

group led by Michael Hethman. In the late 1930s, his letters, lectures and articles promoted Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Japanese militarism. Especially important, he said, was Ukrainian cooperation with Nazism in “the great armed struggle” of “nationalism” against “Judeointernationalist” forces, because Germany “inscribed the destruction of Bolshevism on its banner.”<sup>50</sup>

In 1936-1937, when Winnipeg North elected a Communist school trustee, two Communist aldermen and a Communist MPP, the UCB teamed up with the UHO. Their campaign blamed the “unbridled greed” of “Jewish-Muscovite terrorists” and a “Bolshevik-Jewish clique” for “suck[ing] the last juices out of” Ukraine. Their phobic scaremongering went so far as to warn that godless communists were going to burn down Canadian churches and impose the death penalty on priests, nuns, the faithful, and Ukrainian nationalists.<sup>51</sup>

In the 1930s, while Canada’s Ukrainian Right was singing the praises of Hitler and fabricating phoney, incendiary threats by imaginary blood-sucking Judeo-Communists, the Ukrainian Left was arousing government concerns with its unbending support for antiFascist causes. For ex-

ample, when ULFTA joined worldwide Communist efforts to unite progressives in “Popular Fronts” against fascism, RCMP spies reported that the delegates at its 1935 convention spoke at every turn about

“Fascism, war and the defence of USSR ...also the freeing of political prisoners throughout the world, strikes, wage-cuts and working conditions and how to abolish capitalism and fight fascism.”<sup>52</sup>

During the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, many Ukrainian Canadian socialists volunteered to fight against Franco’s fascist regime. By 1938, at least 200 of these Ukrainian leftists had joined the International Brigade’s Mackenzie-Papineau Division. Half of them were killed in Spain.<sup>53</sup>

## World War II

### Outlawing and Interning the Left

During WWII, Canada was again a virtual dictatorship. In fact, Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s Liberal government was even more repressive than Borden’s Conservatives had been during WWI. (King wrote glowingly in his diaries about the friendly meetings he had with Mussolini, Hitler, Gestapo-founder Hermann Göring, SS Gruppenführer Konstantin von Neurath and other Nazis. Besides being a hardcore

antiSemite, King greatly admired Europe’s Nazi and Fascist leaders for their ardent zeal in persecuting Communists.)<sup>54</sup>

The Liberal’s most draconian excess in WWII was to intern tens of thousands of Canadians in forty, army-run facilities. Some of the forced-labour camps from WWI and the 1930s, were back in business, with a vengeance, holding supposed enemies of the state. Besides interning 22,000 Japanese Canadians, 632 Italians and 847 Germans, the government also forced about 2,300 Jewish and communist refugees, who had fled Nazi Europe, into Canadian POW camps. (See p.39.) King’s government also interned hundreds of Canadians who were deemed guilty of either pacifism or communism.

This repression began in September 1939 when Liberals dusted off the Conservative’s 1914 War Measures Act. King’s cabinet escalated its war against civil liberties by imposing the “Defence of Canada Regulations.” This law waived *habeas corpus* rights and allowed the internment without charge of anyone they even suspected *might potentially* act in a “manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state.”<sup>55</sup> Besides interning

## Glorifying Ukrainian-Canadian Veterans of OUN/UPA Terrorism

By Richard Sanders

Since the 1930s, Canada’s Ukrainian Right has included groups representing the two main factions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). This fascist European political/military organisation embraced terrorism as a strategy for achieving its goal of statehood. Testimony at the Nuremberg Tribunal showed that leaders of both OUN camps worked with the *Abwehr*, the military intelligence service of the Nazi Army’s “Supreme Command.”<sup>1</sup>

One faction, known as the OUN-M, was led by Andriy Melnyk. After commanding a company of Ukrainian rifleman in the Austro-Hungarian Army during WWI, Melnyk spent the 1930s managing the huge forested estate of the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop. Melnykites are represented in the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) by the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF). The UNF website says it “was founded ...by members of the... Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, who’s [sic] influences and vision remain a vital part of the organization to this day.”<sup>2</sup>

A militant OUN spinoff, the OUN-B, was led by Stepan Bandera, the son of a Ukrainian Catholic priest. In 1954, he said

“Ukrainian Nationalism was a Christian movement whose roots lay in the world view and spirituality of Ukrainian people.”<sup>3</sup> The League of Ukrainian Canadians is Canada’s leading Banderite group. Joining the UCC in 1959, it became a dominant force in this government-created alliance of Ukrainian nationalists bound by their fervent antiCommunism. The League, and its youth and womens’ groups, are still members of the UCC, whose “executive committee is dominated by Banderites.”<sup>4</sup>

Bandera’s followers see him as an “eternal hero” of Ukrainian nationalism. The cult’s myths obfuscate and deny the OUN-B’s role in terrorism, mass murder, ethnic cleansing and Nazi collaboration during the Holocaust,<sup>5</sup> in which 90% of Ukraine’s Jews were killed.<sup>6</sup> Also sublimated is the OUN-B’s recourse to Judeo-Red conspiracy narratives. For example, a resolution from its 1941 congress said:

“Jews in the USSR constitute the most faithful support of the ruling Bolshevik regime, and the vanguard of Muscovite imperialism in Ukraine.... The OUN combats Jews as the support of the Muscovite-Bolshevik regime but ...gives notice to the popular masses that the principal foe is Moscow.”<sup>7</sup>

University of Alberta professor

Karyn Ball and Swedish historian Per Rudling detail how the UCC and others have “dismissed or minimised an increasingly well-documented history of Ukrainian nationalist participation in pogroms and collaboration with the Nazis in mass murder in order to consolidate a heroic-victim identity for Canadian-Ukrainians....”<sup>8</sup>

Rudling and Ball describe how Ukrainian-Canadian “ultranationalists” have often “resorted to a competitive victimology as they exaggerate the death count associated with the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33...[the Holodomor], in order to appropriate and supersede the Jewish genocide’s perceived moral capital.”<sup>9</sup>

The OUN-B used the mass atrocities of Stalin’s secret police “as a pretext for pogroms across Western Ukraine, holding Jews collectively responsible.”<sup>10</sup> In May 1941, when “the OUN-B...issued a blueprint for the nationalist uprising that was to accompany the German invasion,” its fliers were crystal clear, saying: “Know this! Moscow, Magyars, Jews—these are all your enemies. Exterminate them.” The OUN-B called for a “dog’s death” for “Muscovite-Jewish intruders,” and “internment camps...for Jews, [and] asocial elements.” Its slogans included: “Ukraine for

leftists, 325 publications were banned.

In June 1940, Canada outlawed 16 groups and their publications. Eleven of these groups were antiFascist and proCommunist, including ULFTA and its affiliate, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation. This draconian move was welcomed by nationalist Ukrainians. They, said political scientist Reg Whitaker, “had been calling for years for the police to smash their rivals’ organisations and deport the lot back to the Soviet Union.”<sup>56</sup>

Also banned were the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the League for Peace and Democracy, and the Canadian Labour Defence League, which all included many Ukrainian activists. Other ethnically-based groups were also banned, including socialist associations of Finnish, Russian, Polish, Croatian and Hungarian activists.<sup>57</sup>

Meanwhile, only five fascist groups were banned, including the German Nazi Party, the National Unity Party, and the Canadian Union of Fascists.<sup>58</sup> Even the Ukrainian groups that hailed Hitler and Nazism went untouched, and there were no known arrests of UNF or UHO members.<sup>59</sup>

the Ukrainians” and “Death to the Muscovite-Jewish commune!”<sup>11</sup>

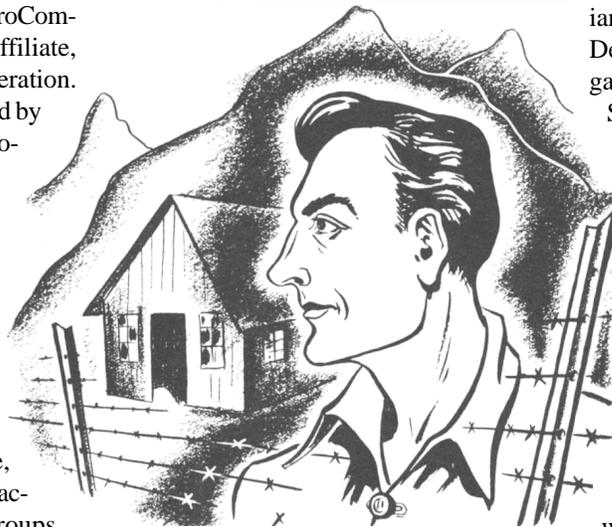
As the OUN-B’s paramilitary force, the UPA committed major atrocities during it ethnic-cleansing of western Ukraine. Yale History professor Timothy Snyder detailed how in 1943 the UPA killed 40,000 to 60,000 Polish civilians in Volhynia. They also wiped out most of the Jews who had survived the previous year when 13,000 Ukrainian police aided some 1,400 German police in murdering about 200,000 Volhynian Jews.<sup>12</sup>

In 1942-1943, the UPA also killed up to 40,000 Poles in east Galicia. In early 1944, the UPA commander said that:

“In view of the success of the Soviet forces, it is necessary to speed up the liquidation of the Poles, they must be totally wiped out, their villages burned... [O]nly the Polish population must be destroyed.”<sup>13</sup>

Despite such evidence, says Rudling, UCC president Paul Grod “remains... committed...to the cult of the OUN and the UPA, vehemently and categorically denying Ukrainian nationalist involvement in the Holocaust.”<sup>14</sup> For example in 2010, while praising Ukraine’s government for exalting the OUN and UPA as national heroes, Grod and the UCC asked Canada’s

# THEY FOUGHT FOR LABOR



## NOW INTERNED!

Cover from a 1941 pamphlet by the Ctee. for the Release of Labor Prisoners

In July 1940, Canada began what Peter Krawchuk called a “general arrest of the leading cadre of the Ukrainian progressive movement.”<sup>60</sup> As editor of ULFTA’s

daily paper, *Narodna Hazeta* (*People’s Gazette*), he went into hiding for two months before being arrested. The Ukrainian Right benefited from the ban. Between December 1940 and April 1941, they began published *Narodnia Gazeta*, “an anti-Soviet weekly, sent to former subscribers” of “*Narodna hazeta* in a bid to win their sympathies.”<sup>61</sup> How they got ULFTA’s mailing list is not explained. In Krawchuk’s narrative of the July 1940 arrest of 17 Ukrainian radicals, he describes going to *Hazeta*’s Winnipeg offices and being told: “police were just here looking for the editors and rummaging through the offices.”<sup>62</sup>

In his book, *Interned Without Cause*, about antiFascists like himself who were locked up in Canada’s WWII prison camps, Krawchuk says leftwing internees included English and French Canadians, plus “Ukrainians, Jews, Hungarians, Germans, Scandinavians, a Finn and a Pole.”<sup>63</sup> Most of antiFascists in the Kananaskis prison camp, near Banff Alberta, were Ukrainian. Another AUUC activist interned there, Myron Kostaniuk, recalled that its Commandant, Lt.-Col. Watson, “ordered that one communist be placed

government to change “the War Veterans Allowance Act by expanding eligibility to include...[the] OUN-UPA.”<sup>15</sup>

Rudling has also noted that “the Canadian government directly paid for OUN front groups, gave them tax-exempt status, covered part of the publication costs for their papers, and gave grants to the construction of community centers.”<sup>16</sup>

### References

1. Trials of war criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals, Vol.6, p.252. [www.nizkor.org/hweb/imt/tgmwc/tgmwc-06/tgmwc-06-56-12.html](http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/imt/tgmwc/tgmwc-06/tgmwc-06-56-12.html)
2. About Us [unfcanada.ca/aboutus/](http://unfcanada.ca/aboutus/)
3. Anton Shekhovtsov, “By Cross and Sword: ‘Clerical Fascism’ in Interwar Western Ukraine,” in *Clerical Fascism in Interwar Europe*, 2008, p.64. [books.google.ca/books?id=KcfhAQAAQBAJ](http://books.google.ca/books?id=KcfhAQAAQBAJ)
4. Karyn Ball & Per A.Rudling, “The Underbelly of Canadian Multiculturalism: Holocaust Obfuscation and Envy in Debate about the Canadian Museum for Human Rights,” *Holocaust Studies*, Winter 2014, p.47. [www.academia.edu/12207336/](http://www.academia.edu/12207336/)
5. Grzegorz Rossolinski, *Stepan Bandera: Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist: Fascism, Genocide and Cult*, 2014. [books.google.ca/books?id=SFH\\_BgAAQBAJ](http://books.google.ca/books?id=SFH_BgAAQBAJ)
6. H.M.Troper, M.Weinfeld, *Old Wounds: Jews, Ukrainians & the Hunt for Nazi War Criminals in Canada*, 1988, pp.11-12.

7. Michael Marrus, *The Nazi Holocaust. Part 5, Vol.1*, p.364. [books.google.ca/books?id=dFqbKATiYz8C](http://books.google.ca/books?id=dFqbKATiYz8C)
8. Ball and Rudling, *Op. cit.*, p.38
9. *Ibid.* While Rudling and Ball say 3.3 million Ukrainians starved to death in the famine, the UCC (and the Canadian government) often inflate this to over 10 million).
10. Per Anders Rudling, “‘The Honor They So Clearly Deserve:’ Legitimizing the Waffens-SS Galizien,” *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 26:1, 2013, p.121. [www.academia.edu/2763263](http://www.academia.edu/2763263)
11. Ball and Rudling, *Op. cit.*, p.44.
12. Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*, 2003, pp.170, 162. [books.google.ca/books?id=QJhMhTKw-vgC](http://books.google.ca/books?id=QJhMhTKw-vgC)
13. Cited by Per Anders Rudling, “Theory and Practice: Historical representation of the wartime accounts of the activities of the OUN-UPA,” *East European Jewish Affairs*, Dec. 2006, pp.172. [www.academia.edu/380654](http://www.academia.edu/380654)
14. Per Anders Rudling, “The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths,” *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No.2107, November 2011, p.37.
15. Ukraine’s President Recognizes Ukraine’s Freedom Fighters, February 1, 2010. [www.ucc.ca/2010/02/01/ukraines-president-recognizes-ukraines-freedom-fighters](http://www.ucc.ca/2010/02/01/ukraines-president-recognizes-ukraines-freedom-fighters)
16. Per Anders Rudling, personal communication, April 29, 2015.