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**THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE'S ACTIVITIES  
DURING WORLD WAR II (1939 – 1945)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is a comprehensive analysis of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee participation (UCC) in the Canadian federal government's campaign for war efforts aimed at moral and material support for the country's armed forces and the Ukrainian servicemen present there in order to bring about victory over Nazi Germany in World War II, and its struggle with the Ukrainian Society for Aid to the Motherland (USAM) and the Assossiation of Canadian Ukrainians (ACU). The methodological basis of the study is the principles of objectivity, historicism, consistency, and problem-based approach. In the research the following methods have been used: analysis and synthesis, problem-chronological, comparative, to study the role of the UCC and ACU in Canada's war efforts, as well as the method of internal criticism of sources. The scientific novelty consists in processing of a significant number of primary sources and scientific literature, which made it possible to analyze the forms and content of the UCC's campaign in support of the Canadian federal government's course on war efforts to defeat Nazi Germany in World War II and to compare the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Assossiation of Ukrainian Canadians in the context of the war and the Ukrainian issue. Conclusions.* The leadership of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, together with its constituent and other public, youth, and cultural and educational organizations, from the moment of its founding in Winnipeg on November 6–7, 1940, conducted an agitation campaign among the youth of the Ukrainian diaspora of Canada by publishing declarations, communiqués, appeals in the press, announcing art evenings, performances, raffles and other events to collect donations for the needs of the Canadian Armed Forces, and rallied around itself all the “loyal elements” of the Ukrainian community in this country. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee supported the morale of 35,000–40,000 Ukrainian servicemen of the Canadian Armed Forces abroad, providing them with material and moral assistance. The contribution of Ukrainian Canadians and their leadership in the form of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to the victory over Nazi Germany in World War II was highly appreciated by the AngloCanadian press, Canadian state and public figures, scientists, and all other friends of the country's Ukrainian community and its researchers. The participation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in the war efforts of the residence country of the Ukrainian diaspora contributed to the deep socio-political integration of the community into civilized Canadian society, instilled in

its representatives self-confidence as full citizens at a fateful time for Canada and the world. Having held its first Congress on June 22–24, 1943 in Winnipeg, the main national patriotic representative organization of Canadian Ukrainians, countering the Soviet and Sovietophile propaganda, was able to establish itself as an authoritative body representing and defending the interests of Canadian Ukrainians before the federal government and the Canadian public.

**Key words:** the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Assosiation of Ukrainian Canadians, Ukrainian Society for Aid to the Motherland, federal government of Canada, Canadian war effort, British Empire.

## ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ КОМІТЕТУ УКРАЇНЦІВ КАНАДИ В РОКИ ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ (1939 – 1945)

**Метою статті** є комплексний аналіз участі Комітету українців Канади (КУК) у кампанії федерального уряду Канади з воєнних зусиль, спрямованих на моральну підтримку і матеріальне забезпечення збройних сил країни і наявних там українців-військовослужбовців з метою наближення перемоги над нацистською Німеччиною у Другій світовій війні, та його боротьби з Українським товариством допомоги Батьківщині (УТДБ) і Товариством канадських українців (ТКУ). **Методологічною основою** статті послуговували принципи об'єктивності, історизму, послідовності, проблемності. У роботі використано методи: аналізу і синтезу, проблемно-хронологічний, порівняльний, для вивчення ролі КУК та ТКУ у воєнних зусиллях Канади, а також метод внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає в опрацюванні значної кількості першоджерел та наукової літератури, завдяки чому вдалося проаналізувати форми і зміст ведення КУК агітаційної кампанії на підтримку курсу федерального уряду Канади на воєнні зусилля з метою перемоги нацистську Німеччину в Другій світовій війні, а також здійснити порівняння Комітету українців Канади та Товариства канадських українців у контексті війни й українського питання. **Висновки.** Провід Комітету українців Канади разом зі складовими й іншими громадськими, молодіжними та культурно-просвітницькими організаціями з моменту свого заснування у Вінніпегу 6–7 листопада 1940 р. проводив агітаційну кампанію серед молоді української діаспори Канади шляхом оприлюднення декларацій, комунікатів, звернень і закликів у пресі, оголошення мистецьких вечорів, вистав, розіграшів та інших заходів для збору пожертв на потреби збройних сил Канади, згуртувавши у такий спосіб навколо себе всі “лояльні елементи” української громади в цій країні. Він підтримував моральний дух 35,000–40,000 українців-військовослужбовців збройних сил Канади за кордоном, надаючи їм матеріальну та моральну допомогу. Внесок канадського українства та його проводу у вигляді Комітету українців Канади у перемогу над нацистською Німеччиною у Другій світовій війні був високо оцінений англоканадською пресою, канадськими державними і громадськими діячами, вченими та всіма іншими друзями української громади країни і її дослідниками. Участь Комітету українців Канади у воєнних зусиллях країни проживання української діаспори сприяли глибокій соціально-політичній інтеграції громади в цивілізоване канадське суспільство, вселила її представникам як повноправним громадянам впевненість у собі у доленосний для Канади та світу час. Провівши власний перший з'їзд у Вінніпегу (22–24 червня 1943 р.), головна націонал-патріотична представницька організація канадського українства, протидіючи радянській та радянофільській пропаганді, змогла зарекомендувати себе як авторитетний орган, що представляє та захищає інтереси канадських українців перед федеральним урядом і громадськістю Канади.

**Ключові слова:** Комітет українців Канади, Товариство канадських українців, Українське товариство допомоги Батьківщині, федеральний уряд Канади, воєнні зусилля Канади, Британська імперія.

**Problem Statement.** One of the bright pages in the history of Canadian Ukrainianhood is a significant contribution of Canadian Ukrainianhood, led by its leadership – the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (since February 11, 1939 – the Ukrainian Canadian Congress) – to the victory over Nazi Germany in World War II. More than 35,000 Ukrainians fought in the ranks of the Canadian army against Nazi Germany and its satellite states, in northern

France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy. The form and content of the public campaign for moral and material aid to Ukrainian servicemen of the Canadian Armed Forces, organized by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (hereinafter referred to as the UCC) and other cultural, educational and cooperative societies and public organizations, deserve a special focus, as well as relations with the federal government of Canada and political confrontation with Ukrainian-Canadian communists members of the Ukrainian Association for Aid to the Motherland (UAAM) and the Association of Ukrainian Canadians (AUC). The results of the community's successful work to win the war were recognized by the First and Second Congresses of Ukrainians in Canada.

**Review of Recent Research and Publications.** The participation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Canada's war effort and its confrontation with the Association of Ukrainian Canadians have been thoroughly researched by Vasyl Veryha (Veryha, 1967), Oleh Gerus (Gerus, 1982), Thomas Prymak (Prymak, 1988), Mykhailo Marunchak (Marunchak, Vol. 2, 1991) and Mykhailo Borovyk (Borovyk, 1991). The activities of the leading national and patriotic representative organization of Canadian Ukrainians during the period under study are presented in a chronological order in Olha Voytsenko's textbook study "Chronicle of Ukrainian Life in Canada" (Voytsenko, Vol. 5, 1973) and the reference publication "Ukraine: Chronicle of the 20th Century" (Ukraina: khronika XX stolittia, 2005). The contribution of Canadian Ukrainianhood to the victory over Nazi Germany in World War II was highly praised by Canadian historian Watson Kirkconnell, by citing the data from government documents and periodicals (Kirkconnell, Without year; Kirkconnell, 1940). The confrontation between the UCC and the ACU during World War II was studied by Petro Kravchuk and Anatolii Rusnachenko, Ivan Kolasky and Olena Potrebenko in the context of the history of Ukrainian communism in Canada (Kravchuk, 1959; Rusnachenko, 2016, Kn. 5; Kolasky, 1979; Potrebenko, 1977), Dmytro Kravets in the light of the history of American Ukrainianhood during World War II (Kravets, 2022), Hryhoriy Piniuta in the context of Canadian Ukrainianhood (Piniuta, 1952), Lawrence Joseph Black in the context of Canadian-Soviet relationship (Black, 1998), Leonid Leshchenko, Bohdan Kordan and Yaroslav Petryshyn in the context of the Ukrainian question, which has been repeatedly raised in diplomatic relations between Ottawa and Moscow (Leshchenko, 2001; Kordan, 2001; Petryshyn, 2011), Oleksandr Baran in the context of the UCC's founder and first President Vasyl Kushnir's socio-political activities (Baran, 1995) and Maksym Maiorov in the context of the Ukraine's fate during World War II (Maiorov, 2017). In the Ukrainian Soviet historiography this issue is mentioned in a frank negative attitude towards the UCC in the context of the Soviet-German war of 1941 – 1945 (Istoryia Ukrainsoi SSR, 1984). Piotr Eberhardt wrote about the disputes between the Polish government in exile and the Soviet Union regarding the status of Western Ukrainian and Western Belarusian lands (Eberhardt, 2006). The military and diplomatic aspects of World War II, at the beginning of which the aforementioned Ukrainian diaspora organizations were established, were studied by Stepan Vidniansky, Andriy Martynov, Valeriy Hrytsiuk, Oleksandr Lysenko, Volodymyr Kydon, Rostyslav Pyliavets, Shamil Ramazanov, and Felix Levitas (Vidnianskyi, Martynov, 2020; Hrytsiuk, Lysenko, Kydon, 2021; Lysenko, Pyliavets, 2019; Ramazanov, Levitas, 2020). A large number of primary sources on the researched issues are contained in collections of materials of the First (Pershyi Vse-Kanadiiskyi Konhres ukrainsiv Kanady, 1943) and the Second All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada (Druhyi Vse-Kanadiiskyi konhres,

1946), collections of published documents of the Department of External Affairs of Canada (Kordan, 1986), Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) (RCMP Security Bulletins, 1993), Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CC of the Communist Party of [89] Ukraine) (OUN i UPA v 1943 rotsi. Dokumenty, 2008) and Ukrainian progressive socialist Sovietophile diaspora organizations (Prophets and proletarians, 1990) about UCC's and AUC's activities, in the funds of the Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ukrainian Studies (CSAPAUS), as well as in the Soviet periodical press (Tychina, 1943, p. 3).

**The purpose** of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) participation in the Canadian federal government's campaign for war efforts aimed at moral and material support for the country's armed forces and the Ukrainian servicemen present there in order to bring about victory over Nazi Germany in World War II, and its struggle with the Ukrainian Association for Aid to the Motherland (UAAM) and the Association of Ukrainian Canadians (AUC).

**Results of the Research.** After the outbreak of World War II, almost the entire Ukrainian national patriotic diaspora press in Canada published declarations of the Ukrainian community's devotion to this country and editorials that confirmed the resolute determination of Ukrainian Canadians in the fight against Nazi Germany. On September 5, 1939, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics's (hereinafter – BUC) headquarters issued a declaration of Ukrainian Canadians' loyalty to Canada and the British Empire and its King George VI, and the next day the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (hereinafter – USRL) Executive published a statement entitled "For Canada and the British Empire", in which it called for unwavering faith in the country's democratic institutions. On September 7, the Ukrainian National Federation's (hereinafter referred to as the UNF) magazine "The New Pathway" joined the calls of other diaspora media and added: "We stand in defense of our adopted Fatherland without hesitation, voluntarily, in a joint action". To those readers who came to Canada several decades ago, the magazine's editorial staff explained: "Many of us fought in the World War on the side of our historical enemies, enemies of our people, the occupants of Ukraine. We were forced to take up arms and were driven to the front lines. This time we are in a completely different position. We stand up in defense of our adopted country, the laws of which are our laws, her need is our need and her destiny is our destiny" (Veryha, 1967, pp. 100–102).

It should be noted that at the beginning of the war, Canada did not have a significant army. The situation was further complicated by the government's inability to mobilize young citizens of draft age, since the army service was on a voluntary basis (Veryha, 1967, p. 103).

Meanwhile, on October 31, 1939, in the BUC's newspaper "Ukrayinski Visti" it was written that the Soviet Union had annexed Western Ukrainian lands, and warned that letters would be sent to Canada that would deceive the [90] Ukrainian community with promises and fabrications. Fears were expressed that in this case, people from Galicia and Volyn would fall prey to Soviet propaganda (Kravchuk, 1959, pp. 74–75). The publisher of "Farmerske Zhyttia" and "Narodna Hazeta" was "the Ukrainian Labor Farmer 'Temple Association'" (hereinafter – ULFTA), supported by the Canadian communists (Rusnachenko, 2016, p. 121).

While Ukrainian-Canadian and Canadian communists celebrated the "reunification" of Western Ukraine with the USSR, diaspora national patriots continued to support their relatives

who had gone into military service. The Ukrainian Youth Union of Canada organized regional meetings for its members and their friends on special combat programmes (Veryha, 1967, pp. 103–104). The Ukrainian response to the call to arms was widespread. On February 13, 1940, the Director of Public Information stated that “ten per cent of Saskatchewan enlistments for active service are Canadians of Ukrainian origin, though this particular blood strain is less than 10 per cent of the Saskatchewan population” (Veryha, 1967, pp. 104–105). Local historian Watson Kirkconnell wrote of thousands of Ukrainians heading straight to Ottawa, ready to help Canada in the war in one way or another (Kirkconnell, 1940, p. 5; Kirkconnell, w.y., pp. 4–5).

The constructive propaganda of Ukrainian-Canadian national patriots was countered by communist anti-war propaganda. During the election campaign in early 1940, the Communist Party of Canada put forward the slogan “No conscription! Return Canadian boys back to Canada. Not a single man should leave the Canadian shores to die in the imperialistic war”. But it should be noted that this “call” had little effect on the fighting spirit of the Ukrainian diaspora youth (Veryha, 1967, p. 106).

The strengthening of Canada’s war efforts was facilitated by the creation of the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians (hereinafter referred to as the RCUC) on February 4, 1940. The special subcommittee, headed by Orest Zhrebko, promised the government assistance in war matters. On May 30, 1940, the RCUC addressed Ukrainian citizens of Canada and the British Empire, “Ukrainian farmers, workers, businessmen and professionals”, calling for active work “for the defense of Canada and for victory of Britain...”, emphasizing that “the victory of Britain over Germany signifies hope for the liberation of a great Ukrainian nation in Europe”. Separately, the organization’s leadership addressed the Ukrainian Canadian youth: “Ukrainian youth, keep in mind that the only sure way to protect freedom, so dear to our hearts, is to join the Canadian Army as many of you have already done. The present situation requires more and speedier effort, and more resolute action” (Veryha, 1967, p. 107).

In Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of Canada on May 28, 1940, the RCUC’s leadership declared its readiness “to further, in any way within its power, the great war effort of Canada and the Allies and support any just plan that these may approve for liberation of the Ukraine” (Veryha, 1967, p. 107).

At the beginning of June of 1940, in a published communiqué, the Ukrainian Central Committee in Canada (hereinafter referred to as the UCCC) supported the government’s war efforts. On June 9, activists of the Ukrainian Public Committee, led by the director of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in London, Volodymyr Kysilevsky, a teacher Hryhoriy Mazuryk, a doctor Ivan Kucherepa, and a lawyer Teodor Humeniuk, organized a rally in Toronto, at which “it was decided to call on all Ukrainian residents of Toronto to donate to the war fund... At the end of the rally, a considerable amount of money was collected...” (Voytsenko, 1973, p. 26).

At the beginning of September of 1940, the Central Committee of the Red Cross in Winnipeg “at its regular meeting decided to conduct a campaign on donation among the Ukrainian population in close cooperation with the Red Cross...” (Voytsenko, 1973, p. 26). At the end of this month, the leadership of the Ukrainian Women’s Association of Canada (hereinafter referred to as the UWAC) announced a campaign to raise funds to purchase a military ambulance. On October 5–6, delegates to the congress of the UWAC branches in White approved “the current action of the Ukrainian Women’s Association of Canada in the



military competitions of Canada and calls on Ukrainian women to continue to support this action with all their might” (Voytsenko, 1973, p. 38). From mid-October, its leadership began to provide information on the activities of branches for military needs in various localities (Voytsenko, 1973, p. 39). On October 23, under the patronage of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Canada, a concert was held at the Winnipeg City Auditorium, owing to which the Ukrainians “demonstrated a practical way to promote the sale of Canadian war stamps” (Voytsenko, 1973, p. 40).

At its first meeting of the UCC Executive in Winnipeg on December 3, 1940, the plan for future activities was laid out, in which Canada’s war effort became a top priority. The second task of the UCC was to resolve the Ukrainian question in Europe and the problems of Canadian Ukrainianhood (Veryha, 1967, p. 108). On December 21–22, another congress of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League was held in Winnipeg. The main topics of discussion were “the war effort of our state, our assistance to this effort, and what our work should be at the present time for our Ukrainian affairs...” (Voytsenko, 1973, p. 47). The UCC became a centre that spoke on behalf of Canadian Ukrainianhood. Finally, organizations facilitated its activities (Veryha, 1967, p. 108). However, after its founding on November 6–7, 1940, the UCC faced the problem of dispelling in the minds of the Canadian public the prevailing belief that a significant part of Canadian Ukrainianhood sympathized with the already outlawed diaspora communists as their sole defenders (Piniuta, 1952, pp. 58–59). Despite the complete legal ban on the activities of the Communist Party of Canada and its affiliated organizations, during the period of 1940 – 1941, the Ukrainian-Canadian communists and their like-minded people continued to wage a propaganda war against their opponents, primarily the UNO (Prymak, 1988, p. 54). Meanwhile, the Kremlin used the non-aggression, friendship and border treaties with Germany signed by the Soviet Union on August 23 and September 28, 1939, to postpone the war. In the second half of 1940, due to the defeat of France and the occupation of almost all of Western Europe by the German troops, the threat to the Soviet Union increased sharply, which prompted a number of urgent measures to prepare the country and the armed forces for a possible war. Under these circumstances, the top military and political leadership of the USSR increasingly explicitly postulated a doctrine of offensive actions, which marginalized balanced ideas about the relationship between defense and offense, despite active strategic cooperation with Berlin (Hrytsiuk, Lysenko, & Kydon, 2021, p. 63). Although the Soviet military intelligence repeatedly warned the Kremlin about Germany’s strategic planning of a war against the USSR, Joseph Stalin deliberately “did not allow anyone to convince him of a different outcome than he desired” (Ramazanov, & Levitas, 2020, p. 197). Moreover, the Soviet and Ukrainian-Canadian Sovietophile diaspora press also denied Berlin’s intentions to start a war against the Soviet Union and accused Western governments of disinformation.

Meanwhile, the Ukrainian-Canadian national patriots continued to raise funds for the needs of Ukrainian Canadian servicemen. Thus, on March 22, 1941, a concert was held at the Capitol Theatre in Windsor under the patronage of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The local community purchased \$18,000 in bonds. On April 4 of that year, the UCC’s President Father Vasyl Kushnir delivered a check for \$2,265 to the Ukrainian Red Cross headquarters in Winnipeg to purchase ambulances. The funds were raised by the Ukrainian community in various parts of Canada (Borovyk, 1991, p. 79). In 15 counties of Alberta, there was raised the

sum of a million dollars. In Winnipeg, activists raised half a million dollars in bonds and about the same amount in war-savings obligations in two and a half years (Marunchak, 1991, p. 258).

Overall, the overt propaganda campaign of Canadian and Ukrainian-Canadian communists proved largely ineffective (Prymak, 1988, p. 54). The leadership of the UCC did everything possible to minimize the impact of destructive anti-war propaganda from interned diaspora communists on the consciousness of the Ukrainian community. However, their attitude towards their country's participation in the war changed rapidly after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war on June 22, 1941 – suddenly they became very patriotic citizens and began to support the war effort against fascism (Veryha, 1967, pp. 108–109). On June 22, 1941, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, published a Manifesto entitled “Canadians, all out for the Soviet Victory over fascism”. This document was supported by amnestied Ukrainian-Canadian communists. While all Ukrainian national patriotic independentist diaspora organizations, led by the leadership of the UCC, worked hard for the victory of Canada and its allies, their political opponents called on their supporters for an immediate socialist revolution in Canada and Great Britain with the aim of establishing the Soviet world order mainly not peace (Veryha, 1967, pp. 109–110). At the end of June of 1941, a series of rallies led by the Canadian communists in support of the Soviet Union were held in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. During the first weeks of the Soviet-German war, the Ukrainian-Canadian communist activists began to form committees to help their homeland (Prymak, 1988, p. 58). On July 2, 1,500 Ukrainian-Canadian communists and their supporters gathered for a rally in Toronto and expressed their “solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine” (Kolasky, 1979, pp. 31–32). The Ukrainian-Canadian communists released early from custody appealed to the broad circles of the Ukrainian community in Canada to join it and create local branches (Veryha, 1967, p. 109). On July 26, 1941, in Toronto, at the initiative of several capable and energetic young activists, a conference of representatives of local committees was convened with the participation of 56 people, as a result of which the Ukrainian Association for Aid to the Motherland (UAAM) was established, headed by Mykhailo Mytsak and Mykhailo Dushnytsky (Kolasky, 1979, p. 32). On the same day, activists and rank-and-file members of the newly formed organization called on the federal government of Canada and their like-minded people not only to assist the struggle of the Soviet Union and the Western Allied powers against Germany morally and materially, but also to fight “the Ukrainian fascist, Hitlerite agents and the fifth column”. They even started publishing their own newspaper, “Ukrayinske Zhyttia” (“Ukrainian Life”), which began attacking the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. From then on, this new, Ukrainian progressive-socialist, Sovietophile diaspora organization challenged the UCC in its right to represent the Ukrainians in Canada and did everything possible to undermine its authority among the diaspora (Veryha, 1967, p. 109). Through its own media, it viciously attacked and slandered all of its political opponents on the opposite side, their press, churches, fraternal and cultural organizations as enemies of the Ukrainian people in Europe. In labour issues, the Ukrainian Society for Aid to the Motherland adhered to the party line of hatred and radical agitation (Kordan, 1986, p. 77). The weekly “Saturday Night” even published an article by the Canadian communist Raymond Arthur Davis on July 12, “Ukrainian-Canadians and the War's New Phase”, according to which “nationalists among Ukrainian Canadians, who up to the outbreak of the German-Russian war had been loyal to Canada, now posed a serious

security risk” and are a fertile field for a “Nazi fifth column” nationalists among Ukrainian Canadians, who, now posed a serious security risk and were a fertile field for a “Nazi Fifth Column.”. On July 26, the same magazine [93] published a detailed rebuttal by the Vice President of the UCC and UNF, Vasyl Svystun (Prymak, 1988, p. 59).

On August 28–30, 1941, The VIIIth Congress of the Ukrainian National Federation was held in Winnipeg, at which the UCC's President, Vasyl Kushnir, and the leader of the UNF's National Executive, Volodymyr Kossar, called for active support for Canada's war efforts and for informing its government and the public about international events related to Ukraine (Kordan, 1986, pp. 81–82). In order to counteract the Sovietophile propaganda of its own political opponents, the UCC's Headquarters issued Communiqué No. 11 on September 17, 1941, in which it warned the community against naive sympathy for disguised communism (Veryha, 1967, p. 109). “There is no doubt that the aforementioned society is trying to use the fact of the Russo-German war and the fact of the alliance between the Soviets and the Allies as an opportunity to regain the political and economic influence of the communist movement among Ukrainians in Canada, under the guise of ‘helping the homeland’ and patriotic and democratic slogans” – emphasized the leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian community in their address to Canadian Ukrainianhood (Voytsenko, 1973, p. 78).

A violent reaction of diaspora Ukrainians to some extent prompted the Canadian federal government to review its military programme. Wanting to free itself from the previous obligation not to introduce military service, the Canadian federal government announced a national plebiscite on April 28, 1942, to repeal the old law on voluntary military service. The people approved governmental idea (Gerus, 1982, pp. 199–200). However, the real surprise was the votes of the prairies inhabitants, where the Ukrainians and other ethnic minorities lived, whose representatives opposed this idea of the country's government (Kordan, 2001, pp. 105–106). The results caused shockwaves across Canada. Immediately the majority of the press interpreted the vote as a measure of loyalty to Canada, rather than a complex and controversial political issue the prime minister and his inner circle had considered it (Prymak, 1988, p. 72). Diaspora communists accused political opponents from the national patriotic camp of voting against mandatory national conscription for military service abroad (Potrebenko, 1977, p. 276).

In connection with a rapid influx of Ukrainian youth into the Canadian armed forces in January-February of 1942, the UCC Presidium concluded agreements with the federal government of the country to ensure the spiritual care of the Ukrainian Christian faith among Ukrainian soldiers. In the first half of February of 1942, Father Mykhailo Pelekh was appointed military chaplain among all Greek Catholic soldiers, and Father Semen Savchuk – among Orthodox soldiers. Later, they were joined by Fathers Theodosius-Theodor Dobko and Mykhailo Horoshko among the Greek Catholics and Fathers Toma Kovalishyn and Stepan Symchych among the Orthodox (Veryha, 1967, p. 113).

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee cared for Ukrainian servicemen abroad constantly, providing them with material and moral assistance (Piniuta, 1952, pp. 58–64). A canteen started operating in the club quarters of Manchester, where the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association (hereinafter – UCSA) lived, led by Lieutenant Bohdan Panchuk. The UCC undertook to subsidize the canteen in England in the amount of \$500 per month. In 1944, donations by the UCC for food for servicemen amounted to approximately \$5,725



(Veryha, 1967, pp. 113–113b). It should be noted that the hostesses of the UCSA house were Ukrainian servicemen of the Canadian Women's Army Corps, Lieutenants Ann Cherniavsky and Ann Craplive, Sergeant Helen Kozisky (Maurov, 2017, p. 287). In order to maintain the morale of Ukrainian Canadian servicemen, the UCC's leadership formed a special commission to [94] oversee their welfare. The commission included the president, judge and lawyer Ivan Solomon, a public figure, jurist, and a former sergeant major of the Ukrainian Galician Army and the leader of the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association Board Ivan Huliai, the Ukrainian Canadian Women Committee's President, educator Maria Dyma, and military chaplains Fathers Mykhailo Pelekh and Semen Savchuk (Veryha, 1967, pp. 113b–114).

By supporting clubhouses in Manchester and London, to which all other non-Ukrainian Canadians and Ukrainian Americans were also invited, the UCC leadership helped a tireless Captain Bohdan Panchuk, who led the UCSA, establish "a home away from home" where Ukrainian Canadian servicemen could take advantage of all the facilities. While women's organizations looked after the supply of food to the UCSA club in London, the organizations of the UCC that published their own newspapers or magazines sent copies to the club's reading room. Thus, Canadian military personnel of Ukrainian origin who were stationed abroad could be confident that not only their parents and relatives, but also the entire Ukrainian community were concerned about their well-being.

The Toronto branch of the Ukrainian Women's Committee of Canada participated in the Red Cross campaign and in April of 1945 in its assigned district with a numerous Ukrainian population, raised over \$2,000, and received special recognition for its well-organized work (Veryha, 1967, pp. 120–121).

On June 4-6, 1942, the leadership of the Ukrainian Association for Aid to the Motherland held a national convention in Winnipeg. 160 delegates decided to rename their organization the Association of Ukrainian Canadians (hereinafter referred to as the AUC) and adopted a series of resolutions calling for the fullest possible participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the war effort, conducting financial campaigns for the benefit of civilian victims in Great Britain and Soviet Ukraine, sending food, tobacco, cigarettes, and medical aid to wounded Red Army soldiers, and "unsparingly expose before the people and the government Canada's internal enemies, the fifth-columnists, Hitler agents, saboteurs and spies operating in the Ukrainian Canadian environment, and foster strong militant morale among Ukrainian Canadians" (Prymak, 1988, pp. 77–78). On June 11, 1942, the editorial board of the ACU magazine "Ukrayinske Zhyttia" ("The Ukrainian Life") stated the following in its own author's article: "Guided by the desire to do everything in their power to help defeat fascism, which causes Ukraine to bleed and threatens Canada and the entire democratic world, the Congress pledged a continued full and unconditional support for Canada's military effort and developed and adopted a broad military programme for increased participation of the entire organization in Canada's military war effort" (CSAPAUS, f. 1, d. 23, c. 118, p. 24).

An important part of the political programme of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians was the demand for the return of all confiscated property of the "Ukrainian Labor Farmer's Temple Association" to it as its legal successor. Since the leadership of the renamed Ukrainian progressive socialist Sovietophile diaspora organization admitted that all the property of the "Ukrainian Labor Farmer's Temple Association", thus confiscated from the liquidated illegal organizations, was owned by the Crown and completely beyond

the jurisdiction of the courts, its representatives began campaigning for the return of this property through prominent people who conveyed the demands of the leadership to parliamentarians and members of the Canadian federal government. A particular point that was very consistently played on by the Association of Ukrainian Canadians' agitators was the resale by the Public Custodian of Canada of several confiscated halls to the Ukrainian National Federation in accordance with the decision to [95] use or alienate many of such halls. The psychological impact on the Association of Ukrainian Canadians members of losing their halls to their hated political opponents helped maintain enthusiasm in their organization and created a state of elation, so necessary to support their demands on the Government (RCMP Security Bulletins, 1993, p. 80).

In January – February of 1943, the situation changed significantly in favour of the Ukrainian-Canadian communists in Canada. Their ranks were replenished with former interned leaders and hundreds of new young members. In eastern Europe, the Soviet troops had already begun to press the Nazis: they broke through the blockade of Leningrad and recaptured Voronezh, Kursk, and Stalingrad (Kolasky, 1979, pp. 69–70). After the Red Army's successful offensive at the southern flank of the Soviet-German front, the struggle for the Dnieper borders resumed – in mid-February, the Voronezh and Southwestern Fronts almost reached the Dnieper near Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhzhia. At that time, the Soviet command set too complicated goals to the troops, aiming at developing the offensive to the river. Thus, the Voronezh Front was ordered to seize Sumy, Okhlyrka, Poltava, and then advance in the general direction towards Kyiv and reach the city before the Dnieper icing began. The troops of the Southwestern and Southern Fronts were tasked with defeating the Donbass enemy group and reaching the Dnieper in the strip from Kremenchuk to Dnipropetrovsk. However, at the end of March of 1943, as a result of successful counterattacks by the German troops of Army Group South near Kharkiv, the Red Army was forced to occupy the lines along the Siverskyi Donets from Bilhorod to Voroshylovhrad (Lysenko, & Pyliavets, 2019, p. 100). Still the Sovietophile euphoria was at its height in Canada. Canadian and Ukrainian-Canadian communists were riding the wave of the Red Army's success and admiration by the Soviet Union in the world. It was the most inopportune time to raise the issue of the postwar status of its territories (Kolasky, 1979, p. 70). At the same time, in the winter of 1942 – 1943, relations between the USSR and the Polish government-in-exile in London continued to deteriorate due to differences of opinion over the formation of the Polish army on the territory of the USSR and the latter's desire to discuss the issue of the western territories of Ukraine and Belarus, which belonged to Poland during the interwar period. Moscow was already much more aggressive and hostile in reminding of the "sovereign rights of the USSR to the specified territories", referring to the territories it invaded in 1939 (Eberhardt, 2006, p. 36). On February 20, the National Council of the Polish Government-in-Exile in London declared that "the territorial integrity of the Republic of Poland within the borders of September 1, 1939 and its sovereignty are inviolable and indivisible" (Eberhardt, 2006, pp. 36–37).

Constant sharp disputes between the Polish government-in-exile and the Soviet government on the issue of the belonging of Western Ukraine and Belarus provoked a reaction from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which believed that the official Polish position, not to mention the Soviet one, contradicted the spirit of the Atlantic Charter (Kordan, 2001, p. 79). At that time, the Soviet embassy in Canada received hundreds of reports from the

Canadian liberal press about the increased activity of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in the context of the Ukrainian issue, which caused concern in the international department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (CC VKP(b)) (Black, 1998, pp. 148–149). On March 17, 1943, the editorial board of the UNF publication “The New Pathway” published the article on territorial disputes between the Soviet Union and its neighbours, which illustrated the following trend, according to which Soviet Ukraine was a “woman slave in a sultan’s harem”, by which was meant the “Muscovite Empire”, and compared it to the occupation of Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium by Germany [96] (Kordan, 1986, p. 98). In protest against the statement of the Polish government in exile, on March 23, 1943, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee’s headquarters, headed by its president Vasyl Kushnir, issued a memorandum to the Prime Minister of Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie King (Kolasky, 1979, p. 69). On March 30, Anthony Hlynka, a member of the 19th House of Commons of the Canada’s federal parliament, delivered this text to the country’s Prime Minister (Borovyk, 1991, p. 294). The authors stated that the views of the UCC “could be useful in formulating Canadian foreign policy and consolidating our war efforts”. The memorandum “concernedly considered the thesis put forward by the Polish government... which advocates that such a border should pass through the centre of an ethnic territory inhabited by Ukrainians”. Representatives of the leadership of the UCC reminded the federal government that “the Atlantic Charter clearly and unmistakably enshrines as a principle the right of the people to determine their political destiny”, and argued that “the post-war settlement... should lead to the final political unification of the territories inhabited by the Ukrainians”, and that the claims of the Ukrainians “to an independent free state in free Europe cannot be ignored and that the Ukrainian issue must be included in any just and final settlement in Europe” (Kolasky, 1979, p. 69). At the end of the memorandum, it was written: “Whenever the Ukrainian people had the opportunity, they openly declared their sovereign rights and demanded self-government” (CSAPAUS, f.1, d. 23, c. 526, p. 1).

Canadian Department of External Affairs officials viewed such calls with apprehension. Phrased in the language of the Atlantic Charter, these calls only further agitated the supporters of independence, who interpreted it as a legitimate goal of the war. The calls also attracted the attention and anger of the Ukrainian-Canadian communists, with all the predictable consequences (Kordan, 2001, p. 80). On April 7, 1943, the head and secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians, Ivan Horbatiuk and Mykhailo Dushnytsky, sent a telegramme to Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anthony Eden, and the Canadian under-secretary of External Affairs Norman Robertson. They stated that the UCC includes organizations led by Pavlo Skoropadsky and Andriy Melnyk, “two Ukrainian pro-fascists now residing in Nazi Germany and working for a Nazi-Fascist victory in Europe”, and added that “the Ukrainian Canadian Committee consists of open enemies of Canada and friends of Hitler” (Prophets and proletarians, 1990, pp. 344–345). The leadership of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians, advocating for the release of its interned “anti-fascist” leaders and the lifting of the ban on its own activities, accused its political opponents of collaborating with the Nazis and called on Ottawa to use the War Measures Act to suppress anti-Soviet “propaganda” in the Ukrainian national patriotic diaspora press (Petryshyn, 2011, pp. 233–234). The Canadian press supported this story and, in the “The Windsor Star” newspaper, stated

that the UCC could not represent the Ukrainian nation, and that the people of Ukraine would speak for themselves “when the last invader is driven out” (Kordan, 2001, pp. 80–81).

The leaders of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians appealed to the Soviet secret services, the party and state leadership with a request to support them in the fight against the UCC (Istoryia Ukrainskoi SSR, 1984, p. 574). On April 5, the editor of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians’s magazine “The Ukrainian Life” in Toronto, Stepan Matsievych, in his letter to the party leadership of the Ukrainian SSR, requested the publication of an article written by a writer, journalist, or public figure, preferably from the Union Republic. The Ukrainian-Canadian journalist, who wrote articles to the leaders of local Ukrainian communists, emphasized that the UCC was not authorized to make any statements on behalf [97] of Ukrainian Canadians, because it consisted of “politically anti-Soviet-minded emigrants, fierce nationalists, and a pro-fascist element, whose recognized leaders, Skoropadsky and Melnyk, are in the service of the Hitlerite occupants” (OUN i UPA v 1943 rotsi. Dokumenty, 2008, p. 112). On April 20, 1943, the First Secretary of the Central Committee and the Kyiv Regional Committee of the CPU (b) and a member of the Military Council of the Voronezh Front, Nikita Khrushchev, sent the articles to Joseph Stalin, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, the head of the Council of People’s Commissars and the State Defense Committee, the People’s Commissar of Defense and Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). The articles were written by Oleksandr Bohomolets, the President of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, a pathophysiological scientist, and by Pavlo Tychyna, the People’s Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, a poet, publicist and translator. The articles were directed against the UCC. Nikita Khrushchev also asked to inform him on Stalin’s opinion and the amendments made to the texts, if necessary (CSAPAU, f. 1, d. 23, c. 526, pp. 2–21).

On May 13, 1943, the first large-scale informational and psychological special operation of the Soviet Union against the UCC took place during World War II at the nationwide level – in the official mouthpiece of Moscow-Bolshevik party propaganda, the newspaper “Pravda”, the articles by Oleksandr Bohomolets and Pavlo Tychyna were published under the telling titles “Soviet Ukraine and Ukrainian-German Nationalists in Canada” and “Get Your Dirty Hands Off Ukraine” (Ukraina: khronika XX stolittia. Roky 1941 – 1943., 2005, p. 431). Pavlo Tychyna, in particular, called the memorandum of the UCC to the Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King dated March 23, 1943, “the uninvited kindness of cunning foxes”, who supposedly pretend to be knights, but continue to “remain dogs” only because they “want to hand the Ukrainian people over to the bloody vice of Hitler executioner”. Pavlo Tychyna wrote that diaspora national patriots “pretend to be God-fearing, just, and honest – oh! – even innocent lambs, forgetting that every slaughtered lamb is then hung by its own leg”. Calling the UCC a “quisling clique”, he reproached it for allegedly inciting enmity between allies, stating that its leaders had no right to speak on behalf of all Ukrainians in Canada and the entire Ukrainian people. By the way, Pavlo Tychyna expressed hope that the idea of reviving Ukrainian statehood would be rejected by the very Ukrainian people: “Let the peoples of the world who are fighting for their freedom not believe the Ukrainian-German nationalists from the “Ukrainian Canadian Committee” who babble in their senile tongue about an allegedly independent, separate Ukraine under the auspices of Hitler. Independence,

we repeat once again, is inconceivable without mutual respect among nations, without equality of nations, and the cannibal Hitler does not recognize the idea of equality of nations, he tramples it underfoot” (Tychina, 1943, p. 3).

On June 2, 1943, “The Winnipeg Free Press” came to the defense of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, stating that “any attempt to brand the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as a Hitlerite outfit does not stand examination” (Kolasky, 1979, p. 74). To clarify the situation, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee’s leadership announced the convening of the First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, which was scheduled to be held in Winnipeg on June 22–24, 1943. Subsequently, diaspora communists launched an active campaign throughout Canada, calling on ordinary Ukrainian Canadians to boycott the Congress, not to send delegates there, and not to participate in it personally (Piniuta, 1952, p. 60). Supporters of the Assosiation of Canadian Ukrainians also attempted to sow seeds of discord in the ranks of the national patriotic camp of Canadian Ukrainians in order to disrupt the first congress of the UCC, appealing to all its participants to expel the UNO from its ranks on June 15 (Kolasky, 1979, p. 72). Of course, the national patriots refused their opponents such an offer. Despite the communists’ efforts to disrupt the Committee’s activities, the First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada was held on June 22–24, 1943, at the Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg. 600 delegates represented people from all walks of life – clergy, farmers, professionals, businessmen, merchants, workers. At the First Congress it was proved that the UCC, which represents a very significant part of the Ukrainian community, was the only authoritative, qualified body (Piniuta, 1952, p. 60). At the First Congress of the Canadian Ukrainianhood’s leadership there was also adopted resolution No. 10, in which it expressed approval of the activities of the UCC and called on it to continue “to support its further efforts and its work for the good of Canadian Ukrainians and for the good of Canada” (Persnyi Vse-Kanadiiskyi Konhres, 1943, p. 185).

On June 8, 1944, Canada’s Minister of National Military Service, Major General Leo Richer Lafleche, stated: “... our present military forces include a large number of men and women belonging to ethnic groups of European descent. We are only now beginning to understand what a valuable asset these tens of thousands of people who are fluent in European languages represent in our war councils, whose knowledge will be useful to us during the invasion and isolation of the continent... we have so many people among them... that it would be possible to create three full divisions consisting of them... will it not surprise you when I tell you that we could have put more than one division of our army, twelve thousand speak Ukrainian... <...> Therefore, it is quite understandable that we find their names on our lists of awards for bravery and our lists of executions...” (Borovyk, 1991, p. 79).

However, misunderstandings between the leadership of UCC and the federal government continued to grow (Petryshyn, 2011, p. 235). World War II was ending, but it didn’t bring any improvement for Ukraine (Baran, 1995, p. 92). In February of 1945, at the insistence of the USSR, fundamental decisions were made in Yalta regarding the veto right of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, as well as the inclusion of the Ukrainian and Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republics into the founding countries. The United Nations founding conference was open to states that declared war on the Axis powers by March 1. On April 25, 1945, about 300 delegates and 1,500 advisors and experts from 47 countries around the world arrived at the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco



(delegations from Soviet Ukraine and Belarus, as well as Argentina, joined the conference participants after its opening, in early May). All participants were convinced that ensuring a just peace was possible only through the activities of a new international organization, which would be based on the unification of democratic countries into a strong alliance (Vidnianskyi, & Martynov, 2020, pp. 79–80).

Meanwhile, the leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Ukrainian Congressional Committee of America (UCCA) sent a joint “*parallel delegation*” there in April of 1945, insisting on its acceptance as a genuine (Leshchenko, 2001, p. 540). The Ukrainian-Canadian national patriots drafted “Memorandum to the Canadian Delegation at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco on International Organization”, which was published in “The New Pathway” on May 26. It ran that the UCC represents Canadian Ukrainianhood, but that in Europe the Ukrainians lack true freedom of speech and need “a free and independent state within Ukrainian ethnographic boundaries”. The document concluded with a request to create a UN Security Council to ensure the implementation of the proposed Bill of Human Rights with the aim of resolving the Ukrainian issue finally, otherwise the world’s military political confrontations would continue (Prymak, 1988, pp. 122–123).

The UCC’s President, Father Vasyl Kushnir, with the assistance of the Deputy Minister of External Affairs of Canada, Norman Robertson, spoke with the People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Dmytro Manuilsky, who headed the delegation of the Union Republic. The meeting was attended by Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, and the conversation took place in a tense atmosphere. Vasyl Kushnir protested against the arrest of intellectuals in Ukraine and insisted on the introduction of individual freedoms for all Ukrainians. Dmytro Manuilsky responded with formal Soviet phraseology in order to refute the guest’s words (Baran, 1995, p. 92). Nevertheless, he was forced to hold a press conference on May 22, after which the Ukrainian issue gained global publicity (Prymak, 1988, p. 124). Thus, the joint mission of the UCC and the UCCA had a strategic result – “the Ukrainian diaspora rejects the Soviet regime and its repressions and the communist system in Ukraine in general” (Baran, 1995, p. 92).

The war effort transformed the popular image of Ukrainians as “quaint peasants, fanatical nationalists, and potential revolutionaries” into a model of normal people deeply integrated into Canadian society. For the Ukrainians themselves, the war instilled self-confidence as full citizens at a crucial time (Gerus, 1982, p. 200).

An active participation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in bringing about victory over the enemy in the war contributed to further cooperation among Ukrainians and other ethnic groups in the country (Veryha, 1967, p. 133).

Member of the House of Commons of the Federal Parliament of Canada, Paul Martin, in his speech at the Second Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, held in Toronto on June 4–6, 1946, noted: “By your actions during the war, you have shown that you are brave and resilient. You have proven that you are willing to help and cooperate. You have especially shown that you love Canada and that you are worthy of being called Canadians” (Druhyi Vse-Kanadiiskyi konhres, 1946, p. 50).

**Conclusions.** The leadership of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, together with its constituent and other public, youth, and cultural and educational organizations, from

the moment of its founding in Winnipeg on November 6–7, 1940, conducted an agitation campaign among the youth of the Ukrainian diaspora of Canada by publishing declarations, communiqués, appeals in the press, announcing art evenings, performances, raffles and other events to collect donations for the needs of the Canadian Armed Forces, and rallied around itself all the “loyal elements” of the Ukrainian community in this country. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee supported the morale of 35,000–40,000 Ukrainian servicemen of the Canadian Armed Forces abroad, providing them with material and moral assistance. The contribution of Canadian Ukrainianhood [100] and their leadership in the form of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to the victory over Nazi Germany in World War II was highly appreciated by the Anglo-Canadian press, Canadian state and public figures, scientists, and all other friends of the country’s Ukrainian community and its researchers. The participation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in the war efforts of the residence country of the Ukrainian diaspora contributed to the deep socio-political integration of the community into civilized Canadian society, instilled in its representatives self-confidence as full citizens at a fateful time for Canada and the world. Having held its first Congress on June 22–24, 1943 in Winnipeg, the main national patriotic representative organization of Canadian Ukrainianhood, countering the Soviet and Sovietophile propaganda, was able to establish itself as an authoritative body representing and defending the interests of Canadian Ukrainianhood before the federal government and the Canadian public.

**A promising direction for further** research is the study of the UCC’s relations with other Ukrainian diaspora organizations around the world. Further research is needed to compare the public and political activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Association of Ukrainian Canadians during World War II in the context of supporting Canada’s war effort and the Ukrainian question.

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