Without Just Cause
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Cover illustration: Women and children at the Spirit Lake internment camp

Half-title page illustration: Internees under guard at Kapuskasing

Verso, half-title page illustration: “Interned Madonna,” at Spirit Lake, sculpted by John Boxtel, photograph by Marsha Skrypuch

Back cover illustration: Calgary Police Department photograph of an “Austrian” CPR section hand, Dan Koneszyni, fined $25 for failing to report as an “enemy alien”

“We learn from history that we do not learn from history.”  
– Hegel
Dedication — for Mary Haskett (née Manko) the last known survivor
Body of Ivan Hryhoryshchuk, killed while attempting to escape from Spirit Lake, 7 June 1915
CONTENTS

Dedication

Preface & Acknowledgments ....................... i
Canada's First National Internment Operations .................. 1
Internment Camps in Canada, 1914-1920 .................. 4

Table 1: Internment Camps in Canada, 1914-1920 .................. 4
Map 1: The Geography of the Internment Operations .................. 5
Endnotes .................. 15

Additional Sources .................. 41

Prisoners of War, Jasper Internment Camp, 1916 .................. 46
Certificate of Parole of Alex Matkoluk .................. 47
Extract from Treasury Board, 5 March 1945, on the destruction of Custodian of Enemy Alien Property documents .................. 48
Balance owed to Prisoners of War, 25 July 1929 .................. 49
Preferential treatment for interned enemy aliens, 8 February 1915 .................. 50

Agreement-in-Principle between the Government of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian community .................. 51

"No longer in fear of the barbed wire fence," L Y Luciuk, Regina, 24 August 2005 .................. 55

Honourable Stephen Harper, MP, Leader of the Opposition, on Bill C 331 - The Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act, 24 March 2005 .................. 60

Internees at Morrissey camp, British Columbia, 1918 (including Walter Doskoch)
PREFACE & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1988, the late Richard Pierce, a professor of history at Queen’s University in Kingston, and editor of The Limestone Press, arranged for the publication of A Time For Atonement, so making available to the public a brief account of Canada’s first national internment operations. That undertaking was supported financially by the Civil Liberties Commission of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Since then the former has become the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (www.uccla.ca), while the latter is now known as the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (www.ucc.ca).

Although A Time For Atonement has long been out of print it has continued to be cited by scholars and is often requested by members of the public, particularly educators seeking a tool for introducing what was, until the recent past, a relatively unknown chapter in Canadian history. The present publication provides an updated version of the original text. Even-more detailed treatments of various issues arising out of the internment operations are found in the works cited in the Additional Sources.

Archival photographs reproduced here were obtained from the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies (Banff, Alberta), Cumberland County Museum and Archives, Fort Steele Heritage Town Archives, Glenbow Museum and Archives (Calgary, Alberta), Ron Morel Memorial Museum, Greater Vernon Museum and Archives, National Library and Archives of Canada (Ottawa, Ontario), Mr & Mrs Y Luhovy
(Montreal, Quebec), Andrea Malys, the late Mr & Mrs N Sakaliuk (Toronto, Ontario), Public Records Office (London, England), US State Department Archives and from the archives of Fort Henry (St. Lawrence Parks Commission, Kingston, Ontario).

Professor Bohdan S Kordan, of Saskatoon’s Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage (University of Saskatchewan) located many of the photographs showing internment camps in western Canada. He co-authored the opinion-editorial in the *The Globe and Mail*, “And who says time heals all?” that propelled the Ukrainian Canadian redress effort forward. John B Gregorovich, UCCLA’s chairman, and Professor Paul R Magocsi, Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, helped edit the brief on which this booklet was based. Both have continued to support efforts aimed at securing a timely and honourable settlement.

The current publication has been made possible by grants from the *Dopomoha Ukraini* - Aid Ukraine Foundation, the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Club of Calgary, Alberta, the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Foundation. Particular thanks are owed to Professor Roger Daniels, Paul Grod, LLB, Andrew Hladyshevsky, QC, Mark Kachmar, MSc, Gerry Locklin, Lady Ann Lucas of Chilworth, Inky Mark, MP, Kari Moore, Olya Odynsky, Luc Simard, Julia Stashuk, Borys Sydoruk, Luba & Myroslaw Trutiak, Katharine Wowk, and Borys Wrzesnewskyj, MP, for their assistance.

When *A Time For Atonement* was first released very few Canadians had ever heard about these internment operations. Nor did most of our fellow citizens have any inkling of the deleterious impact these internal security measures had on the Ukrainian Canadian community. Two decades later a body of scholarship, artistic interpretations through film, literature and works of fiction, and memorials upon the landscape are
recapturing historical memory. If nothing else, decades of organizational effort, dedication, and the perseverance of the community, spearheaded by the volunteers of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, have hallowed the memory of those unfortunate men, women, and children who — not because of anything they had done but only because of where they had come from — found themselves behind Canadian barbed wire.

LYL
Kingston
24 May 2006
Ukrainian pioneers en route to Edna-Star, Alberta, 1897
After the entry of Great Britain into the First World War (4 August 1914), the government of Canada issued an order in council that provided for the registration and in certain cases for the internment of aliens of “enemy nationality.” Suddenly, and entirely as a result of government decree, many Ukrainians and other Europeans found themselves described as “enemy aliens.” Over the next six years various repressive measures would be directed against them. Since they were also known at the time by such regional names as “Galician” and “Bukovynian,” or as “Ruthenians,” the ethnic identity of these victims of Canada’s first national internment operations has sometimes been misunderstood.

Most of the 171,000 Ukrainians living in Canada were, by 1914, settled in the Prairie region, although significant communities began forming, after 1905, in Ontario and Quebec, where Ukrainians worked in the timber and mining industries, on construction, and in various factories. Since these immigrants had generally come to Canada from the Austrian crownlands of Galicia and Bukovyna, their citizenship, but not their nationality, could be described as “Austrian” or “Austro-Hungarian.” Those so categorized were, under the terms of the same War Measures Act (1914) that would later be used against Japanese Canadians (1941) and the Quebecois (1970), subject to imprisonment in one of 24 receiving stations.
and “concentration camps” established across Canada (see Map 1 & Table 1) or at least to registration as “enemy aliens.”

Between 1914 and 1920, 8,579 “enemy aliens” were incarcerated, among them women and children, as reported by Major-General Sir William D Otter, the Officer Commanding these internment operations for the Department of Justice. Of this number only 3,138, according to General Otter’s calculations, could be classed as “prisoners of war,” all others being civilians. Of the remaining 5,441, a majority (perhaps as many as 5,000) were of Ukrainian origin. Over 80,000 others, mostly also Ukrainians, were categorized as “enemy aliens” and obliged to report regularly to their local police authorities or to the North West Mounted Police. They were issued with identity papers that had to be carried at all times, the penalty for noncompliance being arrest and possible imprisonment.
Determining the nationality of the internees or of those registered as “enemy aliens” is difficult, since relevant archival materials were destroyed after the Second World War, at what was then known as the National Archives of Canada.\(^3\) (see page 48) Few survivors provided eyewitness testimony.\(^4\) However, those records that were preserved suggest that many, perhaps even a majority, of the so-called “Austro-Hungarians” were of Ukrainian origin. This was certainly the largest East European immigrant community in Canada at the time. Some Poles, Italians, Bulgarians, Croats, Turks, Serbs, Hungarians, Russians, Jews, and Romanians (see page 46) were also imprisoned or registered as “enemy aliens.”\(^5\)

Most of the POWs of German nationality and German-speaking Austrians were separated from the other internees and placed into a “first-class” category. This meant they were generally kept in relatively more comfortable camps, such as the one established in Fort Henry, near Kingston, Ontario, and not obliged to do heavy labour. Meanwhile the majority of those described as “Austrians” (on lists of prisoners these men were often more precisely categorized as “Galicians” of “Greek [Ukrainian] Catholic” religious affiliation, or as “Ruthenians,” although the word Ukrainian was also used in some official reports) were sent to work sites in Canada’s frontier hinterlands, to places like Spirit Lake, Quebec; Castle Mountain, Alberta; and Otter Creek, British Columbia. There they were required not only to construct the internment camps but to work on road-building, land-clearing, woodcutting, and railway construction projects, often to the profit of their gaolers.

As the need for soldiers overseas led to a shortage of workers in Canada, many of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Camp</th>
<th>Date of Opening</th>
<th>Date of Closing</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montreal, Quebec</td>
<td>13 August 1914</td>
<td>30 November 1918</td>
<td>Immigration Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston, Ontario</td>
<td>18 August 1914</td>
<td>3 November 1917</td>
<td>Fort Henry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg, Manitoba</td>
<td>1 September 1914</td>
<td>20 July 1916</td>
<td>Fort Osborne &amp; Fort Gary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax, Nova Scotia</td>
<td>8 September 1914</td>
<td>3 October 1918</td>
<td>The Citadel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon, British Columbia</td>
<td>18 September 1914</td>
<td>20 February 1920</td>
<td>Provincial Government Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo, British Columbia</td>
<td>20 September 1914</td>
<td>17 September 1915</td>
<td>Provincial Government Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandon, Manitoba</td>
<td>22 September 1914</td>
<td>29 July 1916</td>
<td>Exhibition Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lethbridge, Alberta</td>
<td>30 September 1914</td>
<td>7 November 1916</td>
<td>Exhibition Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petawawa, Ontario</td>
<td>10 December 1914</td>
<td>8 May 1916</td>
<td>Militia Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto, Ontario</td>
<td>14 December 1914</td>
<td>2 October 1916</td>
<td>Stanley Barracks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapuskasing, Ontario</td>
<td>14 December 1914</td>
<td>24 February 1920</td>
<td>Bunk Houses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Niagara Falls, Ontario</td>
<td>15 December 1915</td>
<td>31 August 1918</td>
<td>The Armoury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauport, Quebec</td>
<td>28 December 1914</td>
<td>22 June 1916</td>
<td>The Armoury</td>
</tr>
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<td>Spirit Lake, Quebec</td>
<td>13 January 1915</td>
<td>28 January 1917</td>
<td>Bunk Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sault Ste Marie, Ontario</td>
<td>13 January 1915</td>
<td>29 January 1918</td>
<td>The Armoury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst, Nova Scotia</td>
<td>17 April 1915</td>
<td>27 September 1919</td>
<td>Malleable Iron Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monashee-Mara Lake, British Columbia</td>
<td>2 June 1915</td>
<td>29 July 1917</td>
<td>Tents &amp; Bunk Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernie-Morrissey, British Columbia</td>
<td>9 June 1915</td>
<td>21 October 1918</td>
<td>Rented Premises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banff-Castle Mountain &amp; Cave &amp; Basin</td>
<td>14 July 1915</td>
<td>15 July 1917</td>
<td>Dominion Park Building at Cave &amp; Basin; Tents at Castle Mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgewood, British Columbia</td>
<td>19 August 1915</td>
<td>23 September 1916</td>
<td>Bunk Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelstoke-Field-Otter, British Columbia</td>
<td>6 September 1915</td>
<td>23 October 1916</td>
<td>Bunk Houses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jasper, Alberta</td>
<td>8 February 1916</td>
<td>31 August 1916</td>
<td>Dominion Parks Buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munson-Eaton, Alberta</td>
<td>13 October 1918</td>
<td>21 March 1919</td>
<td>Railway Cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valcartier, Quebec</td>
<td>24 April 1915</td>
<td>23 October 1915</td>
<td>Militia Camp</td>
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The Geography of the Internment Operations
these “Austrian” internees were released on parole to work for private companies, the federal and provincial governments, and railway companies (see page 47). Their pay was fixed at a rate equivalent to that of a soldier, which was less than what they might have expected to make if they had been able to offer their labour in the marketplace. As General Otter dryly noted, this “system proved a great advantage to the organizations short of labour.” Thus, the internment operations not only uprooted families but also allowed for exploitation of many of these civilian internees’ labour.

Upon each individual’s arrest, whatever valuables they might have had were seized. Some of this confiscated money was stolen. As early as 1915 General Otter wrote “difficulties have…arisen in accounting for the monies received.” In his final report, he observed that:

Queuing for food, Fort Henry, Kingston, Ontario
As many of those interned were residents of Canada and possessed real estate, securities, etc. such have been turned over to the “Custodian of Enemy Alien Properties” for the future decision of the Government.9

Over $32,000 in cash was left in the Receiver-General’s Office at the end of these internment operations (see page 49). What the property, securities, and other valuables that were also confiscated might now be worth has yet to be calculated, although a 1992 Price Waterhouse report, “Economic Losses of Ukrainian Canadians Resulting from Internment During World War I,” suggested that the amount would certainly be in the many millions.10 The human costs of these internment operations are, of course, incalculable.

Daily existence in the internment camps was, by all accounts, strenuous. Prisoners were often denied access to newspapers; their correspondence was censored and limited. They were forced not only to maintain the camps but to work for the government and private concerns, and they were sometimes mistreated by the guards. As General Otter wrote:

*The various complaints made to you by prisoners as to the rough conduct of the guards I fear is not altogether without reason, a fact much to be regretted, and, I am sorry to say, by no means an uncommon occurrence at other Stations.*11

The difficult working and living conditions and enforced confinement took their physical and mental toll. Altogether 107 internees died, 69 of them “Austrians.” But there were other costs as well. Watson Kirkconnell, who served at both the Fort Henry and
Kapuskasing internment camps, observed that “among the camp population,” there were:

Few on whom the long years of captivity had not left their mark...confinement in a strange land, inactivity and hopeless waiting were in themselves enough to shatter the nerves and undermine the health.\textsuperscript{12}

Otter admitted likewise that “insanity was by no means uncommon among the prisoners.” A relative described how his wife’s brother had suffered in the Petawawa internment camp:

They had broken his spirit up there...He could never get over the injustice of his treatment, the falseness of his hope in this new world.\textsuperscript{13}

While passive resistance was common, some internees were more vigorous in protesting against the conditions in which they found themselves. There was, for example, a full scale riot in 1916 in the Kapuskasing internment camp, involving some 1,200 prisoners versus 300 guards, while in Sydney, Nova Scotia a group of internees sent from Ontario to work in the local mines and steel mills went on a hunger strike, demanding to be returned to Ontario or sent back to Austria. There were also numerous escape attempts.\textsuperscript{14} During several of these, Ukrainian Canadians were killed. Others committed suicide. A board of enquiry into the death of William Perchaluk, in Alberta in 1916, determined that he had killed himself in a police station while being detained there pending investigations being made as to his nationality. It was concluded that his “rash act would appear to have been committed during a fit of despondency.”\textsuperscript{15}
The authorities did receive information to the effect that they were interning Ukrainians who had no sympathy with the war aims of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In July 1916, for example, a group of Ukrainian Canadian editors addressed an appeal to the Canadian people. In part, it read:

_The Ukrainians...of Western Canada... have found themselves heavily handicapped since the outbreak of the war by the fact of their Austrian birth, which has led...the Dominion Government, as well as Canadian employers of labor, to unjustly class them as Austrians, and therefore enemy aliens. Many have been interned, though they are no more in sympathy with the enemy than are the Poles, for they are as distinct a nationality...which hopes to emerge from the war in the enjoyment of a wide measure of national autonomy...[yet] Ukrainians in Canada are treated as enemy Austrians. They are persecuted, by thousands they are interned, they are dismissed from their employment, and their applications for work are not entertained. And why? For only one reason, that they were so unhappy as to be born into the Austrian bondage..._  

Throughout the war years, numerous other letters, petitions, and memoranda would be addressed to the federal and provincial authorities by Ukrainian Canadian organizations, all asserting that the allegiance of Ukrainian Canadians lay with the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire. Similar messages were sent by individuals. For example, in mid-November 1914, Paul Wacyk of Komarno, Manitoba, wrote to R. Fletcher, Deputy Minister of the Department of Education in Winnipeg:
I have heard of no movement on the part of the people here which would in any way indicate that they were disloyal to the British Empire.\(^\text{17}\)

The word Ukrainian was used in official descriptions of the camps (ie report on a visit to the Banff Internment Camp, May 1916) and in newspaper accounts dealing with Eastern Europe during and after the war. Surviving internees reported that they explained to their interrogators the differences between “Austro-Hungarian” citizenship and Ukrainian nationality. Canadian lawyers even addressed letters to camp commandants pointing out that some of those imprisoned, because they did not speak English well, “could not explain [their] nationality,” which was probably the only reason they were interned.\(^\text{18}\) Even General Otter acknowledged that rather than disloyalty it was “the tendency of municipalities to unload their indigents [that] was the cause of the confinement of not a few.”\(^\text{19}\)

The loyalty of Ukrainian Canadians to Canada and the British Empire is also not in doubt (see page 50). They joined the Canadian army in record numbers, doing so by misrepresenting where they had been born or reportedly even changing their surnames to “Smith” in order to enlist. As Mr H A Mackie, MP for Edmonton East, wrote to Prime Minister Borden in October 1918:

*To estimate the number of Ukrainians who have enlisted with the Canadian Expeditionary Forces would be very hard as they were enlisting in various battalions from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, but it is safe to say that, to the approximate half million soldiers in Canada, if the figures of the War Office were available, it could be shown that*
these people, per population, gave a larger percentage of men to the war than certain races in Canada have, after having enjoyed the privileges of British citizenship for a period of a century or more.\textsuperscript{20}

While some Ukrainian Canadians served with distinction, and one, Corporal Filip Konowal, would go on to win the Victoria Cross, the highest military distinction conferred by the British Empire, others who had enlisted but were then discovered to be “Austrian” were expelled from the army and interned. That was the fate of Nick Chonomod. Writing from a camp near Halifax to a Captain Adams of the 6\textsuperscript{th} Military Division, he recorded that not only had he joined a battalion being formed in Edmonton in August 1914, but that he had lived in Canada for seven years, married a Canadian-born woman, become naturalized, and taken up a
homestead in Alberta. Having so affirmed his loyalty, he added he could not understand “on what charge I am being kept here.”

The internment of several thousand Ukrainian Canadians was followed by the passage of the War Time Elections Act (1917), which disenfranchised most Ukrainian Canadians. There was very little effective protest against this, although Canada’s oldest daily newspaper, the Daily British Whig of Kingston, Ontario did observe:

*It is quite probable that if this proposal becomes law the alleged ‘foreigners’ and hitherto ‘naturalized’ Canadians will bear their reproach meekly, but they will have sown in their hears the seeds of a bitterness that can never be extinguished. The man who honour has been mistrusted, and who has been singled out for national humiliation, will remember it and sooner or later it will have to be atoned for.*

Since anti-immigrant feeling was part of most veterans’ cultural *milieu*, there was considerable support for the Great War Veterans Association when, in 1918, it demanded the suppression of “enemy alien” newspapers, compulsory badges for “foreigners,” and forced labour for “Austrian” and German men in Canada. During the fall and winter of 1918, the Canadian government did in fact declare several Ukrainian-language newspapers and organizations illegal. Just after the end of the war, several hundred Ukrainians were also deported as a result of the “Red Scare.” Hundreds more remained in the internment camps, some of which were kept operating until 1920. Former “enemy aliens” were made out to be “dangerous foreigners,” or “Bolsheviki” after the 1917 Russian Revolution and Lenin’s *coup d’état*
in the tsarist empire. It was not until 24 February 1920 that the last of Canada’s internment camps was shut down. On 20 June of that year the Internment Operations office in Ottawa was itself closed.

Given such a political climate, many Ukrainian Canadians long remained, as an RCMP constable observed to his superiors in Ottawa, “in fear of the barbed wire fence.” American intelligence agents echoed that conclusion, noting that “Ukrainian-Canadians are still under a handicap resulting from their experiences in the First World War.” Decades later a Ukrainian Canadian would recall that these years had been “a bad time to be a Ukrainian” in Canada. Reflecting on his own experiences, another internee wrote:

Memories of the camp gradually begin to fade away…[but] one could never really forget it…

Today, in reminding the nation of what they suffered as a people in this country, Ukrainian Canadians are appealing to the government of Canada to acknowledge publicly that wrongs were done to their community between 1914-1920, and asking for the restitution of the contemporary value of that portion of the internees’ wealth never returned. Those funds would be used to provide for various educational, research, and cultural programs to help remind all Canadians of what happened and of the need for maintaining vigilance in defence of civil liberties and human rights in periods of domestic and international crisis. No other Canadian ethnic, religious, or racial minority should ever have to suffer as Ukrainian Canadians did during the First World War. Although what happened can never be undone, a time for atonement has surely come.
“Taking them to northern Ontario”
ENDNOTES

1 The term “concentration camp” was used at the time. See, for example, the Officer Commanding, 5th Military Division, Quebec, to Major General Otter, 4 January 1915 in National Archives of Canada (NAC) Record Group (RG) 24, Volume 4513, File 2. More examples of this usage are cited in Luciuk, In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence (Kingston: 2001), fn 7, 63.


4 Part of the testimony of N Sakaliuk was transcribed and reprinted in L Y Luciuk, Internment Operations: The Role Of Old Fort Henry in World War I


7 Otter to the Officer Commanding, 5th Military Division, Quebec, 25 February 1915, NAC RG 24, Volume 4513, File 2. The kind of work the internees were involved in is described, for example, in a report by Major A E Hopkins, the commandant of the Jasper, Alberta internment camp. He wrote to Otter that, on Saturday, 19 February 1916, internees had cut fence posts in the bush, dug a ditch, hauled water and wood, further cleared up their camp, and worked on the town of Jasper’s water main. See Hopkins to Otter, NAC RG 24, Volume 4744, File 2.

8 In 1916, Frank Oliver, a Liberal MP, complained that although the internees had committed no crime they were subjected to compulsory labour at a twenty-five cents a day wage. See Canada, *Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), 122, 1 (1916): 849-50. Also see Kordan, *Enemy Aliens: Prisoners of War* (Kingston: 2002) & Kordan & Mahovsky, *A Bare and Impolitic Right*, (Kingston, 2004), for an elaboration on the legal and sociopolitical implications of forced labour during the internment operations.

9 See Otter, *Internment Operations*, 12. Professor J H Thompson, a historian at McGill University, has said that the Canadian government sold the seized property of “enemy aliens” at auction for 10 cents on the dollar. See “Ukrainians stripped of rights in Canada during 1st World War,” *The Westmount Examiner* (Westmount, Quebec), 26 March 1987, 1.

10 Prepared by Claire Livingston and Martin Roberts of Price Waterhouse in January 1992. They concluded that pecuniary losses suffered by interned Ukrainian Canadians in terms of lost wages and confiscated wealth, restated in 1991 purchasing power, would range from $21.7 to $32.5 million. The present-day value would be between $32.5 and $43.3 million.
Otter to the Officer Commanding, 13th Military District, Calgary, Alberta, 16 December 1915. NAC RG 24, Volume 4721, File 1. In a letter sent to Otter from the headquarters of Military District No. 13, dated 16 November 1915, it was noted that the prisoner Chiskolok complained that he had been forced to work even though he was sick at the time. Upon his refusal to go out, “the guard struck him with his rifle and called him a son of a bitch.” Castle Mountain prisoner No. 98, Nick Olynyk, wrote to his wife - " As you know yourself there are men running away from here everyday because the conditions here are very poor, so that we cannot go on much longer, we are not getting enough to eat. We are as hungry as dogs. They are sending us to work, as they don't believe us, and we are very weak." Cited by Kordan & Melnycky, In The Shadow of the Rockies, page 49, fn 58.


A description of the successful escape of N Demeczuk from the Banff, Alberta internment camp is found in NAC RG 24, Volume 2721, File 2, 22 January 1916. Other prisoners who escaped from this camp were subsequently recaptured. See Major P M Spence’s report to the Officer Commanding, 13th Military District, Calgary, Alberta, regarding the cases of W Wiwcheruk and W Stefliuk, in the same file and Kordan and Melnycky, In The Shadow of the Rockies (Edmonton: 1991).


This letter, signed by six Ukrainian Canadian newspaper editors, was drafted at a mass meeting of Ukrainians held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, 2 July 1916. It was published in the Manitoba Free Press (Winnipeg, Manitoba), 17 July 1916. Reprinted in Swyripa and Thompson, Loyalties in Conflict, 166-68.

P Wacyk of Komarno, Manitoba to R Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 18 November 1914, NAC RG 18, Volume 469.

See McKenzie and Macmillan to Lieutenant Colonel W E Thompson, 7 February 1916, regarding the case of J Zablackie, described both as a “Luthenian” (sic), and “Russian.” On a list of prisoners of war confined at the Valcartier, Quebec internment camp, 23 July 1915, seven different nationalities are listed. Most of those interned were further described by their
occupations either as labourers, carpenters, miners, cooks, sailors, or farmers. See NAC RG 24, Volume 4513, File 4. A “Crime Report” regarding Mr Iwan Milan, dated 15 January 1915, and filed at Melville, Saskatchewan, described him as a single, 23-year-old “Ruthinian” (sic) Greek Catholic who emigrated to Canada in March 1912 and was thought to be a “bad character” because he had been spending time in a “Ruthinian (sic) Reading Room” where, according to the arresting officer, Sgt Sergeant, others “hostile against us” had allegedly gathered for drill. Furthermore, Milan had “no fixed abode” and “not a cent in the world.” See NAC RG 18, Volume 1770.

19 Otter, Internment Operations, 6. In the 10 December 1914 issue of the Daily British Whig (Kingston, Ontario), the internees were described as “all foreigners of the class that work on the railroads in the summer and in the factories and nowhere in the winter.”


21 On the case of N Chonomod see correspondence between Otter and the Officer Commanding, 6th Military Division, Halifax, 1 and 22 April 1915, and Chonomod’s letters, 5 and 11 March 1915, NAC RG 24, Volume 4544.

22 This Act and other relevant government documents are reprinted in Swyrpa and Thompson, Loyalties in Conflict, 171-99. In her entry on 'Ukrainians' in the Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples (University of Toronto Press, 1999, page 1309) Swyripa concluded that the: "...event leaving the deepest scars on the Ukrainian Canadian psyche was treatment as enemy aliens during World War I."

23 See the Daily British Whig, 7 September 1917. For a Ukrainian Canadian viewpoint, see the statement made by Osyp Megas in Saskatoon, reported in the Regina Morning Leader (Regina, Saskatchewan), 29 December 1917, reprinted in Swyrpa and Thompson, Loyalties in Conflict, 169-170. Megas noted that the Act had dealt a “very unpleasant blow to the naturalized Ruthenian citizens who were always proud of being British subjects.”

25 By way of example see the letter from Sir Hugh Macdonald to the Honourable A Meighen, 3 July 1919, reprinted in Kordan and Luciuk, *A Delicate and Difficult Question*, 43-45. Macdonald, a police magistrate in Winnipeg, wrote to Meighen, then Canada’s Minister of the Interior, about the “desirability of getting rid of as many undesirable aliens as possible “given the “large extent” to which “Bolsheviki ideas” were held by the Ruthenian, Russian, Polish, and Jewish peoples in Canada. Convinced that there was “a very bad and dangerous” element at loose within Winnipeg, he urged Meighen to “make and example” of them in a manner that would make it clear to all that the authorities intended to maintain law and order. As Macdonald put it, “fear is the only agency that can be successfully employed to keep them within the law and I have no doubt that if the Dominion Government persists in the course that it is now adopting the foreign element here will soon be as gentle and as easily controlled as a lot of sheep.” For a contemporary report on the deportations see “Bolsheviki shipped from Kapuskasing camp,” *Porcupine Advance*, 28 January 1920.


28 J Drozdowich, as cited by D Maceluch in “How Ukrainians were exiled to Quebec gulag,” *The Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), 11 May 1985, B1


"Internments are sought," The Globe and Mail, 5 March 1988. A considerable number of articles and opinion editorials on the Ukrainian Canadian community's efforts have since been published, many reproduced in Luciuk, Righting An Injustice (1994). While the Honourable Jean Chrétien, then Leader of the Opposition, wrote, 9 June 1993: "The Liberal Party understands your concerns...we support your efforts to secure the redress of Ukrainian-Canadian claims arising from their internment and loss of freedom during the First World War..." very little progress was made until 24 August 2005, when an Agreement in Principle (reproduced below) was affirmed and witnessed by the Right Honourable Paul Martin, Prime Minister of Canada. The community's requests for a Ukrainian Canadian Reconciliation Settlement were further advanced when, 25 November 2005, Bill C 331 - Internment of Persons of Ukrainian Origin Recognition Act (reprinted below) received Royal Assent. Additional information can be found on the UCCLA web site (http://www.uccla.ca) by using the Search Our Archives feature.

Sergeant William Buck and other guards at Castle Mountain, Alberta
Canada's first national internment operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920

Internees within the inner courtyard of Fort Henry, Kingston
Valcartier Internment Camp, 1915
Without Just Cause

Internees marching across Spirit Lake, Quebec
Canada's first national internment operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920
"Fire Alarm," Cave & Basin internment camp, Banff, Alberta
Canada's first national internment operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920
Without Just Cause

Internee labour detail near Amherst, Nova Scotia
Internees from Yoho camp, clearing road in Kicking Horse Canyon
Without Just Cause

Roll Call at Kapuskasing internment camp
Women and children internees at Spirit Lake
"Wood for the cooks," Banff National Park
Canada's first national internment operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920

"25 degrees below under Rundle Mountain," Banff National Park
Construction of motor road from Banff to Lake Louise, circa 1915
"Coming out for roll call," Castle Mountain
Inmates of the Vernon internment camp, British Columbia, circa 1916
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—, ed, Commemorating An Injustice: Fort Henry and Ukrainian Canadians as “enemy aliens” during the First World War (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 1994)


—, Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada and the Migration of Memory (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2nd rev ed, 2001)

—, In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence: Canada’s First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920 (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2001)

L Y Luciuk and B S Kordan, Creating A Landscape: A Geography of Ukrainians in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989)

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O Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991)


F Swyripa and J H Thompson, eds, Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982).


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*Freedom Had A Price: Canada's First National Internment Operation* by Yurij Luhovy, (National Film Board of Canada, 1994)

Music:

Donna Creighton, “*Look! Eighty Thousand Voices*” 2004, (Hania Metulynsky, *bandura*), a Shipwreckers Production

Maria Dunn, “*In The Shadow of the Rockies/As I Walk Through Canada,*” (Brian Cherwick, *tsymbaly*), 2004 (on the CD "*We Were Good People,*" Distant Whisper Music), Website: www.mariadunn.com

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Marsha Forchuk Skrypuch, *Silver Threads* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 2004) with illustrations by M Martchenko

Teachers’ Guides:


Social Program Educational Group, Queen’s University, “*Ukrainian Canadians,*” *World War I, Canadians in the Global Community: War, Peace and Security* (CRB Heritage Project: Toronto, Prentice Hall Ginn, 1997)
Internees at Fernie, British Columbia
Internees at Castle Mountain, Banff National Park
Extract from a list of internees held at Jasper, Alberta internment camp, 1916
Certificate of Parole of Alex Matkoluk
EXTRACT from the minutes of a meeting of the Honourable the Treasury Board, held at Ottawa, on March 5, 1945.

M.E.B.
T.B.463341
SECRETARY OF STATE

The Board, on the recommendation of the Public Records Committee, grant authority for the destruction of the following records created from the operations of the Custodian of Enemy Property during World War I:

(a) Individual files and ledgers connected with internment operations.
(b) Individual files covering settled claims for damages arising out of acts of illegal warfare committed by the enemy.
(c) Files, documents and accounting records covering claims by Canadians for property located in enemy countries;
(d) Files relating to debts owing by Canadians to creditors residing in various enemy countries;
(e) Files dealing with applications for release of property vested in the Custodian; and
(f) Files pertaining to the administration and liquidation of enemy property in Canada.

Assistant Secretary.

Copies for Board and Mr. Aubrey.
Canada's first national internment operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920

Memorandum from Department of the Secretary of State, Canada, 25 July 1929. regarding total amount yet to be paid out to ex-prisoners.
With reference to your letter 0103/3283 (4.6.1) of the 14th of October last respecting the treatment in this country of natives of Alsace and Lorraine, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Harcourt to request you to inform the Army Council that with the concurrence of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he proposes to invite the Governments of the British overseas Dominions and Colonies to bring their practice in regard to the treatment of special classes of interned enemy subjects into conformity with that pursued in this country as far as local conditions will allow.

Mr. Harcourt understands that the special classes receiving preferential treatment here include besides the inhabitants of French extraction of Alsace and Lorraine, the following races which are considered to be hostile to Austro-Hungarian rule: Czechs, Croats, Italians (from Trieste and the Trentino), Poles, Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbs, Slovaks and Slovenes; and he would be glad to learn in what respects the treatment in the United Kingdom of these and other similar classes of enemy subjects, if any, differs from that of other enemy subjects.

I am, &c.,

(Harvy Lambert)

for the Under Secretary of State.
AN AGREEMENT-IN-PRINCIPLE

An Agreement-in-Principle between the Government of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian Community, as represented by the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko ("Shevchenko Foundation"), the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

Preamble

Canada is one of the world's most ethnically and culturally diverse societies and recognizes diversity as a source of strength and innovation. However, Canada's past includes actions that are inconsistent with the values Canadians hold today.

As a result of the First World War, persons of Ukrainian origin were interned from 1914 to 1920 under the authority of an Act of Parliament.

Members of the Ukrainian Canadian Community have a strong interest in commemorating and educating Canadians on the unique and significant contributions of Ukrainian Canadians to shaping Canada's history. The Government of Canada is committed to learning from the past, and to efforts and resources for a forward-looking approach aimed at strengthening social cohesion and Canadian identity.
To demonstrate its commitment, the Government of Canada, in its 2005 Budget, announced funding of $25 million over three years to the Multiculturalism Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage to acknowledge, commemorate and educate Canadians about the historical experiences of ethnocultural communities affected by wartime measures and immigration restriction. Initiatives funded through this program will seek to highlight the contributions made by affected communities in the building of our country.

Agreement-in-Principle

The Government of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian Community have developed this Agreement-in-Principle, premised on the principles of 'no compensation' and 'no apology', as a first step in articulating their shared vision for the acknowledgement, commemoration and education of Canadians on the historic experience of Ukrainians in Canada during Canada's first national internment operations and to highlight the contributions that the Ukrainian Canadian Community has made to building Canada. It is the intention of both parties that a final agreement, including additional funding and an appropriate acknowledgement by the Government of Canada of Canada's first national internment operations, will be concluded as soon as possible.

Funding

The Government of Canada plans to provide an initial amount of $2.5 million to the Shevchenko Foundation through the Acknowledgement, Commemoration and Education (ACE) Program. The Shevchenko Foundation will co-ordinate, in consultation with the Ukrainian Canadian
Congress and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the implementation of commemorative projects over the next three years on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian Community. This initial amount will enable the community to commence work on forward-looking proposals that will help commemorate their historical experience and educate Canadians about these experiences; highlight and commemorate the contributions that the Ukrainian Canadian Community has made to Canada; and promote cross-cultural understanding and a shared sense of Canadian identity.

Action Plan

The Government of Canada, through the Minister of State (Multiculturalism), and the Ukrainian Canadian Community, through its designated representatives, agree to continue to work together toward a formal agreement to help build a better understanding among all Canadians. The Government of Canada's contribution pursuant to this Agreement-in-Principle is subject to:

1. the approval of the terms and conditions and the funding for the ACE Program by Treasury Board;
2. the annual appropriation by the Parliament of Canada for this purpose; and
3. the conclusion of a contribution agreement.

This Agreement-in-Principle shall not be interpreted as a full and final agreement nor as constituting an admission by the Government of Canada of the existence of any legal obligation of the Government of Canada to any person.
The Right Honourable Paul Martin, Prime Minister of Canada, at the signing of the Agreement in Principle between the Government of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian community, Regina, 24 August 2005 (from left to right: Borys Wrzesnewskyj, MP (Etobicoke Centre), Prime Minister Martin, Andrew Hladyhevsky, QC (president, Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko), second row, Paul Grod, LLB, (vice-president, Ukrainian Canadian Congress), Dr Lubomyr Luciuk (director of research, Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association) and Walter Lastewka, MP (St Catharines). Back row: the Honourable Lisa Frulla, MP, Minister of Canadian Heritage
I stood the other day on Hill 70, just beyond Vimy Ridge, looking down into the French town of Lens. There, 88 years ago, on 22 August 1917, the valour in battle of a Canadian soldier, Corporal Filip Konowal, was recognized with the highest military decoration of the British Empire, the Victoria Cross.

Promises of freedom and free land – were being branded as “enemy aliens” and herded into Canadian concentration camps. There they were forced to do heavy labour for the profit of their gaolers. What little wealth some of them had was confiscated, and a portion of it still remains in the federal treasury to this very day. They suffered restrictions on their freedom of movement, association, and free speech, and even, in 1917, disenfranchisement.

Everything that was done to them took place not because of anything they had done but only because of who they were, where they had come from. No wonder that Ukrainian Canadians were reported to still be “in fear of the barbed wire fence,” decades afterwards.
One of the innocents apprehended during Canada’s first national internment operations was Mary Manko, a 6 year old Montreal-born girl who would be transported north by railway car to the Spirit Lake internment camp in Quebec’s Abitibi region, along with the rest of her family. There she would watch her two and a half year old sister, Nellie, perish, needlessly.

Mary is 97 years old now, the last known survivor of the internment operations. While age and ill health keep her from being with us today we must remember that it was Mary Manko Haskett who charged us, when she was still able, to never forget what was done to her and all the other internees. She did not ask for an apology, or compensation. She asked only that we secure their memory.

Last Sunday I stood at Essex Farm, where John McCrae penned *In Flanders Fields* –

“from failing hands we throw the torch, be yours to hold it high. If ye break faith with us who die We shall not sleep…”

We did not break faith. A score of years ago our community began to recover the memory of what it had endured – a “national humiliation,” as an editorial writer described our disenfranchisement in Canada’s oldest newspaper, Kingston’s *Daily British Whig* – one that sooner or later would have to be atoned for. That time for atonement begins here, today, in Regina, with the first steps we now take forward together, having signed this agreement in principle that puts us on the path to securing an acknowledgement of an historic injustice, and so heralds the way toward reconciliation and a healing. And it does more, for it signals to all that, forever more, we are no longer “in fear of the barbed wire fence,” and never again will be.

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On behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian community, as represented by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko and Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, and the community’s negotiating team, Mr Paul Grod, Mr Andrew Hladyshevsky and Dr Lubomyr Luciuk, we offer thanks to Prime Minister Paul Martin and all of the other good men and women who helped bring us together here today, to begin working toward a final Ukrainian Canadian Reconciliation Accord, and in particular the Honourable Peter Milliken, MP (Kingston and the Islands), who was the first MP to rise in the House of Commons, 27 September 1991, to call for a righting of this historic wrong, and Inky Mark, MP (Dauphin-Swan River-Marquette), whose Bill C 331 - The Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act continues to further that just cause.


Mary Mank Haskett with Peter Milliken, MP (Kingston and the Islands; now Speaker of the House of Commons), Ottawa, March 1993 (photograph by F Monte)
Funeral procession, Spirit Lake internment camp
LY Luciuk and Stefa Mielniczuk, a Spirit Lake internee, at unveiling of Fort Henry plaque, Kingston, Ontario, 4 August 1994
Hon. Stephen Harper (Leader of the Opposition, CPC): Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the House for allowing me to speak first on the debate this afternoon as I have a busy schedule. I also want to thank in particular the member for Kildonan--St. Paul who gave up her slot to allow me to speak first. I know she has done a lot of work on the bill and with the Ukrainian community and we are very much appreciative of her efforts.

I rise today to address an important and unfortunate chapter in Canadian history. I am pleased to give my support as a consequence to Bill C-331.


The House resumed from December 7, 2004, consideration of the motion that Bill C-331, an act to recognize the injustice that was done to persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans who were interned at the time of the First World War and to provide for public commemoration and for restitution which is to be devoted to public education and the promotion of tolerance, be read the second time and referred to a committee.
Bill C-331 is an act to recognize he injustice that was done to persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans who were interned at the time of the first world war. The bill would provide for public commemoration and for redress devoted to public education and the promotion of tolerance.

Allow me to begin by first recognizing the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and in particular Professor Lubomyr Luciuk for their tireless efforts to promote awareness of the internment of Ukrainian Canadians during the first world war. Without their efforts, we would likely not be having this kind of debate in Parliament today. Unfortunately, without their advocacy this chapter of Canadian history would already have been largely forgotten.

I would like to thank my colleague, the Conservative member for Dauphin--Swan River--Marquette, for presenting this bill and for bearing the torch for a long time for redress of this historic wrong. His leadership has been critical in working to finally close this painful chapter of Canadian history for the descendants of those Canadians who were unjustly interned several decades ago.

Between 1914 and 1920 Canada witnessed its first internment operations under the War Measures Act. Thousands of loyal Canadians were systematically arrested and interned in 24 camps throughout the country simply because of their national origin. Nearly 9,000 Canadians were interned, the vast majority of Ukrainian origin.

At the outset of the first world war, western Ukraine was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian empire and Canada was of course
at war with Austria-Hungary. In the midst of wartime hysteria, everyone with a connection to Austria-Hungary was deemed a threat to our country. Often of course this was simply incorrect. Ironically, in this case many thousands of Ukrainian Canadians had actually fled the occupying power in their homeland. A knowledgeable assessment of the situation could have led to only one conclusion: these refugees of Canada's wartime enemy were not enemies of Canada. They were new, loyal British subjects and allies of our wartime cause.

In fact, in 1915, I should mention that the British foreign office twice instructed Ottawa to grant Ukrainians "preferential treatment", arguing that they were to be considered "friendly aliens" rather than "enemy aliens". Yet the federal government of the time simply would not listen and would not change course.

Moreover, many of those interned were not just naturalized British subjects. They were truly Canadians. They were born in Canada, but bearing the wrong last name or the wrong parentage because in this case even children were interned.

Throughout the internment operations the civilian internees were transported to Canada's frontier hinterlands where they were forced to perform hard labour under trying circumstances. Some sites that we all know well today, including Banff and Jasper national parks and the experimental farms at Kapuskasing, were first developed by this pool of forced labour. Again ironically, as Ukrainian Canadians were being interned for having been unfortunate enough to enter this country with Austro-Hungarian passports, other Ukrainian Canadians who had entered Canada on different foreign documents were serving Canada loyally in overseas battle.
Let us not forget Ukrainian-Canadian war veteran Philip Konowal, who was awarded the Victoria Cross by King George V for his brave wartime service. He was a Ukrainian Canadian honoured, while at the very same time his fellow neighbours and descendants of Ukraine were wondering why they had chosen Canada to be their new home while they were being interned.

We know we cannot rewrite history. That is not the exercise today. We cannot change the fact that an injustice occurred. Frankly, only those who carried out an injustice can truly be held accountable. Only those who themselves suffered injustice can ever properly be compensated.

However as heirs of our society and its institutions we can acknowledge injustice. We can appreciate the lessons of history and we can make amends where appropriate in our own time. It is in my judgment time to make amends.

If Bill C-331 is allowed to pass, it will be the first official acknowledgement that Canada's treatment of Ukrainian Canadians during the first world war was wrong. It will be the first time that a promise made many times by many Canadian political leaders will be kept.

Former prime minister, Jean Chrétien, had repeatedly promised to officially recognize the internment operations but he failed to deliver while in office.

Former heritage minister, Sheila Copps, made a similar promise to give official recognition to this historical injustice but also failed to act once elected to the government benches. It is time to simply put this matter to rest.
By passing Bill C-331, we will finally take a step to acknowledge the injustice of the past, an injustice that would never be allowed to be committed today in this great country which reveres our freedoms and the rule of law.

So far the Ukrainian Canadian community has placed memorial plaques at almost all of the internment sites except for five to remind Canadians of what happened at these locations so that this sad chapter of our history may never be repeated.

Many official documents and archival files were destroyed in the early 1950s but slowly material has been researched and is resurfacing once again. We give thanks to many academics of Ukrainian Canadian heritage who have resolved to keep alive our collective memory of these historical events.

However we should go further. We should officially recognize these events as a historical wrong.

The last remaining survivor of these internment operations, Mary Haskett, is still alive. She will be turning 97 this summer. I sincerely hope that she will live to see an official reconciliation of this past injustice.

On behalf of the member for Dauphin--Swan River--Marquette and all members of the Conservative Party, I certainly urge my colleagues in the House to join me in support of Bill C-331 Without Just Cause
Inky Mark, MP (Dauphin-Swan River-Marquette), Lubomyr Luciuk, PhD, and the Honourable Stephen Harper, MP, Leader of the Opposition (and now Prime Minister of Canada)
INTERNMENT OF PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN ORIGIN RECOGNITION ACT

First Session, Thirty-eighth Parliament
53-54 Elizabeth II, 2004-2005

Statutes of Canada 2005, Chapter 52

An Act to acknowledge that persons of Ukrainian origin were interned in Canada during the First World War and to provide for recognition of this event

Assented to 25th November 2005 (Bill C 331)

Summary: This enactment acknowledges that persons of Ukrainian origin were interned in Canada during the First World War under the authority of an Act of Parliament and expresses the deep sorrow of Parliament for that event. The enactment provides for negotiation to take place between the Government of Canada and certain specified Ukrainian-Canadian organizations in respect of measures that may be taken to recognize the internment. These measures may include the installation of commemorative plaques as well as public educational initiatives. The enactment also allows a request to be made to the Canada Post Corporation for the issue of a commemorative stamp or set of stamps.
Preamble:

WHEREAS, during the First World War, persons of Ukrainian origin were interned in Canada under the authority of an Act of Parliament;

WHEREAS Parliament wishes to express its deep sorrow for those events;

AND WHEREAS Parliament acknowledges that those events are deserving of recognition through public education and the promotion of the shared values of multiculturalism, inclusion and mutual respect;

NOW, THEREFORE, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

Short title 1. This Act may be cited as the Internment of Persons of Ukrainian Origin Recognition Act.

Negotiations 2. The Government of Canada shall undertake negotiations with the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko towards an agreement concerning measures that may be taken to recognize the internment of persons of Ukrainian origin in Canada during the First World War.

Objective 2.1 The measures shall have as their objective a better public understating of (a) the consequences of ethnic, religious or racial intolerance and discrimination; and (b) the important role of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the respect and promotion of the values it
reflects and the rights and freedoms it guarantees.

Commemorative Plaques 2.2 The measures may include the installation of commemorative plaques at certain places where persons of Ukrainian origin were interned in Canada during the First World War.

Public education measures 3. The measures may also include the following public educational measures: (1) the exhibition of information concerning internment camps and the contribution made by persons of Ukrainian origin to the development of Canada; and (b) the preparation of related educational materials.

Commemorative postage stamps 4. The Government of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko may request the Canada Post Corporation to issue a commemorative stamp or set of stamps.

Other commemorative measures 5. The Government of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko may consider any other measure that promotes the objective described in section 2.1.

Interpretation. 6. Negotiations undertaken pursuant to section 2 shall not be interpreted as constituting an admission by Her Majesty in right of Canada of the existence of any legal obligation of Her Majesty in right of Canada to any person.
Great War Veterans Association parade, Winnipeg, 4 June 1919