

## Research Summary and Recommendations

A Wall of Remembrance that honours all the victims of communism named in this document will attract controversy and criticism. Several of the named victims were fascists and Nazi collaborators or belonged to groups that might be described as such. While I have tried to find and highlight the most obvious potentially controversial names, I have likely missed some given the lack of easily available information about many of the named victims. Even with more thorough research, the Department of Heritage will have to make difficult decisions about whom to exclude and whom to keep that will almost certainly result in anger from donors and criticism in the press. Historian Timothy Snyder's comments about ethnic cleansing by and of Poles and Ukrainians during the Second World War has wider relevance concerning how stakeholder communities are likely to react to judgments rendered about the wartime activities of their named victims: "[E]ach side regarded collaboration by the other side to be intolerable and inexplicable, whereas it saw its own collaboration as unavoidable and forgivable."<sup>1</sup>

In general, the most potentially problematic associations of named victims are with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and its militia, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); with the Independent State of Croatia, its fascist Ustasha militia and associated groups; and, to a lesser extent, with Baltic nationalist groups.

The OUN emerged as a right-wing nationalist group prior to the Second World War. Shortly after the war began, it split into two factions, with the more radical and violent faction, the OUN-B, coming to dominate. Historian Per A. Rudling has described the ideology of both factions as "totalitarian, anti-Semitic, and fascist."<sup>2</sup> It was the OUN-B that founded the UPA. The OUN collaborated with Nazis in the early days of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, including in the mass murder of Jews during the Lvov pogrom in the summer of 1941.

The OUN-UPA later fought the Germans but also massacred and ethnically cleansed Poles. "By February 1943, the OUN began what appears to have been a deliberate policy of murdering Polish

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<sup>1</sup> Timothy Snyder, "To Resolve the Ukrainian Problem ..." p. 91, attached.

<sup>2</sup> Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust," p. 3, attached.

civilians to help resolve the Polish question in Ukraine,” writes Snyder. “It is as yet unproven, but certainly plausible, that the murderous violence unleashed against Poles was meant to be general.”<sup>3</sup>

It seems obvious that a man such as UPA leader Roman Shukhevych, who led units involved in ethnic cleansing and mass murder, should be excluded from the memorial. An OUN courier arguably carries a lesser burden of guilt. However, we do not have details about the wartime activities of most of the named victims who were members of the OUN-UPA, and it would be tricky to know where to draw the line. The department may have to decide whether it should honour any members of the OUN-UPA at all.

A decision to exclude the names of OUN-UPA members from the monument would result in strong criticism from donors. It is also impossible, without much more research, to know which named victims were members of the OUN-UPA — unless they were prominent figures in the organization, belonged to veterans’ associations, or if that information was revealed in obituaries or by donors.

I have attached a collection of papers and a book chapter related to the OUN-UPA that may help the department in its deliberations.

A second group of potentially problematic honourees consists of those affiliated with the Nazi puppet Independent State of Croatia and its genocidal militia, the Ustasha, along with assorted supportive groups. Here, too, it is extremely difficult to flag individuals unless they left a significant mark on the historical record. Often, participants and supporters couch affiliation with either the OUN-UPA or with Croatian fascism in the language of patriotism and anti-communism.

There was a vicious insurgency in Yugoslavia that came to be dominated by the communist Partisans, led by Josip Broz Tito and supported by the Allies. Canada sent liaison officers to cooperate with the Partisans, and the Allies armed them. The Partisans committed mass murder against POWs, suspected collaborators and fascists, and ideological opponents, including civilians, during and after the Second World War. These victims included individuals named in this document.

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<sup>3</sup> Timothy Snyder, “To Resolve the Ukrainian Problem ...” p. 98, attached.

The Ustasha and the Independent State of Croatia were enthusiastic participants in the Holocaust, murdering or deporting to death camps the majority of Croatia's Jews. Croatian authorities also murdered between 320,000 and 340,000 ethnic Serbs between 1941 and 1942, and they killed almost the entire Roma population of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, some 25,000 people, according to the United States Holocaust Museum.

One individual likely to generate controversy among named Croatian victims is Cardinal Alojzija Stepinac. I have attached an article by Mark Biondich that summarizes his wartime activities and legacy.<sup>4</sup>

Several named victims from Baltic nations were deported by the Soviets prior to Germany's invasion, and so could not have collaborated with the Nazis. However, the Holocaust in Lithuania and Latvia, which achieved near-total extermination of local Jews, relied heavily on auxiliary police and other collaborators, some of whom were later targeted by the Soviets, as were many innocent individuals. At least one named victim fought in a Latvian SS unit.

There are other named victims who may or may not be appropriate for the memorial, depending on what criteria exists for inclusion. Some have no obvious connection to communist regimes. Murdered Indo-Canadian newspaper publisher Tara Singh Hayer is listed, for example, as are people who appear to have been born in Canada and so cannot have suffered under communism.

I have tried to address questions surrounding the Salvadoran Civil War in the document. In general, I think we need to take an expansive view of what constitutes communism, and I think the FMLN qualifies. The sweeping nature of the dedication on line 597, which seems to be taking a moral stance regarding the war, deserves further consideration. I believe individual victims of the FMLN can be honoured.

To conclude, I think the Department of Heritage must precisely define what criteria are required for an individual to be named as a victim on the monument, and what criteria should result in an individual's exclusion. Once this is done, the department has a few options.

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<sup>4</sup> Mark Biondich, "Controversies Surrounding the Catholic Church ..." attached.

One is to further investigate the most high-profile individuals whom I have flagged and, should this investigation confirm what my initial research suggests, remove them from the monument.

Regardless of how many names are removed, donors and supporters of the named individuals will protest. Investigating only high-profile individuals is risky because it means others who collaborated with Nazis and fascists during the Second World War will keep their place on the monument. Some of these collaborators will likely be discovered by journalists or other members of the public once the monument is unveiled. Controversy and criticism will follow.

A second option is to conduct far more wide-ranging research, including into the lives of lesser-known named victims, with the goal of applying the same criteria to all named honourees. This would involve substantive work, and donors may not cooperate.

A third option is not to include the names of victims proposed by donors on the monument, perhaps naming only the donors. This would not be popular with donors but would avoid much of the public controversy that will likely result if other options are pursued.

I am happy to conduct any further research or analysis the department thinks might be useful.

**Michael Petrou**

**January 31, 2021**



## Research notes on selected names proposed for Memorial to the Victims of Communism — Canada, a Land of Refuge

By Michael Petrou

August 30, 2021

### ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS AND THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

Several proposed names on the list belong to members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and its militia, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The OUN emerged as a right-wing nationalist group prior to the Second World War. Shortly after the war began, it split into two factions, with the more radical and violent faction, the OUN-B, coming to dominate. Historian Per Anders Rudling describes the ideology of both factions as “totalitarian, anti-Semitic, and fascist.”<sup>1</sup> It was the OUN-B that founded the UPA. The OUN collaborated with Nazis in the early days of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, including in the mass murder of Jews during the Lviv pogrom in the summer of 1941. As described by historian Jean-Paul Himka,

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) set up a short-lived government in Lviv on 30 June headed by a vehement anti-Semite. It simultaneously plastered the city with leaflets encouraging ethnic cleansing. It formed a militia that assumed leadership in the pogrom, arresting Jews for pogrom activities. The militiamen were also present at the execution of Jews. The day after the pogrom they began to work directly for the Einsatzgruppen, again arresting Jews for execution. OUN co-operated in these anti-Jewish actions to curry favour with the Germans, hoping for recognition of a Ukrainian state.<sup>2</sup>

In 1943, as the tide of war shifted against the Axis, the OUN-UPA ended its active collaboration with the Nazis — although, according to Rudling, the degree to which it opposed or fought against them was exaggerated by its members at the time and has been inflated by Ukrainian nationalists in the years since.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Per Anders Rudling, “The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust,” *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian & East European Studies* no. 2107 (November 2011): 3.

<sup>2</sup> Himka, Jean Paul, “The Lviv Pogrom of 1941: The Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue canadienne des slavistes* 53, nos. 2–3–4 (June-September-December 2011/juin-septembre-décembre 2011): 209.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example: Rudling, “The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust.”

Late in the war, the OUN-UPA also began to massacre and ethnically cleanse Poles. According to Himka, “When the OUN-led Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) definitively broke with the Germans in the late winter/early fall of 1943, it focused its attention on Poles, killing tens of thousands of them.”<sup>4</sup> Historian Timothy Snyder concludes these murders were a “deliberate policy” of the OUN to “resolve” the Polish question in Ukraine. “It is as yet unproven, but certainly plausible,” he continues, “that the murderous violence unleashed against Poles was meant to be general.”<sup>5</sup>

On a single day in July 1943, the UPA killed approximately 10,000 Poles, writes Snyder. “Ukrainian partisans burned homes, shot or forced back inside those who tried to flee, and used sickles and pitchforks to kill those they captured outside. In some cases, beheaded, crucified, dismembered, or disemboweled bodies were displayed to encourage the remaining Poles to flee.”<sup>6</sup>

What follows are details on some of the individuals who were members of the OUN-UPA or appear to have been supportive of it. Those named left a mark on the historical record or in news reports, obituaries, and the like. It is probable additional individuals on the proposed list of names were also part of this group.

### **Roman Shukhevych**

Ukrainian Insurgent Army commander Roman Shukhevych is the most senior OUN-UPA member among those proposed for inclusion on the memorial. Shukhevych is a controversial figure in Ukraine and among members of the Ukrainian diaspora. “A freedom fighter and martyr for Ukraine to some, a Nazi collaborator to others,” writes Rudling in an article about the “cult” that has developed around his memory.<sup>7</sup>

As a commander of the Nachtigall Battalion, consisting of Ukrainians serving within a special forces unit of German military intelligence, Shukhevych collaborated with the Germans in their invasion of the Soviet Union and was present at a major pogrom in Lviv. Himka says memoir literature makes it clear Shukhevych played a role in appointing the local militia that carried out much of the killing in the pogrom.<sup>8</sup> The Nachtigall Battalion, “consisting almost exclusively of

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<sup>4</sup> Himka, “The Lviv Pogrom,” 234.

<sup>5</sup> Timothy Snyder, “‘To Resolve the Ukrainian Problem Once and for All,’” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 98.

<sup>6</sup> Timothy Snyder, “To Resolve the Ukrainian Problem,” 99.

<sup>7</sup> Rudling, “The Cult of Roman Shukhevych in Ukraine: Myth Making with Complications,” *Fascism* 5 (2016): 26–65; the “martyr” quote is on page 27.

<sup>8</sup> Himka, “The Lviv Pogrom,” 227.

OUN(b) activists serving in German uniforms under Shukhevych's command," also carried out mass shootings of Jews near Vinnytsia in July 1941, writes Rudling.<sup>9</sup>

Members of the Nachtigall Battalion, including Shukhevych, were incorporated into Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201, an auxiliary police unit that operated in Belarus in 1941 and 1942. Shukhevych served as a captain. The battalion was involved in anti-partisan actions as well as "punitive operations" against the civilian population.<sup>10</sup> According to Rudling, "The intensification of Soviet partisan resistance" at this time, "was invoked as a pretext to mop up and murder any remaining Jews. Rudling cites Timothy Snyder, who writes: "In the second half of 1942, German anti-partisan operations were all but indistinguishable from the mass murder of Jews."<sup>11</sup>

Shukhevych later led the UPA when it engaged in the ethnic cleansing and massacre of Poles in Volhynia and elsewhere in western Ukraine beginning in 1943. The UPA's role in murdering Poles at this time has been minimized or denied by some scholars and Ukrainian nationalist groups. According to Jared McBride, however, "sufficient evidence demonstrates a clear policy of ethnic cleansing in Volhynia by the OUN-UPA.... In addition to calls for murder from the OUN-UPA leadership, we also have evidence from rank-and-file members of these nationalist organizations demonstrating this intent."<sup>12</sup>

### **Evhen (Yevhen) Wreciona**

British author and journalist Stephen Dorril says Evhen Wreciona was "a senior OUN figure and former head of the 'Ukrainian police' in Lvov [Lviv]."<sup>13</sup>

### **Anna Burij**

While little publicly available information exists about the details of Anna Burij's wartime activities, an obituary says she was a courier in the OUN. She would have been a minor at the time.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust," 9.

<sup>10</sup> Rudling, "Rehearsal for Volhynia: Schutzmannschaft Battalion 201 and Hauptmann Roman Shukhevych in Occupied Belorussia, 1942," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 34, no. 1 (February 2020): 171.

<sup>11</sup> Rudling, "Rehearsal for Volhynia," 173.

<sup>12</sup> Jared McBride, "Peasants into Perpetrators: The OUN-UPA and the Ethnic Cleansing of Volhynia, 1943–1944," *Slavic Review* 75, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 638.

<sup>13</sup> Dorril, Stephen, *MI6: Inside the Secret World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service* (London: Free Press, 2002), 231.

<sup>14</sup> See online obituary: <https://www.cardinalfuneralhomes.com/obituaries/anna-burij/>

### **Vasly Bezchlibnyk**

Vasly Bezchlibnyk was a spokesperson for “the Committee of the Ukrainian Political Prisoners.” Details about his wartime activities are not clear. A December 1985 article in the Ukrainian Weekly about a gathering of former political prisoners in which Bezchlibnyk is quoted reports concern among former prisoners about a government commission set up to investigate alleged Nazis and Nazi collaborators in Canada.<sup>15</sup>

### **Mykola Koshyk**

Veteran of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.<sup>16</sup>

### **Petro Mycak**

Veteran of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.<sup>17</sup>

### **Oleksandr Matla**

Oleksandr Matla, a Ukrainian nationalist, appears to have written under the name Petro Tereshchuk. Translations of Matla’s writings into English are not readily available but it may be prudent to consult the originals.

### **Patriarch Josyf Slipyj**

Josyf Slipyj participated in the proclamation of the Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, which was announced by the OUN but opposed by German occupation forces.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence Slipyj participated in or supported OUN crimes.

## **INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA AND USTASHA**

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<sup>15</sup> The Ukrainian Weekly, December 8, 1945:

[http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/1985/The\\_Ukrainian\\_Weekly\\_1985-49.pdf](http://www.ukrweekly.com/archive/1985/The_Ukrainian_Weekly_1985-49.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> See 2012 story on website of Ukrainian Youth Association:

<http://archive.cym.org/ca/camps/2012/Weselka/Vidpo/index.asp>

<sup>17</sup> Windsor Star, May 24, 2013: <https://windsorstar.com/news/local-news/white-hair-ready-smile-lucky-and-loved-thats-petro-mycak>

<sup>18</sup> Stephen Oleskiw, ed. *His Beatitude Josyf Cardinal Slipyj: Confessor of the Faith: Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: 17.2.1892 – 7.9.1984* (London-New York-Toronto: Ukrainian Information Service, 1984), 10: <https://diasporiana.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/books/12992/file.pdf>

The Independent State of Croatia was a puppet state of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy during the Second World War. It was governed by the fascist Ustasha political movement and militia and committed genocide against Jews, Serbs, and Roma.

The Ustasha fought a particularly brutal guerilla war against the Partisans, a Communist Yugoslav resistance group led by Josip Broz Tito. A second resistance group, the royalist Chetniks, also fought the Partisans. The British were initially unsure which group to support. They deployed liaison officers and agents to both groups, including Canadians who were sent to the Partisans and fought the Ustasha. The British eventually concluded the Chetniks were at best unenthusiastic about fighting the Germans and Italians and at worst collaborationist and shifted to a policy of backing the Partisans exclusively.

### **Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac**

Stepinac is a controversial figure in Croatia and beyond. He was convicted by a Yugoslav “People’s Court” for war crimes in 1946 because of his collaboration with the Ustasha regime. His supporters say he criticized the Ustasha and tried to save those it targeted for murder.

Stepinac welcomed the formation of the Croatian puppet state following the Axis invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941. According to Mark Biondich, “Stepinac’s enthusiasm for statehood did not translate into overt support for the new regime.”<sup>19</sup> Indeed, he responded to the Ustasha’s persecution and murder of non-Croats with criticism and admonishments. These criticisms, however, were generally made privately. While some of his sermons implicitly criticized the regime’s actions, he never explicitly denounced it. Biondich describes Stepinac as neither an “ardent supporter” who legitimized the policies of Ustasha authorities nor an “avowed opponent” who publicly and systemically denounced them:

He occupied a middle ground between these extremes. He was certainly delighted at the prospect of Croatian statehood and the gains that the Church might make in the new state, but he was seriously concerned about – and even appalled at – the regime’s methods and encroachments with respect to Church prerogatives. Stepinac often intervened for victims and by 1942–43 his sermons were increasingly critical, but he never threatened to withdraw either his personal approval or that of the Church from a government that so often unceremoniously ignored its interests.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Mark Biondich, “Controversies surrounding the Catholic Church in Wartime Croatia, 1941–45,” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7, no. 4 (December 2006): 440.

<sup>20</sup> Biondich, “Controversies,” 452.

### **Ivan Protulipac and Marica Stanković**

Protulipac and Stanković were leaders of the Catholic nationalist “Great Crusader Brotherhood and Sorority, the Crusaders,” The Crusaders were not formally affiliated to the Ustasha regime during the Second World War, and Sarajevo Archdiocese Čedomil Čekada criticized the participation of Crusaders in the Ustasha as “intolerable politicization.” Stanković nevertheless defended her colleagues’ membership in the leadership of the Ustasha Youth as a way to prevent its domination by liberals and anti-Catholics.<sup>21</sup>

## **MEMBERSHIP IN AXIS ARMED FORCES**

### **Aleksis Dreimanis**

Aleksis Dreimanis, a former professor at the University of Western Ontario (now Western University), was drafted into the Latvian Legion, a Waffen-SS unit, during the Second World War. He says he worked as a military geologist.<sup>22</sup>

### **George (Adina) Cantuniari**

According to Cantuniari’s son, he served in the Romanian army during the Second World War.<sup>23</sup>

### **Adolf Ristau**

According to Ristau’s son, he was drafted into the German army in 1944.<sup>24</sup>

### **Verners Cinis**

According to an online obituary, Cinis served in the German Army during the Second World War.<sup>25</sup>

## **NO OBVIOUS DIRECT CONNECTION TO COMMUNISM**

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<sup>21</sup> Sandra Prlenda, “Young, Religious, and Radical: The Croat Catholic Youth Organizations, 1922–1945,” in *Ideologies and national identities: the case of twentieth-century Southeastern Europe*, eds. John R. Lampe and Mark Mazower (Budapest, New York: Central European Press, 2004), 95.

<sup>22</sup> Western News (promotional publication of Western University), September 10, 2009: <https://news.westernu.ca/2009/09/in-profile-professor-emeritus/>

<sup>23</sup> <http://tributetoliberty.ca/content/adina-cantuniari>

<sup>24</sup> <http://tributetoliberty.ca/content/willi-ristau>

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.homin.ca/news.php/news/20074/group/21V>

We have insufficient information about more than 300 names. Some of these names do not appear in the historical record. Others are names that are so common that it is impossible to know to whom they refer. Different spellings complicate the research process. Several names that we can identify, however, belong to individuals who appear not to have been directly impacted by Communism, including because they were born in Canada. Some of these individuals are listed below:

**Phan Thanh Gian**

Died before Bolshevik Revolution.

**Juraj Gospodnetic**

Gospodnetic was a Roman Catholic priest killed in the Bosansko Grahovo massacre of July 1941 that was committed by Serb rebels opposed the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia and to the puppet Independent State of Croatia. The killers were led by Branko Bogunović, who would become a Chetnik — i.e., anti-Communist — commander and die a captive of the Communist Partisans. Gospodnetic's murder happened in the early days of the uprising against the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia when the political identities of those fighting it were less rigid, but it seems inaccurate to describe Gospodnetic as a victim of Communism.

**Debbie Cosic**

Cosic's connection to Communism is unclear. She appears to be an Ottawa realtor.

**Brent Howard Cunningham**

His dedication is to unnamed friends and family from Croatia and Ukraine.

**Mota Singh Grewal**

Came to Canada from India as a child. Connection to Communism is unclear.<sup>26</sup>

**Narinder S. Hayer**

Donor to Tribute to Liberty. Connection to Communism is unclear.

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<sup>26</sup> <https://canadiansikhheritage.ca/2017/10/26/mota-singh-grewal/>

## **Tara Singh Hayer**

Murdered Canadian journalist. Connection to Communism is unclear.

## **Tran Van Quang**

The most well-known individual with this name was a Communist general in the People's Army of Vietnam.

## **OTHER NOTEWORTHY NAMES:**

### **Janis Niedra**

The following article, which is not peer-reviewed or published in an academic journal, claims Janis Niedra, who was the first president of the Latvian National Federation in Canada, was a Nazi collaborator: [http://coat.ncf.ca/P4C/70/70\\_38-39.pdf](http://coat.ncf.ca/P4C/70/70_38-39.pdf)

The article cites a 1967 bulletin from the Simon Wiesenthal centre in Vienna, which identifies Niedra as a Latvian war criminal. That bulletin can be found in a digitized version of the John H. E. Fried Collection at the Leo Baeck Institute Archives in New York (page 236):

[https://archive.org/details/johnhefried\\_01\\_reel14/page/n235/mode/2up?q=Niedra](https://archive.org/details/johnhefried_01_reel14/page/n235/mode/2up?q=Niedra)

Note that Janis Niedra is a fairly common name and this entry may not refer to the Niedra identified here.

### **Karlis Ulmanis**

Karlis Ulmanis led an illiberal, authoritarian dictatorship in Latvia from 1934 to 1940. In the assessment of historian Aivars Stranga, Ulmanis's dictatorship was not genuinely fascist.<sup>27</sup>

### **Cursed Soldiers of Poland**

Cursed Soldiers, as a moniker, is a relatively recent invention to describe anti-Soviet Polish partisans in the years following the Second World War, according to historian Kornelia Kończal. The term, and efforts to celebrate and honour the memory of the soldiers, have migrated from the right-wing fringe into mainstream Polish society with enthusiastic official support. Writes Kończal:

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<sup>27</sup> Aivars Stranga, "The Political System of Karlis Ulmanis' Authoritarian Regime (15.05.1934 – 17.06.1940)," *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica* 9 (2012): 51–56.



[L]oosely connected and relatively small groups of post-war partisans fighting in some Polish territories after the Second World War against the Soviet and communist authorities were transformed in the popular imagination into a powerful resistance movement overshadowing all other dimensions of the early post-war period: small numbers were effectively overwritten with big ideas, large meanings, and huge symbols or—to put it bluntly—with semi-fictions and forgeries.”<sup>28</sup>

Polish partisans also targeted and massacred Polish citizens of Belarusian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Slovak and Ukrainian descent.<sup>29</sup>

### **Artur Gorski**

Artur Gorski is the name of a recently deceased far-right Polish politician who described the election of Barack Obama as marking the end of white civilization. This Gorski may not be the same individual. (He is identified with the honorific “Dr.” and it does clear that the politician was a medical doctor or had a PhD.)

### **Bela Kiss**

Name is the same as that of a serial killer. Likely a coincidence.

### **Horst Voit**

As a child, Voit survived the sinking of the transport ship M.V. Wilhelm Gustloff by a Soviet submarine in January 1945. Most of the more than 9,000 victims were civilians, although the ship carried more than 1,000 military personnel. Transport ships carrying civilians were targeted by multiple parties during the Second World War. The Department of Heritage may need clear criteria to define a victim of Communism as opposed to a victim of war.

### **Canadian Korean War veterans**

Several of the proposed names belong to Canadians who fought in the Korean War. As above, the department may need a precise definition of who constitutes a victim of Communism.

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<sup>28</sup> Kornelia Kończal, “The Invention of the Cursed Soldiers and Its Opponents: Post-war Partisan Struggle in Contemporary Poland,” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 34, no. 1 (February 2020): 85.

<sup>29</sup> Kończal, “The Invention of the Cursed Soldiers,” 76.