When in the summer of 1919 the Peace Conference was discussing the future of a defeated Turkey, The Globe advised the Allies to deal harshly with the Turkish nation because:

..Turkey is a nation that is absolutely incorrigible, its hopelessness having been demonstrated over and over again. She has repeatedly promised to make reforms and has just as consistently broken her word....¹²²

During the peace negotiations the newspaper constantly appealed to the Allies to protect the Christian minorities under Turkish rule from "the wholesale looting and murder"¹²³ by their cruel masters. It looked upon these Christian minorities as being "vastly superior mentally and morally to the Turks".¹²⁴ It opposed the Turks on purely religious grounds. This religious bias toward the Moslem Turks was clearly shown in its attitude toward the Armenian question. The Armenians were Christians who lived in the

122 "The Turkish Empire", July 14, 1919, p. 6.

123 Ibid. Undoubtedly the wholesale deportation of the Armenian population of about 1,750,000 to Syria and Mesopotamia and the terrible massacres of an estimated 600,000 in 1915 caused The Globe's great concern. (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, Volume I, Toronto, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1974, p. 525.)

124 Ibid.

most north-eastern part¹²⁵ of the Turkish province of Anatolia. These Christian Armenians lived in a Moslem world and had endured much from the Turks, whose "massacres have too long been allowed to disgrace civilization".¹²⁶

While the Allies debated in the spring of 1919 whether or not to establish an Armenian republic, The Globe begged the United States Government to assume responsibility for the Armenians in order to protect "a new and small Republic that through the ages has been a bulwark of Christianity"¹²⁷ from extermination by "the unchangeable and still unspeakable Turk".¹²⁸ This hope was shattered in the same year by a series of events which began when the Allies allowed Greek troops to occupy the old Ionian city of Smyrna (Izmir) in Asia Minor. The Turks bitterly resented this violation of their territory. From this resentment a widespread movement to modernize Turkey was born, and found a capable and powerful leader in Mustapha Kemal. This nationalist movement wanted the Allies to recognize full Turkish sovereignty over its people and to cancel the

125 This area was also called Turkish Armenia.

126 "Save the Armenians", August 20, 1919, p. 6.

127 "The United States and Armenia", September 20, 1919, p. 6.

128 Ibid.

proposed reparation payments and territorial concessions in Turkey which the Sultan had already agreed to. Within a year these revolutionaries had swept the whole country, and only the presence of an Allied garrison kept a puppet Turkish Government in being at Constantinople.¹²⁹

The Globe refused to reconcile itself to Kemal's rule and even though no massacres were occurring, it demanded that the Allies end "the accursed rule"¹³⁰ of the Kemalists over the Armenians immediately before more massacres at the hands of the "hopeless and brutalized barbarians"¹³¹ occurred. It was "a reproach and a scandal to Western civilization"¹³² as long as the Armenians remained in the bloodstained hands of the Turks. It predicted that "the martyrdom of Armenia has not yet drawn to a close."¹³³ It believed that "the blood-thirst of the Turks is still unslaked, and the campaign of extermination has been renewed."¹³⁴

129 E.H. Carr, op. cit., p. 14.

130 "The Fate of Armenia", January 24, 1920, p. 6.

131 "Djemal Pasha and Armenia", February 14, 1920, p. 6.

132 "Turkey, Armenia, the Straits", February 17, 1920, p. 6.

133 "Armenia Again Menaced", February 18, 1920, p. 6.

134 Ibid.

In March, 1920, the Kemalists called for the total restoration of Asia Minor to Turkish control. The Allies responded by landing troops on Turkish soil and occupying Constantinople. The Globe was jubilant and again stated that the Allied policy of clemency toward the Turks had been "an entirely mistaken one".¹³⁵ "The gaping muzzles of the fifteen-inch guns that are trained upon the Yildiz Kiosk",¹³⁶ according to the newspaper, was the only method which the Turks understood. It felt that "the Turk was cowed at last"¹³⁷ and that he was under bonds to make peace and keep the peace. If he failed to do so, "his Capital and every acre of land that remains to him in Europe will be forfeited".¹³⁸ The Globe was glad that at last the Allies "made an end of temporizing with the bestial race that for centuries has tyrannized over the Christian peoples of the Near East".¹³⁹

In April, 1920, Mustapha Kemal and his revolutionaries openly defied the puppet Turkish Government at Constantinople which was headed by Sultan Mohammed VI and

135 "The Turks Under Bonds", March 18, 1920, p. 6.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid.

139 Ibid.

established an independent state in Anatolia. The Globe became even more frightened for the Armenians and believed that "the Armenian people everywhere are in serious danger from his fanatical followers".¹⁴⁰ It stated that "an ancient outpost of Christianity is threatened with obliteration"¹⁴¹ by the Kemalist revolutionaries. It hoped that the United States Senate would accept President Wilson's request to accept a mandate from the Allies ~~for~~ the Armenians as "a service to humanity and Christian civilization".¹⁴² When the Senate refused, The Globe remarked that "it really threw Armenia to the wolves"¹⁴³ and lamented that:

...There is no abatement of their misery-- no let-up in the Turkish orgy of murder and massacre. The bloody butcher of Islam bares his cruel teeth in hideous laughter at all Christendom.... Expressions of condolence-- and of condemnation-- move him merely to mirth. His answer to it all is the organization and execution of more butchery, bestiality-- the slaughter of more men, the torture and defilement of more women, the gruesome blotting out of more little children....¹⁴⁴

140 "The Armenian Situation", April 17, 1920, p. 6.

141 "The News from San Remo", April 24, 1920, p. 6.

142 "Sympathy, but Not Support", May 29, 1920, p. 6.

143 "Armenia to the Wolves", June 3, 1920, p. 6.

144 "To Christendom's Conscience", June 15, 1920,
p. 6.

In November, 1920, the Kemalists intensified their pacification campaign against the Armenians in Anatolia. The Globe was angry with the Allies for not acting more forcefully and having "to get down on their knees to a blood-stained brigand and plead for the life of a little Christian nation".¹⁴⁵ It was an appalling reflection upon civilization that "the fate of these Christians is dependent on the word of a Moslem outlaw whose hands reek with blood"¹⁴⁶ and who "harbors the grandiose design of combining all the Mohammedan peoples against Western civilization".¹⁴⁷

In December, 1921, France and the Kemalists signed a treaty by which France withdrew its troops from Asia Minor. The Globe was appalled. It believed that this treaty, which was made behind Great Britain's back, "would fill the cup of Armenia's misery if it were not already overflowing".¹⁴⁸ The newspaper castigated France for being "selfish and following "nothing but strategy and oil".¹⁴⁹

* 145 "Armenia Overrun", December 4, 1920, p. 4.

146 "Armenia's Present Plight", December 23, 1920, p. 4.

147 "The Coming Year", January 1, 1921, p. 4.

148 "France and Britain", December 6, 1921, p. 4.

149 Ibid.

It now believed that there was "no solace and no hope"¹⁵⁰ for the remnant of the martyred race. The Armenians had received this "new 'Judgment of Paris' as a sentence of death".¹⁵¹ Its betrayal of the Armenians was "the worst reproach ever made to the civilization of the West"¹⁵² and warned Christendom that if it continued to look on unmoved, the Kemalist revolutionaries would "eventually destroy Christianity, root and branch, in the Near East"¹⁵³ because they were absolutely ruthless in carrying out their "fanatical religious hatred of the infidels".¹⁵⁴

In September, 1922, Kemal and his revolutionaries turned their attention to Constantinople, where the puppet Turkish Government, which had accepted the humiliating

150 . "Turkey Triumphant", March 28, 1922, p. 4.

151 Ibid.

152 "The Last of the Armenians", May 8, 1922, p. 4.

153 "While the World Looks On", June 30, 1922, p. 4.

154 "Americans Killed by Turks", July 11, 1922, p. 4. Many of the Armenians fled to Russia where in 1936 the Armenian S.S.R. was established. Since World War II over 200,000 Armenians have been repatriated to the republic, a trend that is still continuing. (Collier's Encyclopedia, Volume 2, Toronto, Macmillan Educational Corp., 1974, p. 665.)

Treaty of Sèvres,¹⁵⁵ held power with the aid of an Allied garrison. Thus, with the advance of the Kemalists on Constantinople, The Globe demanded that the Allies send an army to hold the Dardanelles "for civilization".¹⁵⁶ Instead, the French and Italian Governments hurriedly withdrew their contingents, leaving a small British force stationed between Smyrna and Chanakkale in the lurch. When the British Government cabled the Canadian Government to ask what aid might be expected from it in case of war, the Canadian Government under Mackenzie King asked for further information about this so-called Chanak crisis and stated that it would be for the Canadian Parliament to decide what action should be taken.¹⁵⁷ The Globe told its readers that the Canadian people:

...cannot without dishonor evade any binding obligations of a military nature that rest upon them as the result of the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres by their accredited representative.¹⁵⁸

155 In August, 1920, the puppet regime had been forced to sign this harsh treaty which the Kemalists had repudiated together with the Sultanate. By it Turkey gave up all its claims to North African territories and to the Arabian kingdoms, made concessions within its own territory, paid reparations and disarmed. (E.H. Carr, op. cit., p. 15.)

156 "Holding the Straits", September 12, 1922, p. 4.

157 E. McInnis, Canada: A Political and Social History, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964, p. 467.

158 "The Moslem Menace", September 19, 1922, p. 4.

It believed that it was Canada's moral duty to stop "the uncaged human tiger, who gorges himself on Christian flesh and blood",¹⁵⁹ from returning to Europe. It hoped that Canada would not allow Kemal and his revolutionaries "to tear to shreds"¹⁶⁰ the Treaty of Sèvres which Canada had signed. The Dominion should aid Great Britain in its attempt to stop Kemal's advance. Thanks to the moderation of Mustapha Kemal and to the conflicting pressures of British public opinion, no fighting occurred over Constantinople. In October, 1922, an armistice was concluded between Great Britain and Turkey. The Globe told its readers that "both in war and diplomacy Kemal's triumph is almost complete".¹⁶¹ Kemal, the newspaper continued, had:

...made himself master of Asia Minor, where the Armenians, Greeks and other Christian minorities are abandoned to the mercy of the more savage Turkish elements that rallied to his standard. They have gained re-entrance to Europe by the familiar device of playing on the jealousies of the Great Powers....¹⁶²

The signing of the armistice was followed by a full-scale peace conference at Lausanne. The Globe warned the Allies

159 Ibid.

p. 4. 160 "We Cannot Dodge Kemal", September 21, 1922,

p. 4. 161 "Kemal Gets the Substance", October 12, 1922,

162 Ibid.

at the Lausanne Conference not to quarrel among themselves and not to be intimidated into new concessions. It also hoped that the Allies would be more concerned with the protection of Christian minorities than in guarding their oil interests.¹⁶³ The Globe stated that if the Allies could not protect the Greek and Armenian remnants under the Turkish Nationalist flag, it would be "a confession of the complete moral bankruptcy of European diplomacy".¹⁶⁴

After much rhetoric, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed in July, 1923. Under its terms the new Turkish state gained complete sovereignty within its own national frontiers and did away with all the Allied territorial concessions within Turkey. Consequently, the Armenians were still under Turkish control. The Globe was appalled by this settlement. It told the Allies that "whatever was salvaged at Lausanne, it was not the Christian minority in the Turkish Empire".¹⁶⁵

After the Treaty of Lausanne, Mustapha Kemal proclaimed Turkey a republic of which he became President. But for Kemal the proclamation of the republic was only a

163 "The Conference and Oil", November 27, 1922, p. 4.

164 "The Doom of the Greeks", December 4, 1922, p. 4.

165 "The Turk Comes Back", October 3, 1923, p. 4.

first step. He wanted to change not only the regime, but westernize society itself. The Globe was sceptical about Kemal's designs and stated that Turkey, with its history of cruelty and destruction, could not change suddenly to a great nation with a "building and planting impulse".¹⁶⁶ It thought that it was "much easier to change the hat than the head of a Turk".¹⁶⁷ A change in dress, according to the newspaper, "did not change his nature, and, in whatsoever habiliments he may appear, he will always be the oppressor and the despoiler".¹⁶⁸ The Globe warned its readers that the years have only accentuated the fact that:

...the leopard can no more change his spots than can the Turk his bitter hatred and blood-lust toward those within his power who have embraced the Christian faith.¹⁶⁹

Throughout the period from 1919 to 1925, The Globe showed its fierce opposition to Turkey and the Kemalist Revolution. The newspaper denounced the Revolution for two basic reasons. First of all, it looked upon the Kemalist Revolution as a threat to the Christian Armenian people. Then too it believed that the Turks, whether from

166 "Turkey in Peril", March 9, 1925, p. 4.

167 "Westernizing the Turk", June 29, 1925, p. 4.

168 "The Unspeakable Turk", October 5, 1923, p. 4.

169 "More Turkish Atrocities", October 31, 1925,
p. 4.

Constantinople or Ankara, were uncivilized and had as their main purpose the oppression and despoilment of other morally and mentally superior peoples. The Globe never understood nor sympathized with Kemal's movement, believing it to be only another group of Turkish Moslems who desired to oppress and murder Christian minorities. Kemal's record, however, did not deserve this assessment.

CHAPTER III

THE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE

1. League of Nations

Throughout the period from 1919 to 1925, The Globe promoted the League of Nations as an international organization which provided reasonable grounds for hope:

...that the rising generation will be allowed to carry on the work of the world in peace, submitting all international disputes to arbitration and abiding by the awards in loyal faith rather than under the compulsion of armed forces...¹

It looked upon the League of Nations, as "a world's Parliament"² where disputes were settled not by war but "by arbitration and agreement".³ The most important object of the League of Nations was to bring about the co-operation of the nations "in healing the wounds of war and restoring order and well-being upon foundations of lasting peace".⁴ The ultimate aim of the League of Nations was to make man co-operate with one another universally "extending beyond

1 "The Coming of Peace", June 30, 1919, p. 6.

2 "Canada Must Control", September 11, 1919, p. 4.

3 Ibid.

4 "Canada and the League", June 25, 1920, p. 6.

racial and national bounds"⁵ and to make man "a loyal and hearty citizen of the world".⁶

The Globe also called upon every Canadian to back the League of Nations:

...by controlling his personal attitude toward foreigners, and by regarding their good qualities, not with empty pride, but as involving a trusteeship of the human race.⁷

The new international attitude would eventually bring about a "better spirit of the nations and humanity"⁸ in the League of Nations and would change "the mood of hatred, fear and jealousy to one of confidence and zeal for co-operation".⁹ In other words, public opinion had to "provide the driving power which supplies the League's machinery".¹⁰ With this new broad attitude, the League of Nations could then substitute "the reign of law"¹¹ for anarchy which was dominating international affairs during this period.¹² It

5 "The Machine and the Power", June 13, 1921, p. 4.

6 Ibid.

7 "Lloyd George and the League", July 31, 1922
p. 4.

8 "Cecil and the League", April 4, 1923, p. 4.

9 Ibid.

10 "All May Help the League", April 10, 1923, p. 4.

11 "Protecting Small Nations", May 28, 1923, p. 4.

12 Ibid.

assumed that most of the nations of the world were capable of co-operating for common purposes. Fortunately for The Globe this ability to co-operate was never severely tested during this period.

The Globe was also preoccupied with the attitude of both the Canadian and American Governments toward the League of Nations. In September, 1919, the Canadian Parliament was in the process of ratifying the Treaty of Versailles. The Globe advised the Government "to inform Parliament fully as to any undertaking entered into on behalf of Canada"¹³ in order that the Canadian people would understand their country's responsibilities toward the League of Nations. The approval of the Peace Treaty should be "accompanied by a definite and formal statement that the control of the Dominion's military forces must be retained by the Canadian Parliament".¹⁴ The Globe thought that such a formal statement would "protect Canada's right to complete self-government".¹⁵ With this condition it urged Parliament to adopt the League of Nations Covenant because it was "the

p. 6. 13 "Canada and the Peace Treaty", September 4, 1919,

14 "Canada Must Control", September 11, 1919, p. 4.

15 Ibid.

only hope for the world's peace".¹⁶

In July, 1923, another issue arose on which the Canadian Government had to declare itself. It dealt with Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This article was the crux of the whole conception of the League as an agency for collective security. It stated:

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League....¹⁷

At this time the Canadian Government again tried to limit Canada's liability within the collective system by proposing the elimination of Article X. It did not accept the League's power under this article to order Canadian troops into action. The Globe called the Government's action a needless move. It stated that Article X was "a chip in the porridge, doing neither good nor harm".¹⁸ The newspaper believed that:

¹⁶ "Adopt the Peace Treaty", September 10, 1919, p. 6.

¹⁷ David Thomson, Europe Since Napoleon, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963, p. 603.

¹⁸ "Article X and the League", July 14, 1923, p. 4.

It could not be enforced. Suppose the League decided to use force against a common enemy, it would be the wildest kind of absurdity for it to attempt first to use force against one of its own members which refused to join in the undertaking. It might punish the "slacker" nation by expelling it from the League, but what good would that do?¹⁹

According to the newspaper, the Canadian Government should have realized that "for the present, at least, the League's force is moral and persuasive"²⁰ and that the Government could not have carried out a promise of this kind of support without the consent of Parliament.²¹

However, a much more important issue for the League of Nations was the refusal of the United States to join it. In the summer and fall of 1919, the United States Senate debated the question. A group of isolationist Republican "irreconcilables"²² opposed any connection with the League of Nations because it might involve the United States in European war. The Globe showed its dismay by stating that the opponents of the League of Nations were selfishly appealing to the American people:

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 K.W. McNaught, Canada and the United States: A Modern Study, Toronto, Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1965, p. 193.

...to disregard the obligations of the new world order. They argue as though the war had never been fought or as though it had left the United States untouched.²³

It begged the enemies of the League to change their ways because the League of Nations needed the power and resources of the United States, and "if these are not assured the League will lose much of its moral authority".²⁴ "Every lover of humanity will rejoice if the predictions that the Peace Treaty is to be adopted by Congress are soon crystalized into fact".²⁵ When, in the famous vote of March, 1920, the Senate refused to ratify the treaty by the necessary two-thirds majority, The Globe was appalled, It accused the United States of playing "into the hands of the interests that for selfish reasons want swollen armaments"²⁶ and believed that the United States refusal to join the League "could permanently cripple the usefulness of the League"²⁷ which was "largely dependent upon the spirit which the United States will bring to it".²⁸

23 "The Washington Debate", August 15, 1919, p. 4.

24 Ibid.

25 "United States and Peace", January 8, 1920, p. 6.

26 "British and American Navies", April 3, 1920,
p. 6.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

The Globe was even more discouraged when in June, 1920, the Republican Convention repudiated the Covenant of the League of Nations. It called the move "a cynical desertion of principle in the supposed interest of party harmony"²⁹ and "a sentence of death for some of the new States emerging out of the war".³⁰ The newspaper hoped that the people of the United States would see that it was "more important to plan and organize for peace than for war"³¹ and would therefore join the League of Nations to increase its strength and effectiveness in preserving the peace of the world. The Globe, however, praised the Democratic Party which had not shirked the issue and had stood by President Wilson's promise.³² The election of the Republican candidate Harding to the Presidency in 1920 dashed all hope of the United States joining the League of Nations. Despite this major disappointment, The Globe prayed that the United States would enter the League of Nations. It was convinced that the United States had been kept out of the League of Nations and its good work by

29 "Betraying the League", June 11, 1920, p. 6.

30 Ibid.

31 "League of Nations Prospects", July 1, 1920, p. 6.

32 "Old World Troubles", July 26, 1920, p. 6.

misunderstanding, and that "it will eventually join the movement, not by outside pressure, but by the ferment of public opinion within its own borders".³³ The newspaper constantly emphasized that the League of Nations needed the co-operation of the United States "as a peacemaker, not as a participant in international quarrels".³⁴ The benefit of American participation in the League, according to The Globe, "would be a strengthening of the public opinion which is necessary to drive the wheels of its machinery".³⁵

Throughout the period from 1919 to 1925, The Globe predicted that the League of Nations was "bound to be the most potent factor for world peace known in the history of mankind".³⁶ Its belief completely ignored reality. It downplayed the United States rejection of the League. It ignored Mussolini's first defiance of the League in 1923. When it discounted Article X of the League's Covenant it was contributing, albeit in a very small way, to the

p. 4. ³³ "The League of Nations", December 11, 1922,

³⁴ "The U.S. and the League", April 30, 1923, p. 4.

³⁵ Ibid.

p. 4. ³⁶ "The League's Great Task", December 8, 1925,

undermining of collective security. It appeared to believe that the League could keep peace in the world through moral persuasion. The Globe, of course, could continue to believe this because during this time there were no major aggressors in Europe.

2. Locarno Treaties

In the autumn of 1924, Britain and France introduced to the League of Nations Assembly the Geneva Protocol. It provided for additional security through compulsory resort to arbitration, and looked upon any nation which refused arbitration as the aggressor.³⁷ The Globe believed that:

...it proclaims and exalts a great ideal-- the illegalization of war by making arbitration compulsory-- and seeks to place it on a permanent and unassailable basis of international law. The realization of this vision of perpetual peace would be so priceless a boon that some price should be paid for it.³⁸

Nevertheless, it thought that Canada should be an interested spectator and await further developments.³⁹ The newspaper,

37 W.M. Langer, ed., An Encyclopedia of World History, Cambridge, Mass., Cambridge University Press, 1948, p. 959.

38 "What of the Protocol?", February 5, 1925, p. 4. 2

39 "Canada and the Protocol", March 14, 1925, p. 18.

after its initial show of enthusiasm, cautioned that the Protocol's provision for the application of military and economic sanctions could bring Canada into conflict with the United States.⁴⁰ No doubt the newspaper's lack of enthusiasm was brought about by a change in government in Great Britain where the Conservatives under Stanley Baldwin informed the Council of the League of Nations that Britain would not ratify the Protocol.⁴¹

With the repudiation of the Geneva Protocol, France had to revert to its quest for specific British guarantees of its Rhineland frontier. But this guarantee was to take a new form. The solution was found, surprisingly enough, in a proposal which had first emanated from the German Government at the end of 1922. At that time the German Government had proposed to the French Government to enter into a mutual pledge, in which Great Britain and Belgium would be included, not to resort to war against one another for a generation.⁴² The proposal was made through the United States Government, which was invited to act as a trustee of the arrangement. The scheme seemed, on the eve of the Ruhr

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ David Thomson, op. cit., p. 636.

⁴² "Will France Accept?", May 26, 1925, p. 4.

occupation, more advantageous to Germany than to France; and it was unceremoniously rejected by Poincaré, the intransigent French Prime Minister. Then the rejection of the Geneva Protocol, combined with the feeling that it was time to have a political, as well as a financial, settlement with Germany, gave the scheme a new attraction. With the withdrawal of the United States from European politics, Great Britain, whose role as a mediator between France and Germany had been clearly established by her independent attitude at the time of the Ruhr occupation, was ready to step into the breach. It was prepared, acting alone, to guarantee the Franco-German frontier against aggression by either Germany or France. This guarantee was to be the basis of the Locarno Treaties.⁴³

In May, 1925, Great Britain's offer to guarantee the Franco-German frontier against aggression became public. The Globe, ecstatic and hopeful, stated that such a compact "would give the Continent a breathing spell, during which the forces making for permanent peace might become all-powerful".⁴⁴ It hoped that France, Poland, Czechoslovakia

⁴³ E.H. Carr, International Relations Between the Two World Wars (1919-1939), New York, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1961, p. 94.

⁴⁴ "Will France Accept?", May 26, 1925, p. 4.

and Yugoslavia would be "disposed to accept guarantees for a generation of German acquiescence in existing conditions".⁴⁵ It advised Great Britain to restrict its immense responsibilities "to the Western frontier and to take every care that Britain shall not be drawn into any complications on the Eastern boundary",⁴⁶ excepting the obligations devolving on it as a signatory of the Treaty of Versailles and of the League of Nations Covenant. It also firmly believed that the Canadian people should have some means of saying whether or not they were willing to contemplate "the possibility of having to play little policeman to Britain's big policeman, should the latter find himself in trouble".⁴⁷ In other words, the newspaper wanted Canada to be exempt from Britain's guarantees unless the Dominion accepted them by its own decision.⁴⁸

In August, 1925, France accepted Great Britain's offer in principle. The Globe informed its readers that France's acceptance was "an enormous gain to the cause of

45 Ibid.

46 "The Security Pact", July 8, 1925, p. 4.

47 "Canada and the New Pact", September 25, 1925,

p. 4.

48 Ibid.

European peace and rehabilitation"⁴⁹ and would doubtless have a moral effect on Germany because it would "dispose her Government to give proof of the sincerity of its approaches to the Allies".⁵⁰ In fact, throughout the negotiations The Globe believed that Germany's representatives were acting in good faith and that they desired an agreement which would "bring renewed confidence to Europe"⁵¹ and would allow Germany back "into the comity of nations on a footing of equality".⁵²

On October 7, 1925, the ministers of all the states concerned met at Locarno in Switzerland. The Globe affirmed that "the good-will which marked the bearing of the German delegates at the opening of the discussions"⁵³ inspired hope that "an understanding which will not disappoint the expectations of the world eventually will be reached".⁵⁴ The newspaper thought that German good-will was bound "to

49 "The Revived Entente", August 13, 1925, p. 4.

50 Ibid.

51 "Striving for Peace", October 2, 1925, p. 4.

52 Ibid.

53 "Canada's Interest in Peace", October 7, 1925,
p. 4.

54 Ibid.

make for compromise that may prevent failure".⁵⁵ Throughout the official discussions, The Globe was consistently amazed at the harmony which prevailed and the general disposition on the part of all the delegates "to consider the issues in a reasonable light which gave fair assurance of a final and acceptable settlement".⁵⁶

In fact, agreement was reached at Locarno to guarantee the Franco-German and Belgian-German frontiers, to set up a system of arbitration between Germany and the group including France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland and a system of mutual guarantees between France on the one hand and Czechoslovakia and Poland on the other.⁵⁷ The Globe was overjoyed with the results. It was happy that the Governments concerned:

...had come finally to perceive what had been even more keenly appreciated by the great masses of the people: that a continuation of the animosities which have prevailed since the war must eventually have ended in general collapse.⁵⁸

The newspaper was convinced that Europe, which "for six years has been travelling in the wilderness of fear,

55 Ibid.

p. 4. 56 "The Locarno Deliberations", October 10, 1925,

57 David Thomson, op. cit., p. 636.

58 "Success at Locarno", October 16, 1925, p. 4.

discord and confusion",⁵⁹ was reaching "the border of the promised land of peace and order and prosperity".⁶⁰ The Globe urged the Governments to use the League of Nations "to turn the sword into a plowshare".⁶¹ It predicted that the Locarno agreements would usher in "a period of prosperity never before known".⁶² The dream of "a new Europe at peace"⁶³ was becoming a reality.

On October 21, 1925, the terms of the Locarno Treaties were made public. The Globe thought that the work of restoration in Europe had begun and that it might:

...now be expected that in the truest spirit of earnestness and sincerity the Powers will begin their deliberations with the purpose of reducing their armaments and of relegating war as a means for the settlement of disputes to the oblivion of the past.⁶⁴

With the signing of the Locarno Treaties on December 1, 1925, the newspaper believed that Europe would once more enjoy "the blessings of peace and good-will under compacts

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 "A New Europe at Peace", October 19, 1925, p. 4.

64 "War Must Cease", October 21, 1925, p. 4.

which should assure a long continuance of friendly relations".⁶⁵

In 1925, The Globe firmly believed that Locarno was a giant step in the direction of "a new Europe at peace".⁶⁶ In the spirit of universal good-will and optimism then prevailing, this was a natural opinion to hold.

65 "Isolating Russia", November 30, 1925, p. 4.

66 "A New Europe at Peace", October 19, 1925, p. 4.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Some Canadian historians have led us to believe that the general Canadian attitude toward European affairs during the inter-war years was one of isolationism. James Eayrs stated that this attitude "was a natural response to the brutal years at the Western front.... The Great War brought Canadians to Europe, but left Europe remote to Canadians".¹ Ramsay Cook believed that:

...many Canadians of both races were isolationist because they believed that Canada was secure in North America and had no reason to get involved in what appeared to be other people's quarrels.²

W.L. Morton pointed out that "this negative and isolationist attitude was popular"³ in the early twenties. G.P. de T. Glazebrook also admitted that Canadian foreign policy "was strongly flavoured with isolationism".⁴ John S. Moir even stated that:

1 James Eayrs, In Defence of Canada, Vol. I, From the Great War to the Great Depression, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1964, p. 3.

2 Ramsay Cook, Canada: A Modern Study, Toronto, Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1971, p. 238.

3 W.L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972, p. 441.

4 G.P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Canadian External Relations, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1950, p. 369.

...Canadian newspapers reported foreign events, except in Britain or the United States, as if they were happening in places too remote to be of any concern to Canadians. In fact Canadians seemed agreed that the best way to treat the non-Commonwealth and non-American world was to ignore it.⁵

However, the profound interest of The Globe in European affairs suggests that to characterize this period as isolationist may not be altogether accurate. The Globe's editor and owner firmly believed that no nation could hope to find safety by retreating behind its national frontiers and that world peace depended upon the willingness of every nation to assume its obligations and share the burden of a world in travail.

This attitude of The Globe manifested itself in certain significant economic and political problems in Europe from 1919 to 1925. First of all, it was deeply concerned about starvation in Europe. The newspaper appealed incessantly to the private and public sectors of Canadian society to act immediately in order to alleviate the suffering of under-nourished people who lived in the devastated lands of Europe. The Globe believed that it was its Christian duty to tell the Canadian Government and people that

⁵ John S. Moir, Northern Destiny: A History of Canada, Toronto, J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1970, p. 447.

they were their brothers' keepers.

At the same time the newspaper was also quite adamant that Germany should pay reparations for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied Governments and their people had been subjected. According to The Globe, Germany had been found guilty of committing offences against international morality and must therefore be punished for its crimes. The newspaper's belief that Germany had received its just dessert was based on The Globe's burning desire for revenge.

The Globe also continuously urged the United States Government to involve itself actively in the economic reconstruction of Europe. It alone could heal the economic wounds of Europe and bring prosperity to that continent.

The two major political problems with which The Globe deeply concerned itself during this period were revolution and peace. Its ability to understand the new political forces was handicapped by a lack of network of its own correspondents. It had no independent sources of information. Instead, it relied for the most part on British newspapers such as The London Times, The Manchester Guardian and The Contemporary Review. As we have seen, the impression that The Globe creates is that it was badly informed on many of the topics on which it editorialized.

It feared the Russian Revolution because it believed that the Bolsheviks relied not only totally on force, but also because they would only lead the Russian people deeper into hunger, squalor and oppression. Again, The Globe opposed the Fascist Revolution in Italy because Mussolini had usurped power by constitutional means aided by the club and dagger. It also viewed the Turkish Revolution as not only a Moslem crusade against all of Christendom, but also as a Turkish war of annihilation against the mentally and morally superior Christian minorities within its empire. As a Christian newspaper, The Globe believed that it should warn all Canadians of this real danger to Christianity. Because of The Globe's real fear of revolutions, it was unable to grasp and accept the new political forces that emerged from these upheavals.

The newspaper also championed the League of Nations at home and abroad as the only hope for peace in the world. It emphasized that the United States' membership and participation in the League of Nations was essential not only to act as a peacemaker, but also to strengthen public opinion which was so necessary to make the League function. The Globe was convinced that the Locarno Treaties operating through the League of Nations organization would restore harmony among the nations in Europe.

It is quite apparent that The Globe's attitude toward these European problems was shaped by its loyalty to British policy. It endorsed the British desire to establish commercial relations with Russia in the summer of 1920. It condoned the British call to cancel all inter-Allied war debts in January, 1922. It asked the Canadian Government to send military aid to Britain in the Chanak crisis of September, 1922. When the British Labor Government of Ramsay MacDonald officially recognized the Bolshevik regime, the newspaper supported that British action. With the revelations of the Zinoviev Letter in October, 1924 and with a switch in British Government, The Globe changed its attitude toward Russia. Throughout this period there is not even one criticism of British foreign policy in The Globe.

This study shows that The Globe was unable to recognize the strength of the new political forces that were to shape much of Europe's history for the first half century. It certainly offered no perspective of what the future should hold. Of course, the period beginning in 1925 with the Locarno Treaties seemed to indicate a return to the liberal world of pre-1914. The Globe was obviously mistaken. The Great War had changed Europe unequivocally. But what is interesting is that The Globe failed to

recognize that Europe had crossed a significant watershed. Insofar as this was true of other sections of Canadian opinion, it shows how ill-prepared Canada was intellectually to meet the storms of the thirties.

Finally, it is unlikely that The Globe was absolutely unique among Canadian newspapers in its conviction that what happened in Europe mattered to Canada. It is probable that further research will show that there was considerable more empathy toward events in Europe than most Canadian historians' generalizations would indicate.

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