

The Underbelly of Canadian Multiculturalism: Holocaust Obfuscation and Envy in the Debate about the Canadian Museum for Human Rights

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This essay contextualises the recent controversy about the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR), which opened in September 2014 in Winnipeg, Manitoba, by documenting the background shadowing the campaigns spearheaded by the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress against CMHR advisory board plans to install a permanent gallery devoted to the Holocaust. Their history demonstrates how these ultranationalist lobbies have glorified the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, its militant wing (UPA), and the Waffen-SS Galizien while rationalising or occluding their roles in Second World War period massacres of Jewish and Polish civilians.

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights

Recent debates about the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) which opened in September 2014 have taken place against the backdrop of a decades-long history of complicated relations between Jews and Ukrainians in Canada. Immigrants from Ukraine and the former Austro-Hungarian Empire were interned as ‘enemy

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aliens' in concentration camps during and after the First World War. In the 1930s and 1940s, Canada maintained a resolutely restrictive immigration policy. Under Frederick Charles Blair, the director of the Government of Canada's Immigration Branch from 1936 to 1943, and with the full support of William Lyon McKenzie King's government, Canada 'participated reluctantly' in a 1938 conference convened in Évian by President Roosevelt 'to discuss solutions to the refugee crisis'. As reported by the website of the Canadian Council for Refugees, Canada demonstrated its antisemitism during 'the 12-year period of Nazi rule in Germany', when the nation 'admitted fewer than 5,000 Jewish refugees, one of the worst records of any democracies'. Indeed, in 1945, when 'asked how many Jews Canada would admit after the war, a Canadian official answered "None is too many"'.¹

The infamous dictum, 'none is too many', is an ominous sound bite leftover from an era when Jews fleeing lethal persecution in Europe were routinely rejected shelter in Canada.² After the Canadian government had branded members of both groups as undesirables, what Jewish-Canadians might have shared with Ukrainian-Canadians was a sense of betrayal, resentment and frustration; instead, this affective mixture volatilised their differences in 1950, when Canada opened its borders to veterans of the 14th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS (1st Ukrainian), despite strong opposition from the Jewish community.³ Inquiries into alleged Nazi war criminals residing in North America in the 1980s galvanised the more nationalist constituencies of the Ukrainian community in Canada, who passionately opposed inquiries that might have led to the denaturalisation and deportation of alleged Ukrainian war criminals. Lobby groups were formed to rally support for those threatened by deportation, such as retired autoworker John Demjanjuk in the United States, as well as Volodymyr Katriuk and Wasyl Odynski in Canada.⁴

As interest in the Holocaust exploded in the 1970s, a parallel expansion of ethnic studies transpired in the same period. In 1973, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute was established, followed by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) at the University of Alberta. If the mass murder of Jews was a political taboo and purposely ignored in Soviet Ukraine, its position was

similarly marginal within the field of Ukrainian studies in North America. When addressed, the topic of Ukrainian war crimes during the Second World War was all too often treated selectively, and the CIUS did not even provide an entry about the Holocaust in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*.⁵ Because war-time Ukrainian nationalist organisations were depicted as having heroically struggled against both Hitler and Stalin, the former's collaboration with the Nazis and massacres of Jews and Poles were passed over in silence.⁶ Sharply divergent interpretations of the Second World War threatened to derail a conference on Ukrainian-Jewish relations at McMaster University in 1983.⁷ As a result of this and other conflicts, Ukrainian-Jewish relations have been described as 'two solitudes', and there is some merit to this argument.⁸

The memory politics which has led Ukrainian-Canadian lobby groups to ignore or whitewash Ukrainian atrocities against the Jews has haunted their complaints about the composition of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR), which will open in Winnipeg, Manitoba in the autumn of 2014. To some extent, the toxic quality of the lobby groups' relentless insistence in this situation marks their long-brewing frustration with the Canadian government's shifting interest in a museum that would commemorate the Holocaust exclusively or alongside other genocides. These discussions yielded an assortment of half promises in the years before the Asper Foundation proposed to build the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. In 2005, the then Liberal government announced a capital contribution of \$100 million to supplement the building costs in addition to \$110 million in private donations and \$22 million from the Asper Foundation before an August 2008 amendment to the Museums Act designated the CMHR as 'the country's fifth national museum and the first outside Ottawa'.⁹ Antoine Predock won the competition to design this 'breathtaking international icon' that would chart a 'journey' of 'over 47,000 square feet of exhibit space through nearly a kilometer of bridges leading people to the Tower of Hope, a 23-storey glass structure overlooking the horizon'. Some Winnipeg inhabitants have grumbled about how the Aspers' wealth and influence have effectively obligated the province of Manitoba and the city of Winnipeg above all to donate money, labour and space for a pet project. Beyond Manitoba, Canadians have questioned the

need for a human rights museum in the first place. In the years leading up to the museum's opening in September 2014, various pressures mounted against the CMHR's advisory board's plans to parcel the site into 12 zones, with two permanent galleries dedicated to the Holocaust and 'indigenous rights', respectively.¹⁰

In his 2012 analysis of the vacillating Canadian government commitment to human rights and genocide commemoration, Dirk Moses examines the 'identity politics that threatens the reconciliation of competing museum agendas' as the leaders of various immigrant groups in Canada 'invest "their" group with ontological status, so that they, and not individuals, are the significant bearers of human rights and memory. The liberal agenda of individual human rights', as Moses writes, 'is thus undercut by such communitarian assumptions, particularly when collective traumas that occurred outside Canada are invoked',¹¹ Moses's assessment of the controversy faults the attempts to justify a discrete, permanent and sizable gallery devoted to the Holocaust on the basis of its proclaimed status 'as a unique event of world-historical significance'. In Moses's view, this approach stoked the fires of a 'rival memory regime' in 'multicultural Canada', 'which utilizes the concepts of genocide and crimes against humanity to emphasize the equal suffering of all' as it 'vies for official validation'.¹²

Ira Basen's August 2011 report for *The Globe and Mail* tellingly employed 'minefield' and 'tower of Babel' metaphors to describe the acrimony ignited by the federal government's decision to commit taxpayer money to supplement private funding for the project.¹³ While Basen's oft-cited report might seem hostile if not patently inaccurate, especially to those close to the CMHR project, the minefield metaphor aptly characterises the controversy surrounding the museum as a textbook case in memory politics. This controversy developed as ethno-nationalist groups identifying themselves as victims of human rights abuses promoted an allegedly collective version of the past in order to stake a particular claim on Canadian public recognition and compassion. Though scholars who work in the field of critical memory studies are typically suspicious of ontologised notions of collective memory, the generations closest to traumatic historical events tend to be more emotionally invested in particular emphases as well as particular silences in representations of

the pasts in question. Traumatically charged memory is sacralised insofar as it resists historicisation; critical scholarship nevertheless retains the power to shift the focus or alter subsequent generations' understanding of the past as emerging evidence from recently opened archives allows researchers to bring new aspects to light over time.

Moreover, even as the term *memory politics* typically connotes a contested field of representation, not all memory claims are particularistic or competitive. As Michael Rothberg (2009) has persuasively demonstrated, the history of *Shoah* discourse brims with examples of what he calls *multidirectional memory*, whereby authors, directors, activists and commentators have, over the decades, sought to weave diverse histories of persecution together, to foreground their shared traits, and thus inspire concerted action against injustice and violence.¹⁴ Rothberg's research examines instances in which Holocaust memory has been employed 'multidirectionally' in order to enhance public consciousness about past and present injustices. This use of *Shoah* memory is neither competitive nor privative, as Rothberg emphasises, since it borrows the moral force of a prominent event to animate mindfulness about another.

By configuring the multidirectional basis for solidarity between groups over time, Rothberg's research counters angry accusations that *Shoah* memory is necessarily aggrandising in its appropriation of *more than its fair share* of public attention. His research thereby casts a critical light on a memory politics that portrays public attention to painful histories in economic terms as a scarce resource – akin to real estate – that can be 'equitably' or 'inequitably' distributed. In consonance with Rothberg, this essay is oriented by the belief that efforts to learn about and memorialise traumatic pasts need not be competitive. For this reason, the authors of this essay appreciate the concerns of those groups, donors among them, who contest what Moses has criticised as a contradictory rhetoric that proclaims the Holocaust's uniqueness while adhering to an ethos of egalitarian disinterest in the museum's treatment of other traumatic histories. The purpose of this essay is neither to defend the CMHR Board's intent to install a separate, sizable and permanent Holocaust gallery, nor to make pronouncements about how exhibits should be organised. Our purpose is, rather, to expose and thereby dislodge the ethno-nationalist rancour that has overshadowed the museum's

potential for forging multidirectional connections. To pursue this aim, we are raising the issue of *who* speaks and *how* (and *how* do ‘we’ listen) by illustrating the *ressentiment* that freights public statements by overtly ethno-nationalist advocacy groups in Canada whose official rhetoric in the decades leading up to this controversy has alternated between Holocaust envy and obfuscation.

Moses reports that, ‘it was the Ukrainian community leaders who drove the campaign’ against separate galleries for the Holocaust and Indigenous histories whereas ‘voices from First Nations, African and Asian migrant communities were conspicuously absent’.¹⁵ Among these community leaders, none have protested against the CMHR Advisory Board’s plan for a Holocaust gallery as vehemently as the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA). The singular ferocity of their campaigns merits scrutiny. Both lobbies have, for decades, 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, whether the latter desire it or not. At the same time, the ultranationalist memberships of these lobby groups have often resorted to a competitive victimology as they exaggerate the death count associated with the Ukrainian famine of 1932–33, sometimes referred to as the *Holodomor*, in order to appropriate and supersede the Jewish genocide’s perceived moral capital.

To illustrate this combination of Holocaust obfuscation and envy, our essay highlights the recent activities and backgrounds of the UCC and UCCLA, who, along with their spokespeople, have most concertedly criticised CMHR plans for a Holocaust-centred gallery. Insofar as these organisations took it upon themselves to educate the Canadian public about how the genocide of European Jewry should or should not be represented at a publicly funded Canadian museum, our goal is to set the record straight in view of the UCCLA’s and UCC’s histories of honouring Ukrainian nationalist resistance against the Soviets while obfuscating the former’s participation in what would now be considered crimes against humanity perpetrated against Jews and Poles during the Second World War. The second section will therefore summarise the history of Ukrainian nationalist collaboration with the Nazis. Subsequent sections recount key

episodes of the CMHR controversy, including our own attempt to intervene through a letter of protest aimed at exposing the ultranationalist investments motivating the UCC's and UCCLA's respective campaigns. The essay concludes with a brief reflection on the obstacles faced by professional researchers and scholars who challenge the interests behind Holocaust obfuscation, which raises questions about the currency of ethnic 'inheritance' in Canada and the problems besetting an official multiculturalism policy that sometimes encourages a divisive and self-serving memory discourse. Here, the quandary we are additionally wrestling with is how to intervene in a fatuously pluralist public sphere where everyone is 'entitled' to his or her opinion, even, or perhaps especially, when it brackets out evidence that renders it untenable or shameful. Fatuous pluralism undermines the efforts of Holocaust scholars to present information about perpetrators that ethno-nationalists typically excoriate as 'hate speech'. What is at stake when our interventions are treated as simply one potentially 'valid' or 'invalid' opinion among others?

I. The Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA), the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) and the CMHR

In 2010–11, Lubomyr Luciuk assumed an increasingly conspicuous role as a spokesperson for the UCCLA in the campaign against the CMHR board's plans to include a separate, permanent gallery devoted to the Holocaust. It was Luciuk's UCCLA along with the Canadians for Genocide Education that paid Nanos Research to conduct a telephone poll in March 2011 calling upon Canadians to contest the injustice of the CMHR board's intent to 'establish a large, permanent space highlighting the Holocaust and a separate one for other atrocities, such as 3.3 million Ukrainians starved to death under Stalin in 1932–33 and the 1915 Armenian genocide'.¹⁶ At the same time, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress intensified its campaign to promote 'genocide awareness' for the 1932–33 famine for which it has claimed at least 7 million, but sometimes also 10 million, or even higher numbers of victims.

The UCCLA's and UCC's reactions to plans for permanent galleries in the human rights museum have, by and large, operated on

the competitive principle that attention to different histories of persecution has been unfairly distributed, and that Ukrainian suffering has been demoted in relation to Jewish and Aboriginal histories. The UCCLA campaign against plans for separate galleries in the CMHR deployed an egalitarian rhetoric of 'no preferential treatment' in a poll addressed to an ostensibly 'fair-minded' Canadian public. The explicit aim of the poll was to foment resentment against the *Shoah's* 'privilege' in Luciuk's view as a 'Jewish interest' that already commands excessive attention in the Canadian public sphere.

Not only has Luciuk vehemently complained about the museum's 'disproportional' attention to the Holocaust, he has also lambasted the 'abuse' of tax-payers' money in support of this 'preferential treatment'.¹⁷ As far back as 2003, Luciuk reportedly decreed that, 'no further federal, provincial, or municipal funding ... should be provided for this project unless assurances are made, publicly, that the proposed Canadian Museum for Human Rights will be inclusive in its concept and contents ... We must have confirmation, before the first shovel of earth is turned, that any such museum will not deliberately or otherwise elevate the suffering of any one community over others.'¹⁸ Not surprisingly, the UCC shared Luciuk's alarm regarding the CMHR advisory board's agenda to devote separate, permanent galleries to the Holocaust and Indigenous Rights, a plan both perceived as slighting Ukrainian suffering.¹⁹

During the winter and spring of 2010 and 2011, the UCCLA and UCC ratcheted up an increasingly shrill campaign against CMHR permanent gallery plans.²⁰ On 24 March 2011, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress-Alberta Provincial Council (UCC-APC) distributed mass emails that encouraged their members to take part in a vote administered by *The Globe and Mail* by answering a prompt about whether the CMHR should 'devote a section to the Holocaust' with a firm 'no'.²¹ The UCC hereby translated the Asper family's ambition to establish a Canadian museum dedicated to commemorating the Holocaust and promoting human rights into a competition in suffering. Of course, the Canadian public invited to judge the fairness of the museum board's plans was not apprised of the UCC's and the UCCLA's history of eliding their heroes' involvement in the mass murder of Poles and Jews; hence it came to pass that the same organisation that had saluted the Waffen-SS

Galizien four months earlier was now sending out mass emails asking Canadians to support its protest against a Holocaust gallery.

The UCCLA conveyed Luciuk's sense of grievance against the proposed Holocaust gallery in the spring of 2011 by distributing a sardonic postcard manifestly intended to foment resentment about the proposed Holocaust gallery (see Figures 1 and 2). Several Jewish groups and organisations received the card.²² Catherine Chatterley, the founding director of the Canadian Institute for the Study of Anti-Semitism in Winnipeg (CISA), intervened on 2 April 2011 by publishing an exposition of Luciuk's activities on the Institute's website. The front of Luciuk's postcard cites the cover of the 1947 Ukrainian edition of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* featuring a pig with a bullwhip in the foreground, an emaciated horse pulling a full cart uphill in the background, and a caption positioned in the bottom left corner that reads: 'All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others' (Figure 1).²³ The back of the postcard depicts a pig conspiratorially whispering into a sheep's ear, 'All galleries are equal but some galleries are more equal than others' (Figure 2). 'Clearly', as Chatterley asserts, 'the pigs are supporters of the Holocaust gallery, which is characterized as a vehicle of domination, inequality, and exploitation'. This Orwellian allusion not too subtly equates the Aspers and other proponents of a separate and permanent Holocaust gallery with the totalitarian swine regime (representing Stalin's dictatorship) from *Animal Farm* 'who', as Chatterley observes, 'enslave and dominate all the other animals but claim hypocritically that "All animals are equal".' Chatterley reminds her readers of a 'well-established history in European anti-Semitism', which has long associated Jews with pigs,²⁴ and goes on to express her frank astonishment that such a postcard could be distributed in Canada in 2011, 'without shame or conscience, by an organization that claims to protect civil liberties'. Luciuk thus inadvertently provided Chatterley with a clear justification for CISA's work, if not also for the CMHR.²⁵

In assessing the UCCLA and the UCC's campaign against the CMHR floor plan, Chatterley observes that, 'the protest of these groups clearly targets the Holocaust for having a prominent place in the museum and "the Jews", who go unmentioned by name in every public letter, for dominating the CMHR with their own

particularistic suffering during WWII'. Yet she also bids us not 'to assume this hateful postcard reflects the general sentiment of the Ukrainian Canadian community about the Holocaust gallery specifically or the Ukrainian people in general', even if it 'was produced and distributed across our nation by the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association', which presumes 'to speak for Ukrainians in Canada'.²⁶

II. Ukrainian Nationalism, the Second World War and the Holocaust: A Background

For decades, the UCC and the UCCLA have celebrated the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (known by its Ukrainian acronym UPA), as well as a Waffen-SS Division consisting of Ukrainians under Heinrich Himmler's command. Founded in 1929, the OUN was the leading Ukrainian ultranationalist organisation, active primarily in Western Ukraine, which, in the interwar period, was part of the Second Polish Republic. This antisemitic and racist organisation rejected democracy and relied on violence in order to achieve an independent and authoritarian Ukraine. In 1940, the OUN split into two rival factions: a more conservative wing under Andrii Melnyk [OUN(m)] and a radical wing under Stepan Bandera [OUN(b)]. The OUN's armed wing, UPA, was organised in 1943. Members of both factions took part in pogroms and in the mass murder of Jews in the summer of 1941.²⁷ From the autumn of 1941 until the winter of 1942–43, many OUN activists served in various collaborationist formations in Ukraine and Belarus, and were involved in the implementation of Nazi genocidal policies and mass atrocities against the civilian population. An analysis of the biographies of 69 top UPA commanders shows that at least 72 per cent of them had worked in official or unofficial capacities with German units or had been trained by the Nazis prior to engaging in the mass murder of Poles, Jews and other minorities in 1943.²⁸

OUN racism and antisemitism radicalised over the course of the 1930s.²⁹ By 1938, OUN ideologue Volodymyr Martynets' is on record as describing Jews as a 'parasitical', 'morally damaging', 'corrupting' and 'hostile element', that is 'racially unsuited for



FIGURE 1. UCCLA POSTCARD (front).

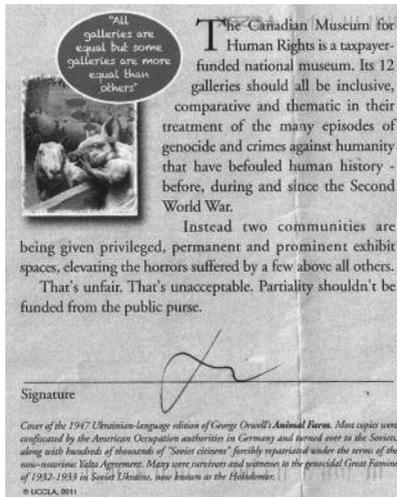


FIGURE 2. UCCLA POSTCARD (back).

miscegenation and assimilation'. His solution to 'the Jewish problem' was 'a total and absolute isolation' of the Jews, leading to 'a continuous decline in the number of Jews, not only through emigration, but also through the decline of their natural growth rate'.³⁰

The same year, OUN activist Mykhailo Kolodzins'kyi wrote 'The Military Doctrine of Ukrainian Nationalists',³¹ a blueprint for an uprising in Western Ukraine, with detailed instructions about how to deal with 'hostile' national minorities – Poles, Jews and Russians. Kolodzins'kyi outlined the ethnic cleansing of Western Ukraine from Poles, the partial extermination of other 'hostile' minorities and the utilisation of an uprising to murder Jews ('The more Jews killed during the uprising, the better for the Ukrainian state').³²

The OUN leaders sought to establish a greater Ukraine of over one million square kilometres, with borders spanning from the Danube to the mid-Volga region and the Caspian Sea, and to establish a Ukrainian colonial empire in Central Asia.³³ The 1941 German invasion of the USSR propelled a significant escalation of anti-Jewish violence. It also emboldened the OUN(b) leadership. Both the OUN 'prime minister', Iaroslav Stets'ko, and his propaganda director, Stepan Lenkavs'kyi, promulgated the OUN(b)'s endorsement of the 'German methods' for exterminating Jews.³⁴

The figuration of communism as a Jewish project was a cornerstone of OUN(b) ideology. The May 1941 OUN(b) blueprint for its wartime activities proposed guidelines for the establishment of a 'People's Militia' as well as 'internment camps, set up for Jews, asocial elements and captives'. Its slogan was 'Ukraine for the Ukrainians ... Death to the Muscovite-Jewish commune! Beat the commune, save Ukraine!', and called for a 'dog's death' for the 'Muscovite-Jewish intruders' (*moskovs'ko-zhydivs'kh zaid*).³⁵ The OUN(b) incited Ukrainians to anti-Jewish violence, urging them to 'exterminate' Jews, Poles and Magyars (*Nyshch ikh*).³⁶ As the German forces invaded, Western Ukraine was swept by a wave of anti-Jewish violence. The estimated number of pogroms differs significantly, from 35 to over 140, and the estimated number of victims ranges from 12,000 to 35,000.³⁷

In their fight for Ukrainian statehood, the UPA annihilated the Polish population in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia, murdering

between 70,000 and 100,000 Poles, as well as thousands of Jews who had, to date, somehow managed to elude a relentless German onslaught.³⁸ Though increasingly well documented since new archives opened in the 1990s, the mounting evidence for nationalist atrocities during this period has been suppressed or disavowed by much of the Ukrainian diaspora, particularly the post-war ‘third wave’ of Ukrainian immigration, and their community organisations, which tend, instead, to sentimentalise the OUN, UPA and the *Waffen-SS Galizien* as unblemished heroes of anti-Soviet resistance, while inculcating their Canadian children and grandchildren with a hotly defensive silence respecting their heroes’ less noble pursuits.³⁹

III. The UCCLA, UCC and *Waffen-SS* Nostalgia

The Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA) and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) have mostly served mutually supporting functions in promulgating heroic idealisations of OUN/UPA and the *Galizien* Division of the *Waffen-SS* favoured in differing degrees by members of the diaspora. The UCCLA was created in 1984 to counteract what the organisation’s members denounced as ‘defamatory accusations’ to the effect that Ukrainian war criminals ‘were being harbored in Canada’ by those who felt that the UCC was not campaigning effectively enough against war crimes allegations.⁴⁰ Though its membership has always been heavily dominated by people associated with the OUN(b) (also known as ‘*Banderites*’), UCCLA spokesmen have never seen any hypocrisy in speaking in the name of civil liberties in the course of defending high-profile alleged Ukrainian war criminals, including *Wasył Odynskyi*⁴¹ and *Volodymyr Katriuk*.⁴² Its membership rejects denaturalisation and deportation procedures against alleged war criminals, and has defined itself in opposition to the *Wiesenthal Center*’s agenda to locate and prosecute war criminals.⁴³ Active members include *Taras Podilsky*, a local OUN(b) leader in Alberta, and UCC President *Paul Grod*, who serves as an honorary board member.⁴⁴

The anti-Jewish accusations made by UCCLA spokespersons are particularly egregious for an organisation that claims to speak for civil liberties. In 2002, UCCLA spokesperson *Eugene Harasymiw*

(1941–2004)⁴⁵ referred to the Jewish people as ‘Stalin’s willing executioners’ and mused on ‘the Jewish community’s stranglehold on victim identity and permanent martyr status’.⁴⁶ Harasymiw dismissed Canada’s war crimes prosecutions of Ukrainians as ‘nothing short of scandalous two-bit witch hunts, facilitated by gutless, cowed politicians who would stop at nothing to curry favour with the rich and powerful. “To hell with justice”, as long as it has a propaganda element to it – that’s the battle cry of the depraved lobby pushing this unconscionable process.’⁴⁷ An avid participant in the defence of alleged Ukrainian war criminals, Harasymiw was unabashed about his desire to sweep nationalist atrocities under the carpet. ‘One of the last things the world needs is yet another Holocaust museum’, Harasymiw once declared: ‘It is also the very last thing Ukraine needs.’⁴⁸

As Moses has already reported, the UCCLA did not join the UCC’s push for a separate gallery that ‘elevated the Holodomor to the Holocaust’s lofty status’, but advocated for ‘the position of the Canadians for a Genocide Museum coalition’ put forward by its founder, the UCC’s John Gregorovich, who also served as UCCLA’s president and remains an honorary member of the UCCLA board of directors.⁴⁹ As the director of the CGM coalition, Gregorovich had called for ‘equal treatment for all genocides, which meant no special treatment for the Holodomor either’.⁵⁰ The UCCLA’s director of research, Lubomyr Luciuk, consistently echoed this position in his ubiquitous public statements about the museum. What goes unacknowledged in myriad postings is his continuous championship of the legacy of the OUN(b), the UPA and the Waffen-SS Galizien in cooperation with various OUN(b) institutions.⁵¹ Though he is a professor of Political Geography at the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ontario, Luciuk has uncritically reprinted and reproduced the OUN(b)’s selective accounts of their own war-time activities.⁵²

In the mid-1990s, the UCCLA adopted a different approach. After having strongly rejected denaturalisation and deportation procedures, it now embraced them but urged the Canadian government to apply them ‘equitably’. According to Luciuk, ‘they [the Canadian government] have never looked, as far as we know, at Soviet war crimes. Any war criminals found in Canada or elsewhere should be brought to justice.’ Relying on the memoirs of Jews who

had served in Soviet security organs or as partisans, the UCCLA in 2005 alleged that three Jewish men and one Jewish woman who then lived in Canada had been members of *Smersh*, the Soviet counter-intelligence unit and the NKVD. Luciuk justified these accusations as follows: ‘These people were all personally involved; in their own words, they participated in the torture and killing of people they saw as the enemy. Of course, they could be liars. It’s not for me to judge. Is this anti-Semitic? No, it’s anti-Soviet.’⁵³

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress, originally founded as the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1940, is an elected body of significant political and social importance. As is the case with the UCCLA, the UCC’s current executive committee is dominated by Banderites, who serve as national president and treasurer.⁵⁴ Its constituent organisations include both wings of the OUN, the veteran organisation of the UPA, and the *Waffen-SS Galizien* (whose members refer to themselves as ‘The Brotherhood of Veterans of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army’).⁵⁵

Die 14. Waffen-Grenadier-Division der SS (1. Galizische), or *Waffen-SS Galizien* was an antisemitic unit that pledged an oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler and fought for a German victory in the war.⁵⁶ The formation of the *Waffen-SS Galizien* was supported by Ukrainian nationalist organisations and the overwhelming majority of its soldiers were volunteers. The Nuremberg Trials ruled that the *Waffen-SS* was a criminal organisation,⁵⁷ yet admirers of the *Waffen-SS Galizien* within the UCC and the UCCLA claim that their *Waffen-SS* units were an exception, and celebrate their Ukrainian recruits as national heroes. Indeed, the very same UCC and UCCLA leaders who decry plans for a permanent Holocaust gallery have never disguised their admiration for the *Waffen-SS Galizien*. In a 1983 article that appeared in the leading Canadian OUN(b) organ, the *Ukrainian Echo*, current UCCLA spokesperson Lubomyr Luciuk acknowledged that, ‘membership in the Division has never been regarded by its veterans as a cause for shame’.⁵⁸ In 2001, he alleged that, ‘no member of the Ukrainian Division “Galicia” [*sic*] can be prosecuted for a war crime or crime against humanity since no evidence of any such crimes exist’.⁵⁹ In addition, the UCCLA objects to the charitable tax status of the Friends of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, presumably because of its ‘vilification’ of the *Waffen-SS Galizien* Division.⁶⁰

To shore up the rectitude of their cause, Luciuk and other Waffen-SS Galizien celebrants typically cite the Deschênes Commission, which was established in 1985 to absolve Canada of its reputation as a ‘haven’ for war criminals.⁶¹ Unfortunately, by limiting its investigation of the Waffen-SS Galizien Division to the period of its official existence, which post-dated the mass murders of the majority of the Jews in Ukraine and Belarus, the Commission in effect bracketed out the atrocities perpetrated by individual recruits before they joined.⁶² Even at the time of the Commission, its Director of Historical Research, Alti Rodal, submitted the following conclusion in her (unpublished) report on the ‘continuity between Ukrainian police units and the Galician Waffen-SS Division’: ‘At least some persons who had served with Nazi-sponsored Ukrainian police/militia units that participated in killing actions in 1941–1943 would have found their way into the ranks of the Division possibly before, and more likely after the Battle of Brody.’⁶³ The Canadian government decided not to make the Rodal report public. A highly censored version was released in 1987, in response to several Access to Information requests. Whereas some additional sections were released in the 1990s, the report is still not available in its entirety.⁶⁴ Many of these Waffen-SS men likely participated in pogroms, police actions, and even massacres before donning their SS uniforms. Yet as recently as Remembrance Day, 2010, the UCC saluted the unit in the following words:

As Ukrainian Canadians we also remember and pay tribute to the millions of men and women who perished fighting for the freedom of their ancestral Ukrainian homeland. The men and women of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, the 1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army [*sic*],⁶⁵ the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.⁶⁶

This was not an isolated incident. In February 2010, the UCC called on Canada to recognise the veterans of the OUN and UPA as ‘designated resistance fighters’, a proclamation that prompted objections from several experts in the field. David Marples, Distinguished University Professor at the University of Alberta, published an op-ed in the *Edmonton Journal* in which he cited the

well-documented claim that the OUN(b) played a key role in the 1941 pogroms.⁶⁷ This editorial provoked the wrath of the UCC and other ultranationalist elements in the diaspora who admire Bandera and deny OUN and UPA participation in anti-Jewish violence. Alarmed by the unfavourable light cast over their heroes, the UCC in this context organised a ‘task force’ which included Paul Grod, Lubomyr Luciuk, Roman Serbyn, Stepan Bandera (a grandson of Bandera), Marco Levytsky (the editor of the *Ukrainian News/Ukrains’ki visti*, an Edmonton-based newspaper), and Jars Balan from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta (CIUS). The task force’s aim was to coordinate a defence against ‘the attacks on the Ukrainian national liberation movement’.⁶⁸

The *Edmonton Journal* was flooded with angry letters from incensed Ukrainian nationalists who denied the OUN’s role in the pogroms. Choosing not to fan ultranationalist fury, the editors of the *Edmonton Journal* reneged on a promise to publish a joint op-ed by John-Paul Himka and Per Anders Rudling that would have offered a more detailed account of the 1941 Lviv pogrom while providing some orientation about the current state of the research about the OUN and the pogroms. Instead, Himka and Rudling were limited to short letters to the editor to counter some of the nationalists’ factually inaccurate and antisemitically tainted claims about Jewish overrepresentation in the NKVD during the 1939–41 Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine.⁶⁹

In 2010, the UCC awarded the Shevchenko medal, ‘the highest form of recognition that can be granted by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress’, to the UCCLA’s Luciuk, along with Roman Serbyn, a professor emeritus at the University of Quebec in Montreal, retired since 2002.⁷⁰ Like Luciuk, Serbyn has, for years, actively promoted a positive mythology of the Waffen-SS Galizien. As recently as 2009, Serbyn declared that, ‘if Ukraine today honors the veterans of the Red Army, then it is unworthy to relate to the veterans of the Ukrainian [Waffen-SS] Division “Galicia” with any less respect’.⁷¹ Serbyn has taken former Ukrainian president Viktor Yushchenko to task for failing to include the Waffen-SS Galizien ‘and other units of the armed forces of the Axis powers’ in his myth making.⁷² In his rebuttal to our open letter, which we discuss in greater detail in

Section V below, Serbyn reiterated his surprise that scholars of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust would see any contradiction between promoting human rights on the one hand and celebrating the Waffen-SS Galizien and the OUN-UPA on the other: 'As for UCC's calling on the Canadian government to recognize the UPA veterans, what's wrong with that? ... Members of all armies commit crimes during war. Yet we honor them. So what is wrong with honoring UPA and Galicia Division?'⁷³

IV. Inflating the Famine

From the nationalist point of view, Ukrainians figured in the role of victims but seldom or never as perpetrators of atrocities. For decades, the émigré OUN(b) alleged up to 15 million Ukrainian victims of genocidal policies perpetrated by 'Moscow'.⁷⁴ Similar dogma continue to circulate as a commonplace in Ukrainian nationalist diaspora circles as evinced in statements publicised by the UCCLA's and the UCC's academic lobbyists. Luciuk has described the 1932–33 famine as 'a crime against humanity arguably without parallel in European history',⁷⁵ and 'arguably the greatest act of genocide in 20th century Europe',⁷⁶ and this superlative has inflected his opposition to public funding for an exhibit on the Holocaust from the outset. Serbyn's numbers have varied over the years; his most recent count of Ukrainian genocide victims for 1932–33 tallies at 14 million.⁷⁷ The Holocaust envy motivating the inflated famine toll is clear: to position Ukrainian losses within a global victim competition so as to overshadow the six million murders conventionally attributed to the Jewish genocide.⁷⁸

Insistent repetition is the faithful servant of mythmaking. Ukrainian-Canadian ultranationalist inflations of Great Famine losses correspond to and thus entrench similar figures officiated by kindred spirits in western Ukraine, which is not astonishing given the close networks the diaspora nationalists maintain with the homeland. In October 2010, following a trip to Ukraine, Prime Minister Harper was taken to task by the Canadian press for repeatedly claiming ten million Ukrainian deaths in the *Holodomor*. Although there were 10.6 million Canadians in 1932–33, Harper nevertheless declared that, 'almost as many Ukrainians died in the *Holodomor* during the 1930s as there

were Canadians alive at that time'.⁷⁹ In a press release, UCC director Grod further embellished Harper's claim: 'Harper emphasized the genocidal nature of the Holodomor and commented that more people were killed during that horror than were alive in Canada at that time.'⁸⁰

In the same year that he received the Shevchenko medal, Serbyn was also re-elected to serve as an additional board member on the UCC National Executive Committee.⁸¹ Grod admitted to the media that he relied on Serbyn for his assertion that ten million Ukrainians perished in the famine, an apocryphal claim that the UCC has repeatedly disseminated in press releases and official communiqués.⁸² After the national media exposed the UCC's inflation of the famine numbers, the organisation quietly removed the majority of statements to this effect from its sites, and many of their press releases have since abandoned the hyperbolic death tolls; however, the organisation has yet to acknowledge that the statements it disseminated to the Canadian public for many years were factually incorrect and misleading. Moreover, the UCC's overstatement of the numbers continues unabated in its communications to members and sympathisers. In short, the UCC pursues a strategy of double bookkeeping by presenting one message to the mass media and the public and another to the nationalist faithful.⁸³

Even when the UCC refrains from circulating the ten million figure in public communications, this lobby group still employs heightened rhetoric to rank the famine as the worst of all 'genocides', a designation that is still being debated.⁸⁴ In response to the annual Holocaust Awareness Week in November 2011, the UCC website advertised *Holodomor* commemoration with the following slogan: 'the best harvest, the largest genocide, the biggest lie, the best kept secret.'

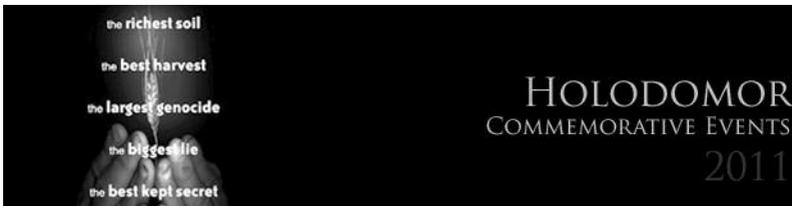


FIGURE 3. THE UCC COMMEMORATES THE HOLODOMOR AS 'THE LARGEST GENOCIDE'.

<<http://www.ucc.ca/programs/projects/holodomor/>> (accessed 15 January 2012).

While a literary or psychoanalytic perspective might grant Ukrainians and their descendants the emotional ‘right’ of the traumatised to exaggerate the *Holodomor* as a means of representing its profound impact,⁸⁵ such exaggerations remain bound up with an incorrigible denial or deflection of Jewish and Polish suffering at the hands of Ukrainian militia who were not merely following orders when they hunted down and massacred their victims. The historian Johan Dietsch argues that

the campaign [to promote the 1932–33 famine as a genocide], that began in 1983 also seems to have been a way, at least for some individuals and organizations in the Ukrainian community in North America, to counter charges and allegations that Ukrainians were inherently anti-Semitic and that they were overrepresented in the ranks of Hitler’s executioners.⁸⁶

John-Paul Himka has observed that, ‘this kind of competing victimology is used to justify the violence of radical Ukrainian nationalists during World War II’.⁸⁷ An admixture of Holocaust envy and obfuscation thus comprises the background of the UCC and UCCLA’s incentive to take their resentments about the CMHR permanent exhibit plans to the Canadian public and government. Once again, our aim in presenting this background is not to dismiss legitimate debate about the CHMR vision, but to stress how an ostensible preoccupation with ‘fairness’ appears corrosive, if not altogether hypocritical, once the history of these lobby groups comes to light.

V. Our Open Letter

As our brief background suggests, the UCCLA and UCC have obfuscated the involvement of the OUN, UPA and the Waffen-SS Galizien Division in atrocities committed mainly against Jews and Poles in the process of honouring these units as heroic resistance fighters. For this reason, the authors felt that the UCCLA and UCC were poorly suited to serve their self-appointed functions as educators to the Canadian public on the question of how to represent human rights and promote genocide awareness ‘equitably’. As we have already observed, the leaderships of these organisations are

dominated by affiliates of the émigré OUN(b) – the political heirs to organisations deeply involved in atrocities against Jewish and Polish civilians. Through the expansion of endowments named after senior OUN activists and Waffen-SS Galizien veterans by academic institutions such as the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) at the University of Alberta, the ultranationalist narrative has also gained a certain acceptance.⁸⁸ On a practical level, few people beyond those who specialise in this period are in a strong position to speak out against the narratives aggressively recycled by nationalist academics because contesting them requires a solid knowledge of local languages and a detailed sense of the contents of recently opened archives.

To many Holocaust scholars in and beyond the University of Alberta, these lobby groups' self-interested policing of historical research is unacceptable on both academic and moral grounds. We decided to act, and began drafting an open letter, aimed at the Canadian public, but also Second World War researchers around the world, to draw attention to the extraordinary situation in Canada where ultranationalist sympathisers with Holocaust perpetrators are granted forums, community and university space, and even provided with government funds for the purpose of honouring perpetrators as heroic resistance fighters under the rubric of commemorating a 'cultural legacy'.⁸⁹

Our open letter was originally sent out to 56 colleagues, with an invitation to add their signatures if they shared its concerns. We were contacted by numerous specialists in the field, including some of the world's leading Holocaust scholars and experts on Nazi policies. The 117 signatories from North America, Europe, Asia and Australia called the UCC and UCCLA to account for their ongoing glorification of Ukrainian organisations that not only collaborated with Nazi Germany, but also acted on their own initiative in hunting down and killing national minorities and political opponents. Referring to their decades-long championship of mass murderers as well as their denials and rationalisations of nationalist atrocities, we reproached UCC and UCCLA spokespersons for their double standard with respect to any question about depicting human rights abuses and for the manifest hypocrisy of their opposition to the CMHR Board's plans for permanent galleries focusing on the

Holocaust and the history of Canada's treatment of Aboriginal and First Nations groups. The letter also reproves UCC and UCCLA members for tripling the numbers of dead attributed to the Great Famine which, according to scholars, range between 2.6 and 3.9 million, to between 7 and 10 million, or higher. Ultimately, then, the open letter urged these community leaders to begin an honest confrontation with the past by addressing Ukrainian nationalist atrocities against Jewish and Polish civilians, and to refrain from deploying the *Holodomor* for the purpose of competitive victimology in the effort to appropriate the Holocaust's moral capital.⁹⁰

Not all of the letter's drafters agreed about its focus, details and aims. A few of us wanted to include Luciuk's employer, the Royal Military College of Canada, among the recipients, along with the Prime Minister and responsible ministers. Others, who had been bullied by the UCC 'task force', were concerned that such a tactic would reproduce the behaviour of the diaspora nationalists themselves. A couple of contributors were reluctant to include references to UCCLA and UCC nostalgia for the *Waffen-SS Galizien* in light of its potential incendiary impact. One of the authors, Karyn Ball, strongly objected to the last sentence of the letter, commanding the UCC and UCCLA to 'stay out of the debate', preferring to retain a focus on informing Canadians and readers at large about these groups, rather than gatekeeping. The final wording of the letter as a whole was, in the end, a compromise that drafters accepted with varying degrees of hope, scepticism and misgiving.⁹¹

VI. Reactions to the Open Letter

With the experience of the 2010 Bandera controversy still fresh in their memory, the drafters of the open letter prepared themselves for the mixture of denial, disinformation and antisemitically tainted conspiracy theories that repeatedly distinguish ultranationalists' responses to those who disagree with them. Luciuk, Serbyn and other UCC and UCCLA lobbyists responded with a frantic campaign of calling and writing letters. Luciuk and Serbyn also contributed at length to the comments sections following reports about the CMHR in various national and local newspapers – Luciuk under his own name and Serbyn under the pseudonym *Sempveritas*.⁹² In the course

of denouncing the criticisms in our letter as ‘lies’, ‘calumnies’, ‘Soviet-style anti-Ukrainian campaigns’, and ‘KGB and Gestapo’ methods, Luciuk and Serbyn disavowed positions their respective organisations had vocalised only weeks earlier; in addition, the lobbyists sent ‘concerned’ letters to Per Rudling’s academic supervisors, insinuating that his actions would jeopardise his academic career.⁹³

Luciuk reacted to the open letter by invoking civil liberties at the same time that he posed as a victim of deceit, slander, bullying and obfuscation.⁹⁴ Luciuk now insisted that, ‘neither the UCCLA nor the UCC have ever objected to the inclusion of the Shoah [Holocaust] in this publicly funded national museum and claiming otherwise is a calumny’.⁹⁵ Responding to Chatterley’s criticisms on CISA’s website as well as our letter, he insisted that, ‘UCCLA’s Animal Farm postcard does not ‘paint Jews as pigs. Claiming that is a calumny.’ He went on to dismiss ‘the orchestrated outcry about the Animal Farm Postcard’ as the ‘desperation’ of those who ‘failed to counter UCCLA’s legitimate concerns over the proposed contents and ongoing governance of this national institution [and] are now resorting to bully-boy tactics and name calling to obfuscate the truth’.⁹⁶

The UCC appears to have tasked one of its long-term activists, Professor Emeritus Roman Serbyn, with responding to the concerns raised in the letter. Serbyn sent his ‘deconstruction’ of the letter to the drafters, demanding that we distribute it to all the signatories while adding that, ‘otherwise I can see no difference between your tactic and that of the Gestapo and the KGB’.⁹⁷ In his ‘response’, Serbyn denied that the UCC has regularly overstated the *Holodomor* death toll for political reasons and denounced our objections to this competitive victimology tactic as ‘manipulative’ and ‘truly reprehensible’.⁹⁸ In the comments section following James Adams’ 21 April 2011 report for *The Globe and Mail*, Serbyn described our open letter as ‘a Soviet-style anti-Ukrainian attack’.⁹⁹

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress – Alberta Provincial Committee engaged Serhiy Kostyk, a former employee of the Interregional Academy for Personnel Management (better known under its Ukrainian Acronym MAUP) to conduct damage control.¹⁰⁰ On the website of the Canadian Institute for the Study of Anti-Semitism, Kostyk made a number of critical posts, lashing out most

vehemently at David Marples from the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta, who had neither drafted nor signed the letter. It is worth pointing out that Kostyk's letter had previously appeared as an op-ed in the pro-nationalist *Ukrains'ki visti/Ukrainian News* in Edmonton a year earlier, in response to Marples' February 2010 op-ed for the *Edmonton Journal*, in which he criticised outgoing president Viktor Yushchenko's designation of Stepan Bandera as an official hero.

Marco Levytsky, the editor of the *Ukrainian News* in Edmonton, decried the open letter with an op-ed in the *Kyiv Post*, in which he cited two post-war OUN(b) forgeries in an attempt to disprove the OUN-UPA's antisemitism: the first is a forged biography of a fictitious Jewish woman who was supposedly rescued by the OUN(b) during the Holocaust, and the second a post-war OUN forgery to the effect that the OUN(b) rejected German offers to take part in the 1941 pogroms.¹⁰¹

Other respondents included the notorious activist Will Zuzak who, for many years, has obfuscated the Holocaust in defence of alleged Ukrainian war criminals.¹⁰² Zuzak described the letter as 'a scurrilous attack on the Ukrainian community that appeared like a bombshell' organised by 'a nest of Ukrainophobes including John-Paul Himka'.¹⁰³ Zuzak also lashed out against the Aspers: 'To speak of Israel Asper as being a champion of human rights is an oxymoron. Mr. Asper was only interested in Jewish rights and Jewish power.'¹⁰⁴ In view of Zuzak's history, we were not surprised to hear that he could not find anything objectionable about the UCCLA's pigs postcard. In response to *Winnipeg Jewish Review* editor Rhonda Spivak's 'Open Letter to Lubomyr Luciuk',¹⁰⁵ he asks: 'Does Ms. Spivak object to Poles being portrayed as pigs in Art Spiegelman's Holocaust cartoon series *Maus*?'¹⁰⁶

A Winnipeg-based anonymous blogger who calls himself 'Black Rod' excoriated the letter as 'a hate campaign against Canada's Ukrainian community'.¹⁰⁷ 'Black Rod' accused Chatterley of 'attempting to demonize the Ukrainians', and vowed to 'proudly reprint the postcard ... to show we will not be intimidated by the Aspers, the Sterns, the Silvers, and all the so-called proponents of human rights, except when they can use their power to stifle free speech, free thought and free expression'.¹⁰⁸

The letter was translated into Polish and Ukrainian, and received a mixed reception at home and abroad. In Poland, a few groups welcomed the heightened attention to the Ukrainian ultranationalists' ongoing denial of the OUN-UPA mass murders of the Poles and Jews of western Ukraine.¹⁰⁹ Others, such as the Polish blogger 'Tymczasowy', responded with thinly-veiled antisemitism, citing Art Spiegelman's graphic novel *Maus*, which figured Jews as mice, Germans as cats, and Poles as pigs, to defend the UCCLA postcard's portrayal of Holocaust gallery supporters while insinuating that the supposed ethnicity of the signers should speak for itself: 'It is difficult to mention all signers of the letter, so I stop at a selected group: Achinger, Bechtel, Breitman, Ganzer, Gold, Goldberg, Grossmann, Gutterman, Haberman, Hausmann, Hirsch, Horowitz, Kaplan, Katz, Kramer, Lipstadt, Litvak, Lower, Rabinovici, Risch, Rudling, Samuels, Silberklang, Steiman.'¹¹⁰

Responses to the letter in online comments sections in Canadian newspapers have sometimes been disheartening, and the UCC and UCCLA have stoked resentments against academics for smugly presuming to tell others to stay out of the debate. In addition, wherever Canadian journalists reported on the controversy or the letter, comments sections in national and local papers were inundated by what appeared to be an orchestrated campaign of angry, anonymous responses.¹¹¹

The question remains as to how a non-specialist judges the respective arguments when a statement based on years of archival research is no different than any other 'opinion' apart from its 'pretensions' to expertise.¹¹² Hostility against the idea of academic authority not only pre-empts the historical claims that our letter brought to bear on the UCC and UCCLA's celebration of Holocaust perpetrators, but also nullifies the 'enlightened public sphere' ethos of academic inquiry: that 'we' earn public trust by committing as much as possible to open-minded investigation guided by a desire to address the results of our questions regardless of whether these results confirm our ethnic and national identifications or not.

Anti-elitist and anti-intellectual attitudes vex our opposition as Holocaust scholars and researchers to those who regularly exploit public forums to minimise or deny the Ukrainian nationalist organisations' role in atrocities in the course of re-entrenching

legends of stalwart Ukrainian freedom fighters defending their homeland against the Judeo-Communist threat. In a fatuously pluralist environment where everyone is entitled to his or her deeply held, culturally-specific 'truth', no matter how apocryphal or self-interested,¹¹³ academic researchers are not regarded as authorities, that is to say, as specially trained knowledge creators who have devoted many years to developing an increasingly nuanced picture of the evidence for OUN/UPA atrocities based upon a critical and comparative examination of archival documents written in Ukrainian, Russian, German and Polish. Instead, Canadian newspapers sometimes treat academic interventions as merely one current of heated or biased opinion among others.

This state of affairs in which academic research inspires little respect not only affects those holding doctorates in the humanities and social sciences. As the recalcitrance of climate change denial suggests, dangers arise when research, or even evidence, does not 'count' to the extent that it becomes clear to the public that the standard of disinterested inquiry (striving to let the object 'speak' rather than telling it what to 'say' in advance) no longer applies in many quarters. While it is impossible to rule out personal and institutional influences that determine the questions we ask and how we interpret the results, this standard might still operate as a regulative ideal that we uphold to the best of our ability.

Luciuk and Serbyn have given us reason to question their commitment to open-minded inquiry – they do not genuinely ask the question, 'What happened?'. Both activist professors regularly deploy their prestige within the diaspora community to dismiss competing historical views, scorning research that does not appease ultranationalist solipsism as 'Soviet propaganda' and 'anti-Ukrainian KGB tactics', even when the researchers in question take pains to account for how their sources may have shaped or distorted archival materials. In addition, Luciuk and Serbyn invoke their authority as professors with access to government officials to muster support for mythological depictions of the OUN, UPA and the Waffen-SS Galizien as heroic champions of freedom while taking part in organised efforts to silence scholars who challenge this image. In this manner, Luciuk and Serbyn have, for many years, provided fuel for their impassioned compatriots in ultranationalist circles who

compulsively denounce critical historians for their ‘ukrainophobia’. Under the auspices of ‘defending’ history, their organisations have undermined the authority of academic historians while deepening the public’s distrust of academics in general.

The progress of the ongoing endeavour to combat Holocaust obfuscation among the Ukrainian ultranationalist community in Canada has been slow and limited, and our expectations have necessarily remained modest. By publishing our letter, we hoped that diaspora nationalists would retreat from their most outlandish and offensive positions, and there has been a little success in this direction. On Remembrance Day, in both 2011 and 2012, Paul Grod refrained from explicitly saluting the OUN, UPA and Ukrainian Waffen-SS veterans.¹¹⁴ This is a welcome step, yet the open letter did not deter the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta from instituting four additional endowments in 2011 and 2014 honouring Ukrainian Waffen-SS veterans.¹¹⁵ CIUS actions indicate that most of the work of honestly exploring the past lies ahead for Ukrainian-Canadian community leaders. While a certain generation of pro-nationalist scholars will never be persuaded by mounting evidence, the field is changing: a body of critical scholarship on OUN’s ideology and atrocities is now appearing, and the diaspora generation will find it increasingly difficult to prevent their progeny in Canada from pursuing a more open and balanced confrontation with the mixed disposition of Ukrainian nationalism.

Finally, the authors of this essay stand with the other 115 signatories of the open letter in support of a public debate about the mandate of a national human rights museum in Canada (or anywhere); nevertheless, we have been compelled to ask what other courses of action remain for scholars who would stave off Holocaust obfuscation by those who sympathise with its perpetrators and collaborators when self-serving opinion expressed with the insistence of fact trumps professional training and a commitment to inductive investigation?

Pierre Nora’s distinction between *history* and *memory* assigns professional historians the task of reasoned, open-minded investigations about what happened without falling back on articles of faith, or, as the case may be, without caving in to the ideologising desire that prompts the notoriously selective, mythologising

tendencies of memory. As Michael Rothberg contends, however, Nora's distinction falls prey to the fallacy of pathologising memory as inherently 'irrational' while anointing historians with 'authoritative healing powers' that can adjudicate between divisive claims.¹¹⁶ Against the insistence that 'disciplinary history is best suited to overcome the intolerable 'conflictual incompatibility of memories in a multicultural public sphere', Rothberg emphasises how 'coming to terms with the past always happens in comparative contexts and via the circulation of memories linked to what are only apparently state histories and national or ethnic constituencies'.¹¹⁷ Rothberg's commitment to the ethical promise of multidirectional memory does not redeem 'disciplinary history' from anti-academic attitudes that denigrate all scholars, including historians, as biased elitists; nevertheless, it does leave open the possibility that academic interventions might contribute to a dynamic process in which seemingly incommensurable memories can eventually coincide with a desire to forestall present and future violence.

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

1. The details about Ukrainian and Jewish emigration to Canada provided above were drawn from the 'Brief History of Canada's Responses to Refugees' section provided by the Conseil Canadien pour les Réfugiés/Canadian Council for Refugees website <http://ccrweb.ca/canadarefugeeshistory2.htm> (accessed 17 March 2014). See also Moses, 'Does the Holocaust Reveal or Conceal Other Genocides?', 25.
2. Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*.
3. Margolian, *Unauthorized Entry*, 132–45.
4. Himka, 'The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Ukraine', 647–50; Troper and Weinfeld, *Old Wounds*; Himka, 'Obstacles to the Integration of the Holocaust'.
5. Himka and Rudling, 'Wstep'; Himka, 'The Reception of the Holocaust in

- Postcommunist Ukraine', 626–62.
6. For a typical example of this narrative, see Hunczak, 'Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Soviet and Nazi Occupations'.
 7. See, in particular, 'VII: Round-Table Discussion' in Potichnyj and Aster (eds), *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, 479–92; Osadchuk, 'Z bl'oknota zhurnalista', 159–64; Kleiner, 'Naukova konferentsiia v Kanadi', 165–70; Serbyn, 'Ukrains'ko-evreyskyi diialoh bez 'tabu'', 216–21.
 8. Aster and Potichnyj, *Jewish-Ukrainian Relations*.
 9. Moses, 'The Canadian Museum for Human Rights', 227.
 10. This description draws upon language employed on the CMHR website in 2009–10. The description consulted can be accessed at https://humanrights.ca/sites/default/files/CMHR_Annual_Report_2009-2010.pdf (accessed 22 December 2014). See also Bernie Bellan's 'Human Rights Museum won't open until 2014: Holocaust Gallery to be part of "cluster" with other genocides', *Jewish Post and News* (8 December 2011) available at <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/mozuz/holodomor/bellan20111208JewishPost.html> (accessed 20 December 2014).
 11. Moses, 'The Canadian Museum for Human Rights', 217.
 12. *Ibid.*, 218.
 13. Ira Basen, 'Memory becomes a Minefield at Canada's Museum for Human Rights', *The Globe and Mail*, 20 August 2011. According to Basen, Gail Asper's 'dream' of building a Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg was allegedly sparked by a field trip in May 2000 funded by her media mogul father's charitable foundation, which had conscripted the lawyer to accompany Canadian students to DC to learn about the Holocaust and human rights. As reported by Basen, the group was standing in an interminable 'Disneyland lineup' to glimpse the Declaration of Independence when it dawned on Asper that her ninth grade student companions probably knew nothing about the 1982 Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. Before Israel (Izzy) Asper passed away in 2003, his daughter communicated her idea to the one-time executive officer of Canwest Global (renowned as 'Canada's largest media empire'). Asper had proposed a provincial bill of rights during his tenure as the leader of the Liberal Party of Manitoba; Ms Asper therefore found her father highly responsive to her suggestion that he sponsor a museum project in downtown Winnipeg 'that would tell the story of the Holocaust and the struggle for human rights in Canada and elsewhere' (Basen, 'Memory becomes a Minefield', 2). <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/memory-becomes-a-minefield-at-canadas-museum-for-human-rights/article2135961/>.
 14. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*. Rothberg writes: 'Against the framework that understands collective as *competitive* memory – as a zero-sum struggle over scarce resources – I suggest that we consider memory as *multidirectional*: as subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing; as productive and not privative.' Hence, rather than conceding that Holocaust memory 'blocks the memory of slavery and colonialism from view (the model of competitive memory)', Rothberg reimagines 'the presence of widespread Holocaust consciousness as a platform to articulate a vision of American racism past and present'. It is this 'interaction of different historical memories [that] illustrates the productive, intercultural dynamic that [Rothberg] call[s] multidirectional memory' (Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 3). In this connection, see also Karyn Ball's comments on the scarcity fallacy in the backlash against the Holocaust in the introduction to *Disciplining the Holocaust*.
 15. Moses, 'The Canadian Museum for Human Rights', 229.
 16. James Adams, 'Poll Rejects Museum's Plan to Set Holocaust Apart from Other Genocides', *The Globe and Mail*, 23 March 2011. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/arts/poll-adds-to-controversy-over-rights-museums-holocaust-program/>

- article1952131/. Adams reports the following results: ‘Of the 1,216 respondents, just over 60 per cent said they want the CMHR to adopt a “one exhibit/all genocides” approach, whereas close to 25 per cent prefer “one gallery [highlighting] a particular genocide permanently, while [grouping] the others ... together in a separate exhibit”. Just over 15 per cent of respondents said they were “unsure”.’
17. In the interest of accuracy, given that Lubomyr Luciuk claims the open letter indulges in ‘lies’ and ‘calumny’, we are citing at length his opposition to public funding: ‘isn’t [the Canadian Museum for Human Rights] good for Manitoba? That depends. Most of us pay taxes ... Without welfare, or “operational funding” as the bureaucrats call it, the Asper project won’t happen, in part because there is no demand for yet another Holocaust museum committed largely to recalling the horrors that befell one tribe during the Second World War. This boondoggle’s boosters don’t care. They’re spending your money, not their own ... If our taxes must underwrite this “national museum” why can’t its backers give straight answers to simple questions? For example, how much permanent space will be given to Canada’s “aboriginal holocaust” and will that theme afford more, or less, area than the Shoah? Why not focus primarily on Canadian issues like the plight of the Acadians, the injustices of the Chinese Head Tax, or what happened to Ukrainians during Canada’s first national internment operations? Will tragedies like the Holodomor, the Great Famine of 1932–33 in Soviet Ukraine, arguably the greatest act of genocide in 20th century Europe, deserve mention, shouldn’t non-Canadian stories be treated elsewhere, in this case in Ukraine [*sic*]? And since only a nut would deny the Holocaust, why is more than a quarter of this museum’s space still dedicated to a horror treated in dozens of centres, across North America and, of course, Israel? ... Some politicians are so intent on sucking up to media moguls that they don’t hesitate about throwing your money around, hoping to get serviced.’ Lubomyr Luciuk, ‘Focusing on our Atrocities’, *Winnipeg Sun*, 17 May 2007, 11.
 18. Lubomyr Luciuk, ‘Museum Must Include All Victims’, letter to the editor, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 15 April 2003.
 19. See James Adams, ‘Protest Grows over Holocaust “Zone” in Canadian Museum for Human Rights’, *The Globe and Mail*, 14 February, 2011. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/arts/protest-grows-over-holocaust-zone-in-canadian-museum-for-human-rights/article1906123/>. James Adams, ‘Group Says Rights Museum Slights Suffering of Ukrainians’, *The Globe and Mail*, 10 December 2010. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/group-says-rights-museum-slights-suffering-of-ukrainians/article1833799/>.
 20. The UCC courted other ethnic lobby groups, and the German-Canadian Congress joined their protests. Tony Bergmeier, national president of the German-Canadian Congress, was quoted as saying that his organisation ‘objects to having permanent galleries devoted to the Holocaust and Canada’s aboriginal people when no other human right violation or human suffering is receiving a permanent exhibit’. Like Luciuk, Bergmeier formulated his objection as a commitment to equity: “I thought it would be an equal opportunity for everybody”, Bergmeier said ... “We shouldn’t have a Holocaust exhibit as a permanent exhibit if no one else has one”, Bergmeier argued, emphasizing that, “we are certainly not Holocaust deniers – we know they suffered”. Kevin Rollason, ‘Rights Museum Takes Another Hit: German-Canadian Congress Joins Critics of Proposed Galleries’, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 16 December 2010. <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/premium/rights-museum-takes-another-hit-111986414.html> (accessed 15 January 2012). The German-Canadian Congress, while far smaller and less politically active, has occasionally shared interests with the UCC and UCCLA, for instance in the defence of Helmut Oberlander, a Ukrainian Volksdeutsche who served as translator in the Einsatzkommando 10, under the

command of Reinhard Heydrich's Sicherheitsdienst (SD) in 1942. 'Position statement, The Oberlander Case', GCC Ontario, <http://www.germancanadiancongress.com/positiono.html> (accessed 20 January 2012).

21. In the interest of accuracy, here is the wording from the poll:

'Should the Canadian Museum for Human Rights devote a section to the Holocaust? Yes. The Holocaust's historical significance merits this specific treatment. NO. Singling out the Holocaust this way is inequitable.'

The Globe and Mail, 24 March 2011. The UCC-APC mass mailings emphasised 'NO' with capital letters and provided a clickable link to its members and sympathisers to vote in accordance with the organisation's policies. See also <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/poll-should-the-canadian-museum-for-human-rights-devote-a-section-to-the-holocaust/article650779/?from=591189> (accessed 24 March 2011 and 29 June 2014). Moses suggests that endeavours such as this one aimed to replicate the results of a Ministerial Advisory Committee consultation with focus groups, following an August 2008 amendment to the Museums Act. Though the Holocaust received 'a low 7 per cent support, ranking below First Nations, genocide, women, internments, and war and conflict', as Moses notes, 'this ranking was inconsistent with the political and fund-raising imperatives that had hitherto informed the museum's plans'. Indeed, as Moses contends, the CMHR's 'Contents Advisory Committee Report seems to have been tailored to match the architectural concept and designs that were decided long before the public consultation'. The Holocaust would, accordingly, remain 'the Museum's heart' with approximately 4,500 square feet of exhibit space allocated to it (Moses, 'The Canadian Museum for Human Rights', 227 and 228).

22. Lubomyr Luciuk declined to respond to the *Winnipeg Jewish Review*'s questions about how many postcards were sent out, and whether or not he acknowledges that the pig imagery on the card could be considered antisemitic. Rhonda Spivak, 'Does this Postcard Suggest Jews are Pigs?: Hear some Feedback and Questions Posed to Those Who Sent it Out', *Winnipeg Jewish Review*, 13 April 2011. http://www.winnipegjewishreview.com/article_detail.cfm?id=987&sec=6&title=DOES_THIS_POSTCARD_SUGGEST_JEWS_ARE_PIGS_HEAR_SOME_FEEDBACK,_AND_QUESTIONS_POSED_TO_THOSE_WHO_SENT_IT_OUT (accessed 15 January 2012).
23. See also Moses, 'The Canadian Museum for Human Rights', 229. As inspiration for Luciuk's postcard, Moses cites the remark of UCCLA's Marsha Skrypuch to the parliamentary committee in 2000 that, 'All galleries are equal but some are more equal than others'.
24. The League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada recorded the UCCLA Orwell postcard in the 2011 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents. Cited in the *2011 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents: Patterns of Prejudice in Canada* (Toronto: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada/Ligue des droits de la personne, 2012), 11. <http://bnaibrith.ca/files/audit2011/AUDIT2011.pdf> (accessed 15 September 2012. Page no longer available).
25. Catherine Chatterley, 'The War Against the Holocaust', *The Winnipeg Free Press*, 2 April 2011. <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/westview/the-war-against-the-holocaust-119110699.html> (accessed 15 January 2012). Luciuk had apparently been searching for illustrations from the Yiddish or Hebrew edition of *Animal Farm*. <http://www.orwelltoday.com/readeranfarmhebrew.shtml> (accessed 20 January 2012).
26. Chatterley also defends the inclusion of a permanent Holocaust gallery in the following words: 'The inclusion of a permanent Holocaust gallery in this museum does not elevate the suffering of Jews above Ukrainians or anyone else for that matter. The

simple fact is Hitler's systematic murder of Europe's Jews was the catalyst for the development of international human rights law and activism and it is the study of the Holocaust that has in fact precipitated our current cultural obsession with racism, genocide and human rights. If it were not for the humanistic desire on the part of Jews – particularly Holocaust survivors and their children – to educate humanity about the evils of racism and the need to protect universal human rights through the study of the Holocaust, we would not have this new national museum. How on earth can this kind of generosity and goodwill be perceived as dominating and exclusive?' Chatterley, 'The War Against the Holocaust'. See also 'Catherine Chatterley leads Opposition to Holocaust Obfuscation campaign in Canada', *Defending History.com* (7 April 2011).

While Chatterley characterises the mass murder of European Jews as the spur of human rights law, Michael Marrus, Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Toronto, disputes this causal connection (as reported by Charles Lewis for the *National Post*): 'Prof. Marrus said the museum is operating under the belief that the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a touchstone of the modern human rights movement, was inspired by the Holocaust. The museum points to the declaration as evidence that the Holocaust was somehow the moving force behind the modern human rights movement. "Unfortunately, there is very little evidence for this contention. To the contrary, in the immediate postwar period there still does not seem to have been a very clear sense about the nature of the Holocaust, and it takes until the 1960s or '70s for this to really gel. I think the prominence given to the Holocaust, however well meaning, is historically incorrect.'" See Charles Lewis, 'Rights Museum needs a Rethink, Academic Says', *National Post*, 5 April, 2011. <http://life.nationalpost.com/2011/04/05/rights-museum-needs-rethink-academic-says/> (accessed 8 July 2014). Marrus's comments are reiterated in 'Jewish Professor Emeritus of Holocaust Studies tells National Post: Prominence of Holocaust in Rights Museum is Incorrect', *Winnipeg Jewish Review*, 5 April 2011). Reprinted on CISA's website at [http://web.me.com/cisa/CISA/Blog/Entries/2011/4/2_Pig_Postcard_Mailed_Across_Canada_by_Ukrainian_Canadian_Civil_Liberties_Association_\(UCCLA\).html](http://web.me.com/cisa/CISA/Blog/Entries/2011/4/2_Pig_Postcard_Mailed_Across_Canada_by_Ukrainian_Canadian_Civil_Liberties_Association_(UCCLA).html) (accessed 13 April 2011. Page no longer available). <http://defendinghistory.com/catherine-chatterley-leads-opposition-to-holocaust-obfuscationists-campaign-in-canada/14065> (accessed 8 July 2014).

In light of Marrus's claims, it is worth remembering that Polish-Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin coined the term 'genocide' in 1943, a term he formalised in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944). In *Blood and Soil*, Ben Kiernan reports that 'Lemkin was the major force behind the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide', which endowed the term with a narrower, legal meaning in defining it as 'an attempt at extermination, whether *partial or complete*' (italics in original, 10). Kiernan additionally notes that the UN Genocide Convention is 'a product of twentieth-century events and the legal response to them. Legally, it cannot be applied to events before 1951, when it came into force.' For this reason, not even the Nuremberg Tribunal convicted individual Nazis of 'the distinct crime of genocide', though it is clear that Hitler's regime perpetrated this crime (11). Yet as Kiernan also acknowledges, 'many aspects of the convention's definition of genocide were written specifically to outlaw the very kinds of events that had taken place during World War II and during the Armenian genocide in World War I' (11). Even though 140 states had ratified the 1948 UN Convention by 2007, 'it took exactly 50 years, from 1948 to 1998, to register the first international judicial conviction for genocide, the finding of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)' (12). On the historical relationships between the mass murder of European Jews and human rights discourse, see also Moses, 'Does the Holocaust Reveal or Conceal Other Genocides?'

27. Fostii, 'Dial'nist' OUN na Bukovyni u 1940–1941 rr'; Himka, 'The Lviv Pogrom of

- 1941’.
28. Katchanovski, ‘The Politics of World War II in Contemporary Ukraine’, 220.
 29. Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust*, 4–5.
 30. Martynets’, *Zhydiys’ka problema v Ukraini*, 10, 14–15, 22. See also Carynnyk, ‘Foes of our Rebirth’; Marco Carynnyk, “‘A Knife in the Back of Our Revolution’: A Reply to Alexander J. Motyl’s ‘The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Jews: Theoretical Reflections on Nationalism, Fascism, Rationality, Primordialism, and History’”, The American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies <http://www.aapjstudies.org/manager/external/ckfinder/userfiles/files/Carynnyk%20Reply%20to%20Motyl.pdf> (accessed 3 April 2014); Kurylo, ‘The “Jewish Question” in Ukrainian Nationalist Discourse of the Inter-War Period’. The organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists sought to police the sexual life of its imagined community, which it figured in bio-economic terms. Inter-marriage with other ‘races’, as OUN ideology maintained, constituted ‘a crime of national treason’ which would lead to ‘degeneration’, and should therefore be banned. The 40th rule of life of a Ukrainian nationalist reads: ‘Cherish motherhood as the source of re-generation of life. Make your family a ciborium for the racial purity of your Nation.’ Lypovets’kyi, *OUN banderivtsy*, 93–4. OUN ideologue Iuryi Lypa argued that each of the alleged 300 ovolutions of a Ukrainian woman and each of the alleged 1,500 ejaculations of a Ukrainian man was a ‘national resource’ comparable to deposits of iron, coal and oil. Iuryi Lypa, ‘Ukrains’ka rasa’, *Vatra: natsional-revolutsiynyi chasopys*, 21 July 2009, <http://www.vatra.cc/rasa/yuriy-lypa-ukrayinska-rasa.html> (accessed 7 January 2012).
 31. Zaitsev, ‘Defiliada v Moskvi ta Varshavi: “Voenna doctryna ukrains’kykh natsionalistiv”’, Zaitsev, ‘Viina iak prodovzhennia polityky’, 238.
 32. Zaitsev, ‘Viina iak prodovzhennia polityky’, 239.
 33. *Ibid.*; Kul’chys’kyi, *OUN v 1941 rotsi. Dokumenty. V 2-kh ch. Ch. 1*, 10; Derzhavnyi arkhiv Rivenskoï oblasti (DARO), Inv. no.326, reprinted in Vorontsov, ‘OUN-UPA: S kem i protiv kogo oni voevali’, 10; Martynowych, ‘Sympathy for the Devil’, 186.
 34. Berkhoff and Carynnyk, ‘The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists’, 171; FINDER and Prusin, ‘Collaboration in Eastern Galicia’, 102.
 35. “Borot’ka i diial’nist’ OUN pid chase viiny”, TsDAVO Ukrainy, F. 3833, Op. 2, spr. 1, Ark. 77–89, published in Veselova et al. (eds), *OUN v 1941 rotsi: Dokumenty. Ch. 1*, 165.
 36. ‘Ukrains’kii narode!’, leaflet distributed by Kraevyi Provid Ukrains’kykh Natsional’istiv MUZ (Materni Ukrains’ki Zemli), 1 July 1941 TsDAVO Ukrainy, f. 3833, op. 1, spr. 42, l. 35. The ‘Judeo-communist’ stereotype has deep roots in Ukrainian and Polish nationalist tradition, and predates the October Revolution by half a century. Michlic, *Poland’s Threatening Other*, 24–5, 55.
 37. Pohl, ‘Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Western Ukraine’, 306; Struve, ‘Rites of Violence?’, 268; Himka, ‘The Lviv Pogrom of 1941’; Carynnyk, *Furious Angels*; Marco Carynnyk, ‘All Monstrous and Hellish: The Zolochiv Pogrom, July 1941’, paper presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Conference, 12 November 2009; Lower, ‘Pogroms, Mob Violence and Genocide in Western Ukraine’.
 38. John-Paul Himka, ‘The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Holocaust’, paper prepared for the 41st National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, 12–15 November 2009. Ewa Siemaszko estimates the Polish victims of the OUN-UPA’s ‘ethnic cleansing’ at 60,000 in 1943–44 in Volhynia and 32,000 in Eastern Galicia in 1944. Grzegorz Motyka estimates that OUN and UPA killed between 70,000 and 100,000 Poles. See Motyka, *Ukrainska partyzantka 1942–1960*, 411; Siemaszko, ‘Bilans Zbrodni’, 85, 88, 92; Siemaszko, ‘Stan badań nad ludobójstwem’. University of Ottawa political scientist Ivan Katchanovski argues that the numbers, according to Władysław and Ewa Siemaszko, ‘include casualties that are

- attributed to pro-Soviet militia in 1939, and the auxiliary police, and other collaborationist formations in German service in 1941–44, and Polish casualties, which are attributed to “Ukrainians” even though they might have been Ukrainian police, etc. under German command’. Ivan Katchanovski, email to Per Rudling, 5 December 2012. He argues that the number of Poles murdered by the UPA is lower. Regarding Volhynia, Katchanovski writes that, ‘in 1943–44, during its campaign of ethnic cleansing, no less than 35,000 Volhynian Poles were murdered by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)’. See Katchanovski, ‘Suchasna polityka’.
39. Himka, ‘War Criminality’; Himka, ‘A Central European Diaspora under the Shadow of World War II’; Rossolinski-Liebe, ‘Celebrating Fascism and War Criminality in Edmonton’; Rudling ‘Multiculturalism, Memory, and Ritualization’.
 40. <http://www.uccla.ca/about/> (accessed 15 August 2005; no longer available).
 41. Lubomyr Luciuk, ‘Wasył Odynsky a Victim of Modern-Day Witch-Hunt’, *Ukrainian Weekly*, 25 March 2001 <http://www.ukrweekly.com/old/archive/2001/120118.shtml> (accessed 11 January 2012). See Himka, ‘War Criminality’, 18, n.6.
 42. Rudling, ‘The Khatyn’ Massacre in Belorussia’; Rudling, ‘Terror and Local Collaboration in Occupied Belarus. Part One’; Rudling, ‘Terror and Local Collaboration in Occupied Belarus. Part Two’.
 43. <http://www.uccla.ca/about> (accessed 15 August 2005; no longer available).
 44. See the UCCLA website <http://www.uccla.ca/contact.htm> (accessed 11 January 2012).
 45. David Irving’s *Action Report online, July 24, 1999* <http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/99/07/Ukraine.html> (accessed 6 December 2011); Eugene Harasymiw, ‘Canadians Must Recognize Denaturalization and Deportation for what it is’, *Ukrainian Voice*, 19 July 1999, 4. On Luciuk and Harasymiw’s opposition to the planned Holocaust exhibit, see Himka, ‘War Criminality’, 21, n.27.
 46. Eugene Harasymiw, ‘Critique of Robert Fife’, 29 September 2002, website of Will Zuzak <http://www.willzuzak.ca/tp/odynsky/harasymiw20020929fife.html> (accessed 12 September 2012).
 47. Eugene Harasymiw, ‘Harasymiw on Deportations defy justice’, letter to the editor, *Toronto Sun*, 7 May 2003, on Will Zuzak’s website in the defence of Wasył Odynsky <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/mozuz/odynsky/harasymiw20030507TorontoSun.html> (accessed 12 January 2012).
 48. Eugene Harasymiw, ‘Is Ukraine’s PM Merely Being PC?’, *Ukrainian Weekly*, 16 April 2000.
 49. Moses, ‘The Canadian Museum for Human Rights’, 220. See also the UCCLA website at <http://www.uccla.ca/contact.htm> (accessed 12 September 2012).
 50. Moses, ‘The Canadian Museum for Human Rights’, 229 and 225. In Moses’s words, ‘where the UCC wanted to elevate the Holodomor to the Holocaust’s lofty status, the UCCLA wanted to bring the Holocaust down to the same level’ (229).
 51. See Humeniuk and Luciuk, *Their Just War*; Lubomyr Luciuk and Myroslav Yurkevych, ‘Ukrainian Division ‘Galicia’ defended’, *Ukrainian Echo*, 4 July 1983, VII, no.4 (65): 3; Luciuk, ‘Ukraine’s Wartime Unit Never Linked to War Crimes’. Luciuk’s *Searching for Place* was partially funded by the OUN(b) Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (now the League of Ukrainian Canadians) and by the Brotherhood of Veterans of the 1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army. In *Searching for Place*, Luciuk uncritically cites Holocaust denier Richard Landwehr as an authority on the Waffen-SS Galizien, Luciuk, *Searching for Place*, xiv, 426, n.71, citing Landwehr, *Fighting for Freedom*. On Landwehr and his Institute for Historical Review, see Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, 137–56.
 52. Luciuk, for instance, uncritically repeats Stets’ko’s denial that his state project would have been pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist: ‘Only three nations stood against Bolshevism at that time – Germany, Italy and Japan. We were not interested in the political systems

- prevailing in those countries.’ Luciuk, *Searching for Place*, 293, n.7. Equally noteworthy are the memoirs of Stefan Petelycky, an OUN activist who was imprisoned in Auschwitz. His memoirs dedicated ‘To the millions of Ukrainian victims of the Holocaust’ are typical of the post-war Banderite representation of history. These memoirs were sponsored by the UCCLA and UCC, the OUN(b) youth organisation SUM; they were published by Luciuk’s Kashtan Press and posted on the UCCLA website. Petelycky, *Into Auschwitz, for Ukraine* <http://www.uccla.ca/In%20Auschwitz-Petelycky.pdf> (accessed 18 January 2012). The book was edited by Marco Carynnyk, who subsequently disassociated himself from the project. In Carynnyk’s words: ‘Near the end of my work on Petelycky’s memoir, when I began to see what a spider’s nest of fabrications it was, I asked that my name not appear anywhere in the book.’ Carynnyk is highly critical of the project: ‘The whole history is a salutary lesson on the production of memoirs. If only we knew more about how all the eyewitness accounts and memoirs that we work with were produced.’ Marco Carynnyk, letters to the authors, both 16 December 2011. In a subsequent letter, Carynnyk admits that while working on the memoir, he ‘began to suspect that it was a farrago of fantasies (the story of the Jewish fellow who helped the NKVD track down, torture, and kill Ukrainians is a particularly nasty fabrication, even if it has some limited basis in reality, and the outright denial that there was a pogrom in Zolochiv is outrageous)’ (Marco Carynnyk, letter to Per Anders Rudling, 18 December 2011). Compare, for instance, Petelycky’s representation of the NKVD murders and the 1941 pogrom, pages 12–14 with Boll, ‘Złoczów, July 1941’, 61–99, and Carynnyk, ‘Zolochiv movchyt’. See also Carynnyk, *Furious Angels*, particularly chapter 9, ‘All monstrous and Hellish: Zolochiv, Thursday, July 3, 1941’.
53. The UCCLA never produced any evidence of war crimes committed by the four Jews. Leo Adler, national affairs director at Toronto’s Friends of Simon Wiesenthal Center, criticised Luciuk and the UCCLA: ‘They’re trying to divert attention from the sheer number of Ukrainians who participated in [Nazi] atrocities’, adding that the four Jews ‘were not doing the atrocities that normally attract attention and vilification as crimes against humanity or war crimes ... I think we will find that whereas [the Jews] were drafted, many of the Ukrainians volunteered to serve as Nazi concentration camp guards.’ Sheldon Gordon, ‘Ukrainians Want Jews Probed on War Crimes’, *The Jewish Daily Forward*, 13 May 2005 <http://forward.com/articles/3451/ukrainians-want-jews-probed-on-war-crimes/> (accessed 20 January 2012).
 54. Paul Grod is a leading figure in the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) and the League of Ukrainian Canadians. ‘Executive Committee, 2010–2013: Paul Grod (Toronto)’, Ukrainian Canadian Congress <http://www.ucc.ca/about-ucc/leadership-1/executive-committee/#grod> (accessed 15 January 2012). According to the UCC website, the 2010–13 Executive Committee is dominated by OUN(b) affiliates: other than Paul Grod, UCC Treasurer Wolodymyr Dlugosh is a SUM veteran; Serhiy Kasyanchuk is the past president of the League of Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto Branch; Oleh Romanyshyn is the editor-in-chief of *Homin Ukrainy* and national president of the League of Ukrainian Canadians. Two board members, Slawko Kindrachuk and Michael Hantzsch, do not list their CVs while Daria Luciw and Ann Szyptur share a background as activists in *Plast*, a Ukrainian scouting movement that is loosely associated with OUN(m).
 55. <http://www.ucc.ca/members/national-members/#BVD> (accessed 15 January 2012).
 56. On the oaths of Waffen-SS Galizien to Hitler, see ‘Betr. General Shandruk’, Der Chef des SS-Hauptamtes to Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, 6 February 1945, Bundesarchiv Lichtenfelde, NS 19/544, pp. 87, 89. On the Waffen-SS Galizien, see Golczewski, ‘Shades of Grey’.
 57. *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher*, Bd. 1, 189–414.

58. Luciuk and Yurkevych, 'Ukrainian Division "Galicia" defended', 3.
59. Luciuk, *Searching for Place*, 426, n.71. In fact, several of the officers of the division were directly involved in war crimes, including some serving with the Einsatzgruppen and in the SS-Sonderbattalion Dirlewanger. SS-Oberführer Fritz Freitag, the unit's commander, was directly involved in the mass murder of Jews in 1941. Rudling, "They Defended Ukraine".
60. A leader of the OUN(b) in Alberta, Taras Podilsky, represents veterans from the Waffen-SS Galizien Division as victims of hate speech by the Wiesenthal Center, whose calls for prosecution he regards 'as defamatory to Ukrainians'. 'Ukrainian Canadians Voice Objections to Possible Hiring of Former OSI Director', *Ukrainian Weekly*, 30 November 1997, LXV, no.48, <http://www.ukrweekly.com/old/archive/1997/489710.shtml> (accessed 11 January 2012).
61. Before the Deschênes Commission published its assessment, Luciuk was already contending that 'a wealth of documentary evidence ... shows that the Division cannot be linked with crimes against humanity'. Luciuk and Yurkevych, 'Ukrainian Division "Galicia" Defended'.
62. The Deschênes Commission did not substantiate charges of war crimes against members of the Ukrainian SS, 'either in 1950 when they were first preferred, or in 1984 when they were renewed, or before this Commission'. It was decided that 'in the absence of evidence of participation in or knowledge of specific war crimes, mere membership in the Galicia Division is insufficient to justify prosecution'. Hon. Jules Deschênes, 'War Criminals in Canada?' *Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals* (30 December 1986), <http://lib.galiciadivision.com/veryha-eng/d02.html>, page 12 of 14. On the Deschênes Commission, see also Deschênes, 'Toward International Criminal Justice'; Hatt et al., 'Criminal Justice under Mulroney, 1984-90'; Hayward, "Working in Thin Air"; Montague, 'The Deschênes Commission Report'.
63. Alti Rodal, 'The Ukrainian Halychyna (Galizien) Waffen-SS Division', Chapter XII, part 3, 'Nazi War Criminals in Canada: The Historical and Policy Setting from the 1940s to the Present', prepared for the Commission of Inquiry on Nazi War Criminals in Canada (the Deschênes Commission) in 1986, p.33. Accessible at Library and Archives Canada, RG33, 'Rodal Report'. See also Rudling, "They Defended Ukraine", 329-68.
64. Rudling, "They Defended Ukraine", 361-3.
65. The First Division of the Ukrainian National Army is the preferred euphemism utilised by the veterans of Waffen-SS Galizien.
66. 'Ukrainian Community Honours Veterans on Remembrance Day', *UCC Communiques & News*, 11 November 2010, <http://www.ucc.ca/2010/11/11/ukrainian-community-honours-veterans-on-remembrance-day/> (accessed 27 March 2011).
67. David Marples, 'Hero of Ukraine Linked to Jewish killings; Honorary Title Sure to Provoke Divisions Among Ukrainians Today', *Edmonton Journal*, 7 February 2010. Though the headline for the article was chosen by the editor of the *Edmonton Journal* without consulting Marples, Marco Levytsky referred to it as 'a Vladimir Putin-style ex-KGB falsification, topping an article by David Marples which is misleading'. Marco Levytsky, *Kyiv Post*: 'Re: "Hero of Ukraine linked to Jewish killings; Honorary title sure to provoke divisions among Ukrainians today", by David Marples Opinion, Feb. 7.' <http://www.kievpost.net/news/archive/all/opinion/2010/page/82/#ixzz1ghoqn0DF> (accessed 11 January 2012).
68. Himka, 'Druzhestvennye vmeshatel'stva'; Rossoliński-Liebe, 'Celebrating Fascism and War Criminality in Edmonton', 14-15, n.98; Rudling, 'Iushchenkiv fashyst', 252, 295-6; Rudling, 'Multiculturalism, Memory and Ritualization', 761; Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust*, 37.
69. In a letter to the editor, Marco Levytsky wrote: 'prior to the German invasion, the

- Soviet NKVD, *in which Jews had disproportionate membership*, was involved in the killing of 4,000 to 8,000 civilian prisoners – a fact the Nazis hoped would provoke Ukrainian retaliation’ [our emphasis]. Marco Levytsky, ‘Ukrainian Nationalists Played No Part in the Massacre of 4000 Jews’, *Edmonton Journal*, 9 February 2010, <http://www2.canada.com/edmontonjournal/news/letters/story.html?id=c3f3ac82-e7bb-4801-916a-5268ac93b165> (accessed 18 January 2012). In a letter to the editor, Per Anders Rudling pointed out that this old antisemitic stereotype was the original justification for the 1941 pogroms and referred to this form of denial as ‘fascist apologetics’. The exchange in the *Edmonton Journal* is published in Amar et al. (eds), *Strasti za Banderoinu*, 129–99.
70. As stated in the UCC’s press release, ‘The Shevchenko Medal recognizes individuals ... for their outstanding national contribution towards the development of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Outstanding achievement is measured by the recipients’ level of excellence and initiative, their sustained body of work, peer recognition and the recipients’ broad impact inside and outside the Ukrainian Canadian community.’ See UCC Press Release (25 October 2010), ‘Shevchenko Medal and Youth Leadership Award Recipients. XXIII Triennial Congress of Ukrainian Canadians, November 5–7, 2010’, <http://www.ucc.ca/2010/10/25/ucc-announces-shevchenko-medal-youth-leadership-award-recipients/> (accessed 11 January 2012).
 71. Serbyn, ‘Fotografii dyvizii “Halychyna”’, 223–34. Bohdan Matsiv (ed.), *Ukrains’ka dyviziiia “Halychyna”: Istoriiia u svitlynakh vid zasnuvannia u 1943 r. do zvil’nennia z polonu 1949 r.* (Lviv: ZUKTs 2009) <http://www.voiaukudg.com/> (accessed 11 January 2012).
 72. Roman Serbyn, ‘Erroneous Methods in J.-P. Himka’s Challenge to “Ukrainian Myths”’, 7 August 2011, *Current Politics in Ukraine Blog: Opinion and Analysis on Current Events in Ukraine*, Stasiuk Program, CIUS, University of Alberta, ed. David R. Marples <http://ukraineanalysis.wordpress.com/2011/08/07/erroneous-methods-in-j-p-himka’s-challenge-to-ukrainian-myths/> (accessed 18 January 2012).
 73. Roman Serbyn, ‘Open Letter From 78 Intellects [sic] to UCCLA, UCC, CMHR’, Email sent to Catherine Chatterley, Director of the Canadian Institute for the Study of Antisemitism, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 14 April 2011.
 74. Rudling, ‘Multiculturalism, Memory, and Ritualization’, 753.
 75. Luciuk, ‘Foreword’, v.
 76. Lubomyr Luciuk, ‘Focusing on our Atrocities’, *Winnipeg Sun*, 17 May 2007, 11.
 77. To his claims that the ‘man-made famine that ravaged Ukraine in 1932–1933 and caused the deaths of 7 to 10 million people’, Serbyn adds ‘the destruction of the 8,000,000 ethnic Ukrainians living on the eve of the genocide in the Russian Republic (RSFSR)’. Roman Serbyn, ‘The First Man-Made Famine in Soviet Ukraine 1921–1923’, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 6 November 1988, LVI, no.45, <http://www.artukraine.com/famineart/serbyn2.htm> (accessed 2 May 2011). See also Roman Serbyn, ‘Raphael Lemkin on the Ukrainian Genocide’, [aaus-list], *Brama.com*, 4 October 2008, <http://www.brama.com/pipermail/aaus-list/2008-October/002849.html> (accessed 24 March 2011); and Serbyn, ‘The Ukrainian Famine of 1932–1933’. Writing in August 2011, Serbyn once again refers to the ‘fate of eight million ethnic Ukrainians in the RSFSR who were subjected to the state policy of physical and cultural destruction’, which he describes as a ‘genocidal act’. Roman Serbyn, ‘Erroneous Methods in J.-P. Himka’s Challenge to Ukrainian Myths’, <http://ukraineanalysis.wordpress.com/2011/08/07/erroneous-methods-in-j-p-himka’s-challenge-to-ukrainian-myths/> (accessed 11 January 2012). However, in 2012, Serbyn affirms that he has ‘always favored the estimate of 6 million victims’. See Serbyn, ‘Letter to the Editor’, 291.
 78. On Holocaust envy and *Holodomor* hyperbole, see Moore, “A Crime against

- Humanity Arguably Without Parallel in European History”, particularly 375–9.
79. Peter O’Neill, ‘Harper’s Ukraine Famine Total Exaggerated, Scholar Says’, *Edmonton Journal*, 30 October 2010, <http://www2.canada.com/edmontonjournal/news/story.html?id=ea26329d-c6c5-4e76-b8f5-48ff37f57537> (accessed 24 March 2011).
 80. ‘Update from Paul Grod in Lviv’. UCC National Press Release, 26 October 2010.
 81. ‘UCC National Executive: Additional Board Members’, http://www.uccmontreal.org/site/UCC_National_Executive.html (accessed 15 January 2012).
 82. On Grod and the UCC’s inflation of the famine death toll, their reliance on Serbyn for this claim, and on PM Harper’s rehearsal of the nationalists’ inflated numbers, see O’Neill, ‘Harper’s Ukraine Famine Exaggerated, Scholar Says’.
 83. Claims of up to ten million famine deaths in Ukraine appeared in the following mass emails, sent out by the UCC to its members and sympathizers after Grod’s inflation of the famine deaths was exposed: See ‘Sharing the Story: About the Holodomor’, <http://www.holodomorsurvivors.ca/AboutHolodomor.html>, a link accessible through UCC Press Release, 18 November 2010; ‘National Holodomor Awareness Week 2010 November 22–28’, <http://www.ucc.ca/2010/11/18/national-holodomor-awareness-week-november-22-28-2010/>; and the UCC Press Release, 3 February 2011, ‘Statement by MP James Bezan on The Canadian Museum of Human Rights’, <http://www.ucc.ca/2011/02/03/statement-by-mp-james-bezan-on-the-canadian-museum-of-human-rights/>. See also Don Fraser, ‘A Tale of Holodomor survival’, *St. Catherine’s Standard*, 23 November 2010, <http://www.stcatharinesstandard.ca/2010/11/23/a-tale-of-holodomor-survival>. (All accessed 11 January 2012.)
 84. See the UCC Press Release, 4 November 2010, ‘Ukrainian Canadian Congress Launches Holodomor Awareness Fundraising Campaign’, <http://www.ucc.ca/2010/11/04/ucc-launches-holodomor-awareness-fundraising-campaign/>; and Daniel Nolan, ‘Ukrainian Genocide to be Marked by Local Community’, *The Hamilton Spectator*, 24 November 2010, <http://www.thespec.com/news-story/2178996-ukrainian-genocide-to-be-marked-by-local-community/> (both accessed 11 January 2012). David Marples sums up the debate about designating the 1932–33 famine as a genocide as follows: ‘The key issue revolves around the reasons why the Famine occurred. Here, one has to deal with the fact that the supposition that the Famine was directed exclusively against Ukrainians cannot be accepted unequivocally based on the current research by scholars outside Ukraine ... The most authoritative studies have been written by scholars who do not accept the genocide theory’, Marples concludes, adding that, ‘I include in this group Mark B. Tauger, R.W. Davies, Stephen Wheatcroft, Michael Ellman, Lynne Viola, Moshe Lewin, and perhaps Robert Conquest, who seems ambivalent on the question.’ Marples, *Heroes and Villains*, 304 and 314, n.1.

The attribution of the *genocide* status in and beyond the CMHR controversy continues to be a contentious issue on multiple fronts in Canada, particularly since September 2009, when Stephen Harper, the current Canadian Prime Minister, notoriously proclaimed that Canada has ‘no history of colonialism’ in a speech delivered to the G20 Summit, despite having made an official ‘Statement of Apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools’ in June 2008. While former Prime Minister Paul Martin referred to Canadian government treatment of native populations as a ‘cultural genocide’, as Ben Kiernan notes in *Blood and Soil* (13), this category is not recognised under the UN Convention, which partly explains the contestation of Martin’s apparent recognition. Indeed, as Kiernan asserts, in both Australia and North America, ‘official policies and their deliberate sustained enforcement facilitated or resulted in a predictable outcome: genocide of Aboriginal and Native American peoples’ (16), even if the genocidal motive in many instances was neither premeditated nor even conscious on the part of perpetrators. In such cases, the term ‘genocide’ applies, in part, because the governments of Australia, the United

States and Canada outlawed indigenous groups' 'judicial and military self defense, even against genocide' (16). Kiernan summarises the 'intent' versus 'motive' issue as follows: 'Under contemporary international law, then, genocide demands both intentionality and purposefulness, but it requires neither a genocidal motive nor a "smoking gun" blueprint of an extermination project' (19–20).

In the Canadian edition of the *Huffington Post* (18 October 2013), Michael Bolen reported that, 'former National Chief Phil Fontaine, elder Fred Kelly, businessman Dr. Michael Dan and human rights activist Bernie Farber sent a letter to James Anaya, UN special rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, arguing that several specific crimes against aboriginal people in Canada qualify as genocide under the post-Second World War Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG)'. Bolen additionally cites Article 2 of the Convention, which is worth repeating here: 'genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.' Bolen also summarises the principal points of evidence for the genocide designation as follows: '1. Sir John A. MacDonald's policy of deliberately starving First Nations people to make way for settlers in the Canadian west. 2. The residential school system and especially the decision of Department of Indian Affairs chief Duncan Campbell Scott not to address rampant tuberculosis among students. 3. The forcible removal of aboriginal children from their homes for the purpose of adoption by white families, a practice known as the "Sixties Scoop". Estimates put the number of children removed between the 1960s and the mid 1980s at around 20,000. Farber and Dan have previously argued that the recently revealed nutrition experiments performed on children at residential schools also qualify as genocide.' See Michael Bolen, 'UN Urged to Declare Canada's Treatment of Aboriginals a Genocide', *The Huffington Post (Canada)*, 18 October 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2013/10/18/genocide-first-nations-aboriginals-canada-un_n_4123112.html (accessed 30 March 2014).

In July 2013, Mary Agnes Welch reported in the *Winnipeg Free Press* that, despite a growing academic consensus and repeated calls by aboriginal leaders 'for the federal government to recognize its role in the destruction of indigenous culture and institutions', CMHR senior staff had nevertheless decided not to employ the term *genocide* in exhibits about aboriginal peoples in Canada, including the residential schools and forced relocations. The article quotes CMHR spokesperson, Maureen Fitzhenry, who asserted that, 'as a Crown corporation, it's important the museum's terminology align with that of the federal government, which has not recognized Canada's aboriginal policies as a genocide'. See Mary Agnes Welch, 'CMHR Rejects "Genocide" for Native Policies. Debate is Still Underway', *Winnipeg Free Press*, 26 July 2013, <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/cmhr-rejects-genocide-for-native-policies-217061321.html?device=mobile> (accessed 27 March 2014). The CMHR decision has, understandably, stirred up frustration and anger. For pointed criticism of the CMHR senior staff decision not to employ the term 'genocide' in its exhibit titles about indigenous history, see Lynn Gehl, 'Canada Is Not the Arbiter of What Is Genocide', *Canadian Dimension* 47, no.7 (3 February 2014), <http://canadiandimension.com/articles/5916/> (accessed 11 January 2012). Dr Gehl points out that the museum has been established at The Forks, a site where the Red River intersects with the Assiniboine River and where indigenous people convened for 'thousands of years' before the arrival of the Europeans.

85. This literary-psychoanalytic perspective on Holocaust survivor testimony has been most famously (or infamously) articulated by Dori Laub in a chapter entitled 'Bearing Witness, or the Vicissitudes of Listening', in Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 57–74. See pages 59–63 in particular.
86. Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering*, 135.
87. Himka, 'Druzhestvennye vmeshatel'stva', 423.
88. Perhaps it is too much to expect that a financially strapped university would turn down funds that come from questionable sources. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta (CIUS) administers bequests from Waffen-SS veterans, including one from a senior collaborator. Indeed, CIUS administers the Volodymyr and Daria Kubijovyč Memorial Endowment Fund, currently at CAD 436,748 (see Klid et al. (eds), *CIUS Newsletter 2011*, 32). Kubijovyč was one of the initiators of the Waffen-SS Galizien. Kubijovyč published antisemitic material in the collaborationist press and publicly calling upon the Ukrainian Waffen-SS volunteers to help 'exterminate the Jewish-Bolshevik pestilence'. Mick, *Kriegserfahrungen in einer multiethnischen Stadt*, 509; Rudling, "They Defended Ukraine", 339.
89. For instance, in the city of Edmonton, a monument and a 27,000-square-foot community hall were erected with public funding from the government of Alberta. In front of the community hall stands a larger-than-life bronze bust of UPA Commander-in-Chief Roman Shukhevych, who served in German uniform until 1943. His units carried out mass shootings of Jews and took part in disproportional violence against civilian populations in Nazi-occupied Ukraine and Belarus. See Rudling, 'Multiculturalism, Memory, and Ritualization', 743–6, and Rossoliński-Liebe, 'Celebrating Fascism'.
90. Dovid Katz posted our open letter on his site, including facsimiles of the advertisements that appeared. It also appeared in H-soz-u-Kult, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/forum/type=diskussionen&cid=1510>; and <http://defendinghistory.com/canada> (accessed 11 January 2012). Serbyn responded under the alias *Semperveritas* by cutting and pasting pieces from a lengthy and detailed 'deconstruction' of our letter into comments sections following James Adams, 'Discord, Accusations Taint Human Rights Museum Debate', *The Globe and Mail*, 15 April 2011), <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/prairies/discord-accusations-taint-human-rights-museum-debate/article1987877/> (accessed 11 January 2012).
91. Notably, signatures of Ukrainian scholars who identify as progressive and liberal were almost completely absent. In this connection, see Rossoliński-Liebe, 'Erinnerungslücke Holocaust: Die ukrainische Diaspora und der Genozid an den Juden'.
92. Under the pseudonym, *Semperveritas*, Serbyn wrote: 'Per, get a life! Your hatred is getting the better of you. Get a hold of yourself!' He dismissed the open letter and its criticism as KGB-style propaganda. Discussions in the comments section of *The Globe and Mail* proved difficult, as readers could report 'offensive' comments. Reader complaints could thus be instrumentally utilised to omit criticism of Luciuk's and *Semperveritas*'s comments. As mentioned above, the complete exchanges, between Lubomyr Luciuk, *Semperveritas* (Roman Serbyn), Per Rudling, and KMB47 (Karyn Marie Ball), including the deleted comments, is available on Dovid Katz's web forum, <http://holocaustinthebaltics.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Serbyn-Luciuk-Ball-Rudling-exchange.pdf> (accessed 13 January, 2012).
93. Luciuk and Serbyn approached several signers of the letter, targeting, in particular, junior, non-tenured academics. In the case of Chatterley and Rudling they complained to directors, including the Chair of the History Department and the president of the University of Manitoba. In a letter of response, Dr Chatterley's academic freedom was defended by the university and the complaint was dismissed.

94. In his 21 April 2011 reply posted to our letter, Luciuk writes: 'The "open letter" ... scolded the UCCLA and the UCC, claiming we do not want the Holocaust included in the Canadian Museum for Human Rights ... That allegation is deceitful and slanderous.' Lubomyr Luciuk, 'Stay out of the Debate' – UCCLA's Reply, UCCLA Press Release, 19 April 2011, http://www.uccla.ca/UCCLA_MEDIA_RELEASE_21April.pdf (accessed 11 January 2012).
95. L. Luciuk, 16 April 2011, comments section following Adams, 'Discord, Accusations Taint Human Rights Museum Debate'. The discussion, in its entirety, is available at Defendinghistory.com.
96. Spivak, 'Does this Postcard Suggest Jews are Pigs? Hear some Feedback and Questions Posed to Those who Sent It Out', *Winnipeg Jewish Review*, 13 April 2011, http://www.winnipegjewishreview.com/article_detail.cfm?id=987&sec=6&title=DOES_THIS_POSTCARD_SUGGEST_JEWS_ARE_PIGS_HEAR_SOME_FEEDBACK_AND_QUESTIONS_POSED_TO_THOSE_WHO_SENT_IT_OUT (accessed 15 January 2012).
97. Roman Serbyn, email to Per Rudling, 16 April 2011.
98. Commenting on our letter, Serbyn wrote, 'What is even more reprehensible in [sic] the signatories' claim that the UCC inflated the number of Holodomor victims to 7 or 10 million in order to have a higher number than that for the Holocaust, and in this way present the suffering of the Holodomor as more worthy of attention than that of the Holocaust. The number used by the UCC is around 3 million (which is too low and doesn't cover the Ukrainians outside the UkrSSR). Such manipulative [sic] attempt on the part of the signatories to distort and discredit the action of UCC is truly reprehensible, and should not be accepted by the Canadian public, who may read this spurious letter.' Serbyn, 'Open letter from 78 intellectuals', 3.
99. 'Semperveritas' (pseudonym for Roman Serbyn), 26 April 2011, discussion section following James Adams, 'Ukrainian association tells foreign scholars to stay out of museum debate' (Thursday, 21 April 2011) <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/prairies/ukrainian-association-tells-foreign-scholars-to-stay-out-of-museum-debate/article1992769/comments/> (accessed 28 April 2011).
100. Serhiy Kostyuk, 'Professional & Volunteer Experiences', personal website, <http://www.serhiykostyuk.com/index.php?i=resume> (accessed 20 April 2011). When accessed on 10 November 2011 references to his work at MAUP in 2003–04 had apparently been removed from his CV. MAUP, Ukraine's largest private institute of higher learning, has been the leading Ukrainian publisher of antisemitic literature over the past decade, including Holocaust denial and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. MAUP awarded the KKK Grand Wizard, David Duke, a PhD degree and, for some time, Duke was a professor at the institution. On MAUP, see Rudling, 'Anti-Semitism on the Curriculum'; Epstein, 'The Mysterious Tale of a Ukrainian University's Anti-Semitic Crusade', 40–3, 66–7, 70–1; and Burakovskii, *Evrei i ukrainsky 1986–2006*, 427–9.
101. Marco Levytsky, 'Open Letter Vilifies Freedom Fighters, Minimized Holodomor', *Kyiv Post*, 6 May 2011, http://www.kyivpost.com/news/opinion/op_ed/detail/103827/ (accessed 20 January 2012), but see also the response by John-Paul Himka, 'Falsifying World War II in Ukraine', *Kyiv Post*, 8 May 2011, http://www.kyivpost.com/news/opinion/op_ed/detail/103895/ (accessed 20 January 2012). On these two forgeries, the Stella Kreutzbach/Krentsbakh biography and 'The Book of Facts', see Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA, and the Holocaust*, 14–15, 25, 29–32.
102. Zuzak was, for many years, an associate of Harasymiw, with whom he worked to stop the denaturalisation and deportation procedures against Volodymyr Katriuk and other aging Ukrainians in Canada. Typically, Zuzak describes the procedures in terms

- of conspiracies. Zuzak argues that there was a 'symbiotic relationship made in hell' between 'Zionists, who needed atrocity stories to attract world sympathy' and 'The Communist NKVD' which 'was delighted to torture suspected Ukrainian nationalists to confess imagined atrocities and sign documents in a vain effort to stop the torture'. Will Zuzak, 'Critique of Judge Marc Nadon Denaturalization Verdict re Vladimir Katriuk', <http://meltingpot.fortunecity.com/pakistan/83/katriuk/katriuk991130.html> (accessed 31 August 2009; no longer available).
103. <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/mozuz/holodomor/hirsh20110408Engage.html> (accessed 30 May 2011).
 104. <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/mozuz/holodomor/lett20110411WinnipegFreePress.html> (accessed 30 May 2011).
 105. Rhonda Spivak, 'Open letter to Lubomyr Luciuk, Director of Research, Ukrainian Civil Liberties Association, Re: CMHR', *Winnipeg Jewish Review*, 31 March 2011.
 106. Will Zuzak, comments on Rhonda Spivak, 'Postcard Suggests Jews as Pigs, Critics Say', *Canadian Jewish News*, 9 April 2011, <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/mozuz/holodomor/spivak20110409CJN.html> (accessed 15 January 2012).
 107. <http://blackrod.blogspot.com/2011/04/anti-ukrainian-hate-campaign-infests.html> (accessed 15 January 2012).
 108. The Black Rod: 'Prof. draws the battle line: Opponents of the CMHR as a Holocaust museum are anti-Semites', <http://blackrod.blogspot.com/2011/04/prof-draws-battle-line-opponents-of.html> (accessed 15 January 2012).
 109. 'Światowe autorytety przypominają o polskich ofiarach Wołynia – Mohort: 'Wydawzyło się 65 lat temu', *Salon24: Niezależne forum publicystów*, 17 April 2011, <http://65-lat-temu.salon24.pl/299186,swiatowe-autorytety-przypominaja-o-polskich-ofiarach-wolynia> (accessed 15 January 2012).
 110. 'The Jews get offended when they are depicted as pigs. They were hurt. They were not hurt, when Poles in a similar famous American comic themselves were presented as pigs.' Tymczasowy (pseudonym) 'Dwaj rozni Polacy - R. Wnuk i L. Kaminski', <http://blogmedia24.pl/node/47702> (accessed 15 January 2012).
 111. See Dovid Katz's record (cited above) of the online comments following Adams's 'Discord, Accusations Taint Human Rights Museum Debate', posted in its entirety on the website for the Litvak Jewish study network with this designation: 'Discussion following the article between Professor Emeritus Roman Serbyn, Université de Montreal (initially anonymously under the pseudonym 'Sempveritas'), Karyn M. Ball, Professor, University of Alberta (KMB47), Lubomyr Luciuk, Professor, Royal Military College, and Per Anders Rudling, Post-doctoral fellow, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald.' Will Zuzak has made a link to Adams's 'Discord, Accusations Taint Human Rights Museum Debate' available on his antisemitic forum in Edmonton, <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/mozuz/holodomor/holodomor.html> (accessed 11 January 2012).
 112. See Dan Lett, 'My Academic is Bigger than Your Academic', *Winnipeg Free Press*, 14 April 2011, <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/blogs/lett/My-academic-is-bigger-than-your-academic-119946264.html> (accessed 11 January 2012).
 113. For this line of argument, see Aster, 'Jews and Ukrainians in Canada in the Aftermath of the Deschênes Commission', 117.
 114. Grod: 'As Ukrainian Canadians we also remember and pay tribute to the millions of men and women who perished fighting for the freedom of their ancestral Ukrainian homeland. Very few Canadians are aware that Ukrainians fought insurmountable odds against both Hitler and Stalin during WWII for the freedom and independence of Ukraine. We pay tribute to those brave Canadians and Ukrainians that have made the ultimate sacrifice for the freedom of their people. Lest we forget.' Paul Grod, 'Ukrainian Canadian Community Commemorate Remembrance Day', UCC Press release, 11 November 2011, <http://www.ucc.ca/2011/11/11/ucc-commemorates->

- remembrance-day/ (accessed 11 January 2012).
115. Klid et al. (eds), *CIUS Newsletter 2011*, 26–8. Available online, <http://www.ualberta.ca/CIUS/announce/Newsletter/2011%20CIUS%20Newsletter%20%28eng%29.pdf>.
116. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 270. As a critical counterpoint to Nora's distinction, it is worth recalling that Martin Broszat contrasted the rationality of disciplinary history with the mythologising tendencies of Jewish-victim memory in his exchange with Saul Friedländer in the context of the 1986–87 German Historians' Debate. See Broszat and Friedlander, 'A Controversy about the Historicization of National Socialism'. For an alternative view of the professional historian's role as arbiter in the divisive realm of memory politics, see Moses, 'Hayden White, Traumatic Nationalism, and the Public Role of History'. See also Hayden White's reply to Moses and Moses's response, in turn, to White in the same issue of *History and Theory*. For a cautionary tale about the politically and ethically dubious side of professional historians' service as memory adjudicators for the state, see James Clifford's chapter entitled, 'Identity in Mashpee', in *The Predicament of Culture*. A quarter century after it was published, this chapter remains highly relevant reading, perhaps particularly for students and practitioners of 'disciplinary history'.
117. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 235 and 272, citing Buob and Franchon, 'La France est malade de sa mémoire', 6–9.

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