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RESEARCH NOTE / NOTE DE RECHERCHE

The Emancipatory Praxis of Ukrainian Canadians (1891–1919) and the Necessity of a Situated Critique

Susan Dianne Brophy

Policemen (and Anglo-Canadians in general) were amazed by the thorough pettiness of Ukrainian thefts. Only in the Ukrainian bloc, for instance, would thieves stoop to stealing rusty barbed wire right off the fence posts. Outsiders, disregarding the poverty of the bloc settlers, could not understand the motivations behind such filching.... Critics ultimately sought biological and psychological explanations, suggesting that kleptomania was distinctive genetic or national trait...

Gregory Robinson, "Rougher Than Any Other Nationality?"¹

IN THE PREFACE OF AN EDITED COLLECTION that was published in conjunction with the centenary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada in 1991, Paul Robert Magocsi recalls an event that took place in 1980. After his inaugural speech as the first (and current) Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, two students approached the prolific scholar and voiced displeasure at the praise he offered the Canadian government for its decision to fund this new position. He recounts, "the young man and young woman began to lecture me about how Ukrainians had been and – so they seemed to imply – still were discriminated against in Canadian society," adding, "I was dumbfounded." For Magocsi, it was incomprehensible why these two students were so misguided, "so anti-Canadian," as he ponders, "where, then, did they pick up the cultural

1. Gregory Robinson, "Rougher Than Any Other Nationality? Ukrainian Canadians and Crime in Alberta, 1915–1929," in Jeff Keshen, ed., *Age of Contention: Readings in Canadian Social History, 1900–1945* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1997), 218.

baggage that led them to conclude that theirs was a people ill-treated, a people that must somehow be repaid for (Canada's supposed) past injustice?"²

Magocsi's reference to "cultural baggage" suggests that the experience of injustice is an illusion perceptible only by an ingrate minority. Yet surely the actual criminalization, internment, disfranchisement, and deportations that Ukrainians faced in the early 20th century justify the discontent expressed by the two students. After all, this same ethnic group was at one time the target of "enemy alien" legislation by the federal government, a label that resonated long after the internment camps were bulldozed from the landscape. Given this history, it is especially jarring that implicit in Magocsi's comment is the idealization of the "good Canadian," an enduring trope that demarcates friend and enemy often for exclusive advantage.

If the litmus test for democracy is free and equal participation of its members, then it is crucial to study how such mythical idealization can be mobilized – especially by state law – in order to promote or prevent participation. As a repository of state power, the law racializes, classes, and genders the subject in a way that both sustains and mirrors the incongruity between liberal democratic ideals and the realities of capitalist enterprise. When we look at the dissonant characterizations of Ukrainian Canadians, we see evidence of this foundational discord. For example, Ukrainian Canadians were miscreants threatening the moral fabric of Anglo-Canada, yet their labour was integral to economic expansion.³ This basic incongruity occasions a whole series of paradoxical essentializations: assimilation/discrimination, citizenship/disfranchisement, industriousness/laziness, opportunism/ignorance, criminalization/valourization, devotion/debauchery, and feminization/masculinization. Despite the absurdity of these essentializations, they are nevertheless accompanied by concrete experiences of "arbitrary, unwarranted, and heavy-handed use of state power."⁴

In this essay, I focus on the first wave of immigrants who arrived from 1891 to the end of World War I and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. My purpose is to understand the conditions that compelled these people to challenge exclusionary and exploitative practices, and expose the logic behind the dominant Canadian historical narrative that is so pregnant with the "pioneer

2. Paul Robert Magocsi, "Preface," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, ed., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), xi–xv.

3. John C. Lehr, "Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, ed., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 30–52; Jaroslav Petryshyn, "Sifton's Immigration Policy," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, ed., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 17–29; "Galician Settlers: How the Newcomers to the Great West Are Progressing" (editorial), *The Globe*, 29 September 1900.

4. Bohdan Kordan and Craig Mahovsky, *A Bare and Impolitic Right: Internment and Ukrainian-Canadian Redress* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 4.

myth.”⁵ Whereas Magocsi’s dumbfoundedness proves the durability of the mythic ideal, my anticolonialist approach provides a systematic challenge to this way of understanding the early history of Ukrainians in Canada, and takes the work of such historians as Donald H. Avery (among others) in a new direction. Four core contributions stem from my application of a situated critique: first, a rediscovery of the emancipatory praxis of Ukrainian Canadians from the era in question; second, a link between the particularities of their struggle to both coeval and current struggles; third, an analytical framework that exposes the reactionary tendencies in select writings about Ukrainian Canadians, and; fourth, an analytical framework that can be adapted to apply to the study of other groups and historical eras.

In the first part of the essay I examine the narrative as an analytic device and explain what I mean by a “situated critique.” In the second part I offer historical context with an account of Ukrainians before their arrival in Canada and details regarding their terms of entry. The third and largest part includes a study of the measures that were undertaken to contain members of this group, such as criminalization and internment, and the ways that some fought back. Finally, in the fourth part I look at disfranchisement, censorship, and deportation in the context of the “Red Scare” and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. In the dénouement I link this emancipatory narrative to other struggles, both historical and contemporary. Rather than gloss over real experiences of injustice to buttress a myth, this self-reflexive method opens up ways of connecting the past to contemporary challenges. Such recuperation is timely; it is vital that we embrace histories of political struggle against the repressive forces of present-day reactionary campaigns.

PART I – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

AT THE CORE OF THE “PIONEER MYTH” is a tendency to universalize specific experiences. It begins with a description of the harshness of the conditions upon arrival, followed by a series of observations regarding the ruggedness and determination of the “pioneer” farmers, and concludes with a commentary that marries the “pioneer” struggle with the fledgling days of early nationhood.⁶ For Avery, these “traditional interpretations emphasized that Canada only recruited agriculturalists,” which he argues is a “simplistic view” because it overlooks the high overhead costs associated with establishing a farm.⁷ For

5. Natalia Shostak, “Zustreech or Encounters of a Transnational Kind: Negotiating Ukrainianness in Western Canada,” *Ethnologies* 25, 2 (2003): 77–105; Sonia Mycak, “‘A Different Story’ by Helen Potrebenco: The Prairie Pioneer Myth Re-Visited,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 28, 1 (1996): 67–88.

6. Mycak, “‘A Different Story’ by Helen Potrebenco,” 68–69.

7. Donald H. Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada’s Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896–1994*

those who did wish to become farmers, they often found provisional employment in lumber yards, mines, as seasonal agricultural workers, or on the railroad. This reality undermines the romantic idealization of the land-starved immigrant becoming whole as he works his acreage and builds the nation. In her critical study of Canadian nationhood in relation to the immigrant Indian community, sociologist Sunera Thobani observes that as the “mythos” of the Canadian narrative “recounts the challenges and tribulations the nation has imagined itself to encounter, it also reveals the nation’s accounting of who and what it is in the world. Differences between nationals and outsiders are exaggerated, even as the commonalties within these groupings are inflated.”⁸ The “mythos” centres on the fabrication of an identity that reflects a particular historical narrative, facets of which I elaborate on throughout the course of this essay.

In their “mythical” form,⁹ narratives are a well-spring of reactionary politics. Anti-racist, Marxist scholar, Himani Bannerji argues that we should be wary of the “attempt to reify history and aestheticize politics in the language of authenticity and culture,” because it proves to be “a reactionary use of past and history.”¹⁰ These types of approaches tend to interpret historical events and agents according to facile categories – us/them, self/other, or good/evil – and present the status quo as the inevitable byproduct of a natural historical progression. More covertly, this process of reification mystifies the material social relations that inform both state authority and challenges to said authority, leading to a simplified understanding of history.

Conversely, other narratives challenge the confines of the uncritical. Postcolonial theorist Patrick Taylor refers to these narratives as “emancipatory”¹¹ or “liberating,” as he explains, a “[liberating narrative] attacks mythical and ideological categories for sustaining oppressive situations which restrict and hide the reality of human freedom. [It] grounds itself in the history of lived freedom, in the story of individuals and groups pushing up from below.”¹² One of the exemplary thinkers of this emancipatory tradition is Frantz Fanon, the Martinican psychiatrist and anticolonialist theorist who fought with Algerian revolutionaries. In his short life he penned a handful

(Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995), 15.

8. Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 6.

9. Patrick Taylor, “Myth and Reality in Caribbean Narrative: Derek Walcott’s Pantomime,” *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 26, 1 (1986): 169.

10. Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2000), 1.

11. Patrick Taylor, “Narrative, Pluralism, and Decolonization: Recent Caribbean Literature,” *College Literature* 19/20, 3/1 (1993): 81.

12. Taylor, “Myth and Reality in Caribbean Narrative,” 170.

of works that stressed agency and the collective dimensions of struggle, as exemplified in this passage from *Les damnés de la terre*: “The masses must be able to meet, discuss, propose, receive instructions. The citizens must have the opportunity to speak, to express, to invent.... At each meeting, the brain multiplies its avenues of association, the eye discovers a panorama that is more and more humanized.”¹³ Taylor describes Fanon’s narrative as being informed by the twin desires “to reveal the distortions of colonialism and neocolonialism and to recover the history of popular struggle in relation to the ethical imperative of creating a just and equitable world.”¹⁴ It is this spirit of revelation and recovery that animates the study at hand.

In the postmodernist wake of recent decades, the inclination has been to reject all narratives, preferring instead to focus on “micro-politics”¹⁵ in an effort to free critical thought from the yokes of meta-theory and the totalizing claims that ostensibly follow suit. Yet this shift to the micro does not stem from a desire to situate relations in historical context; rather, it focuses on “the irony of discourse: signs and signifiers without significance.”¹⁶ The consequences of this shift are many, but for the purposes of this essay I highlight four of the most salient. First, emphasis on the specific experience (or micro) dislocated from the broader context (or meta) risks universalizing the specific experience, a concern that I raised above with regard to the “pioneer myth.” Second, in the absence of an account of social relations in their historical context, there may be a tendency to further mystify real circumstances of injustice. Third, the focus on the isolated micro prioritizes the rationality of the individual, devaluing such phenomena as class consciousness. And, fourth, this allergy to narratives has consequences for the study of regions and eras where socialism had a real influence on political consciousness, places such as the jurisdiction we now identify as Ukraine. In attempting to undermine emancipatory narratives that are socialist in orientation, postmodernist analysis of the 19th-century peasantry undertakes a revisionist campaign that bleeds socialist tendencies from actual accounts and experiences,¹⁷ leading to dubious conclusions. This last – but arguably most reactionary – tendency is

13. Frantz Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris: François Maspero, 1961), 144. [Translation mine.]

14. Patrick Taylor, “Rereading Fanon, Rewriting Caribbean,” in Radhika Mohanram and Gita Rajan, eds., *Postcolonial Discourse and Changing Cultural Contexts: Theory and Criticism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1995), 21.

15. John Bellamy Foster, “In Defense of History,” in Ellen Meiksins Wood and John Bellamy Foster, eds., *In Defense of History: Marxism and the Postmodern Agenda* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997), 191.

16. Foster, “In Defense of History,” 189–190.

17. In an otherwise rich work, Andriy Zayanryuk treads perilously close to this type of assessment; see Andriy Zayarnyuk, *Framing the Ukrainian Peasantry in Habsburg Galicia, 1846–1914* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies [CIUS] Press, 2013), xix.

likewise evident in the works of some authors who may not be postmodernists, but who can scarcely escape the binary of Cold War thinking.

Given these four points, it is crucial to remain wary of the type of analysis that mystifies the historical circumstances of actual injustices and reifies the mythic ideal. More than unpack the circumstances that give rise to the “pioneer myth,” it is necessary to highlight those attempts to overcome it – to advance emancipatory and not mythical narratives. For this purpose, a situated critique is necessary.

Famous postcolonial theorist Edward Said explains that “it is the critic’s job to provide resistances to theory, to open it up toward historical reality, toward society, toward human needs and interests, to point up those concrete instances drawn from everyday reality that lie outside or just beyond the interpretive area necessarily designated in advance and thereafter circumscribed by every theory.”¹⁸ By bringing the materialist “reality” to bear on the idealist “rhetoric,”¹⁹ a situated critique implores a turn away from mythic idealization, serving as a fluid, self-reflexive, emancipatory outlook that remains imperfectable and contestable. This approach involves building an awareness of how mythical narratives (including postmodernist anti-narratives) reify history and focus on the individual, which Bannerji warns is “an effective way of keeping communities separate and competing with each other.”²⁰ Instead, a situated critique emphasizes commonalities across struggles grounded in historically contextualized but shared experiences.

When Fanon admonishes colonized intellectuals for losing sight of the “unity of the movement,” he accuses them of focusing too much on the particular, and consequently, of not being able to recognize how they are implicated in the perpetuation of injustice.²¹ His reproach underscores the importance of self-reflexivity in undertaking a situated critique. To be self-reflexive in this capacity is to interrogate one’s own position in relation to the mythical narrative, which is a vital undertaking especially when beginning to perceive oneself as a neutral figure operating outside relations of domination. It is this dialectical movement between the particular (or micro) and the universal (or meta) that provides a situated critique with such depth of perspective, and it is this new angle that I bring to bear on the history of Ukrainians in Canada.

The objective of this essay, therefore, is quintessentially Fanonian: to reveal the distorting effects of mythic narratives through a self-reflexive commitment to the recovery of the historical and collective dimensions of emancipatory

18. Edward Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 242.

19. Maureen Elizabeth Cain and Alan Hunt, *Marx and Engels on Law* (London & New York: Academic Press, 1979), 112.

20. Himani Bannerji, *Thinking Through: Essays on Feminism, Marxism and Anti-Racism* (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1995), 14.

21. Fanon, *Les damnés*, 30. [Translation mine.]

praxis. By adopting this type of situated critique in my study of Ukrainian Canadians (focusing on the years 1891 to 1919), I strive to remain aware of my role in relation to the mythic ideal and I hold my fellow scholars up to the same standard. This anticolonialist take on Ukrainian Canadian history keeps the “unity of the movement” in mind, and in so doing, is antithetical to the mythical narrative.

PART II – HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Before Canada

IN TERMS OF NOMENCLATURE, those generally referred to as “Ukrainian Canadians” today are a diverse group that were variously identified as Russians, Poles, Austrians, Ruthenians, or Germans. Former inhabitants of what is now Ukraine, they were further differentiated according to distinct regional and religious groupings within the Austro-Hungarian Empire: a mostly Ukrainian Orthodox group from a region then known as Bukovyna and a mostly Ukrainian or Greek Catholic group from Galicia.

After the official emancipation of the serfs in 1848, the peasant population struggled for five decades under grim political and economic circumstances. Despite rampant illiteracy, many of these would-be immigrants did receive some education, namely a political education that was offered outside of the formal school system, which spurred intrigues beyond regional debates about religion. Radical socialist Mykhailo Drahomanov, ethnically Ukrainian but born in Russia, as well as his colleagues Mykhailo Pavlyk and Ivan Franko sought to disseminate these new ways of thinking that challenged the institutionalized clergy and the nobility whose causes they served. Importantly, like Fanon almost seventy years later,²² Drahomanov insisted on the necessity to “stretch” Marx to include the peasantry, and he further argued the need to move beyond nationalisms that promote reactionary positions structured around the “cult of sacred national relics.”²³ In the absence of readily accessible schools and as a place to socialize and exchange news, reading clubs were popular in Galicia and Bukovyna. It was in these clubs, as well as in the reading clubs that the Ukrainians set up upon arrival in North America, that Drahomanov’s pamphlets were disseminated and discussed. From these views sprung political parties; as Ukrainian Canadian historian Orest Martynowych explains, “membership in the parties, and especially in the village institutions that they promoted, represented an important stage in the political and

22. Fanon, *Les damnés*, 32.

23. Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891–1924* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1991), 13.

intellectual formation of many Ukrainian immigrants who would lead in Canada during the early years.²⁴ With relatively easy and increasing access to such material,²⁵ many of the peasants of Galicia were not without a broader framework of social and political consciousness before arriving in Canada. This served as a fertile starting point for later emancipatory initiatives, most notably when Ukrainians played key roles in the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919.²⁶

This historical reality was the basis of a “reinterpretation” by Ukrainian Canadian historian Stella Hryniuk, who wrote the lead essay in the collection prefaced by Magosci.²⁷ In her contribution, Hryniuk warns that we should be wary of parroting the claim that Galician immigration to Canada was largely due to the dreadful conditions at home. She reminds us “that the most damning indictments of Galician conditions in the last quarter of the 19th century were written by observers who had political or economic grievances,” such as Franko and Pavlyk, “whose gloomy views of Western Ukrainian society grew out of their socialist convictions.”²⁸ In support of her position, she endeavours to demonstrate that the peasants’ quality of life in Galicia was improving, noting that by 1910, census data showed “that more than half of the Ukrainian population over the age of ten declared itself to be literate.”²⁹ Yet attesting to the gradual and “relative”³⁰ improvement of conditions is not the same as arguing that the conditions were better than widely reported, nor does this reinterpretation change “the fact that the first Ukrainians arrived as immigrants in a Canadian society where their entrance status was already pre-determined regardless of their status in Galicia.”³¹ While I share Hryniuk’s urge to dispute the commonly presumed ignorance of the peasant population, and agree that the Ukrainians were not simply pushed out by poor living conditions but also pulled by the lure of a better life abroad,³² I must question her motives. I aver that Hryniuk’s reinterpretation may be informed by the need to exalt the mythical narrative and play down the emancipatory narrative.

24. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 15.

25. Zayarnyuk, *Framing the Ukrainian Peasantry*, 392.

26. Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907–1991* (Toronto: Lugus, 1996), 32.

27. Stella Hryniuk, “Sifton’s Pets: Who Were They?,” in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada’s Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 4.

28. Hryniuk, “Sifton’s Pets,” 3.

29. Hryniuk, “Sifton’s Pets,” 6.

30. Myron Momryk, “Ukrainian Canadians, 100 Years Later,” *Labour/Le Travail* 31 (January 1993): 356.

31. Momryk, “Ukrainian Canadians, 100 Years Later,” 356.

32. Hryniuk, “Sifton’s Pets,” 14.

Her statement contradicts Avery's observation that scores of Ukrainian immigrants came from a political culture "where collective action against economic and social exploitation was an established fact,"³³ allowing us to infer from her "reinterpretation" that class consciousness is inimical to individual reason.

The underlying presumption is that a class conscious, socialist awakening is not the brand of "enlightened" thought that saves the peasant from ignorance. To this end, some Ukrainian Conservatives were not against essentializing their parents' generation as pathologically unenlightened and gullible, suffering from a chronic underdevelopment that could explain their criminal tendencies as easily as it could account for their socialist proclivities. This is plain to see in the space of two paragraphs of an essay written by Paul Yuzyk, a Saskatchewan-born academic who served as a Progressive Conservative senator from 1963 until his death in 1986. He dismisses the socialist swell among Ukrainians, writing, "the degrading type of politics that was permitted among the unenlightened Ukrainian and other immigrants during the pioneer period was not worthy of the ideals of Canadian democracy and patriotism."³⁴ It is difficult not to remark on a degree of personal shame that underscores this passage. While he spuriously admits that the "Anglo-Saxon Canadians" could have done more to facilitate assimilation, he then proceeds to observe that "the vitality of democracy lies in its ability to rectify former mistakes and to inculcate in all citizens the high ideals of the dignity of the individual, tolerance, co-operation, and consciousness of common welfare."³⁵ Yuzyk bemoans the ignorant Ukrainians who were tempted by socialism and celebrates the "high ideals" of the Anglo-Canadians that give individualism top-billing.

"These values that appear to ennoble the soul reveal themselves to be useless because they do not concern the concrete battle in which the people are engaged," writes Fanon, with the rejoinder, "most of all individualism."³⁶ For Fanon, buying into the colonizer's theory of individualism is akin to indoctrination: it promotes a false political consciousness that cannot escape the boundaries of self-interestedness, which leaves it enclosed and disconnected from the real struggle. The consequences of this outlook are already evident in the previous paragraphs. The desire to diminish concrete experiences and dismiss the class consciousness of the peasants not only wrests reality from historical analysis in the service of mythical idealization, but also contorts the emancipatory narrative.

33. Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 67.

34. Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), 179.

35. Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 180.

36. Fanon, *Les damnés*, 37. [Translation mine.]

Immigrant Ideal

GIVEN WHAT IS AT STAKE, a situated critique of the mythic ideal is necessary. In this regard it is possible to identify the essential traits of a loyal Canadian subject, especially those venerated in discourses that inform immigration laws at the time. Below we can observe the burgeoning immigrant ideal, which occurs in the flux between the “high ideals” of the young, liberal democratic nation and its insatiable appetite for capitalist expansion.

In the latter half of the 19th century, annexation was on the mind of Canadian statesmen and businessmen. Though some were lured by the United States’ promise of new markets for goods and industrial expansion, others insisted that there was more to lose than there was to gain if Canada were annexed. Arguments against annexation often cited the Britishness of Canada and Canadians as the fulcrum of national differentiation from the United States, while others thought that the best way to stave off annexation would be to gain independence from Britain.³⁷ In his attempt to argue both sides, William Norris wrote in 1880 that “there is one more argument in favour of independence greater than all the others put together. Without population, a great North-West is useless to Canada. So is a Pacific Railway.... As to obtaining the people of the old countries, we must remain content, as long as we are a colony, with the poorer classes of immigrants which charity and paid passages send to our shores.”³⁸ Norris was a member of the short-lived Canada First party, which was established around 1871 and whose members wanted to “raise Canada above the rank of a mere dependency.”³⁹ He suggested that independence could be gained around a flag that bore the signifiers of all the preferred peoples, namely English, Scotch, French, and Irish (assuming that the Irish would “effectually Canadianize”).⁴⁰ To be independent, from Norris’s perspective, meant courting good favour with Britain so as to be sure to attract the preferred immigrants. The ready assimilation of these people arguably would ensure that they would work more benevolently for the economic prosperity of their adopted country; after all, Britons and like-stock are more apt to sacrifice for the good of the nation. Paradoxically, then, his argument for a strong and independent Canada presupposes the reinforcement of its ties to Britain.

As Norris alludes to above, transportation infrastructure was central to independence as was the colonization of the western terrain. Immigrant

37. William Norris, “Canadian Nationality: A Present-Day Plea,” in Virginia R. Robeson, ed., *Debates about Canada’s Future 1868–1896* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1977), 61.

38. Norris, “Canadian Nationality,” 62.

39. William Alexander Foster, *Canada First: A Memorial of the Late William A. Foster* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1890), 3.

40. Norris, “Canadian Nationality,” 62.

settlements helped justify westward expansion and furnished the requisite labour-power to build railways, which in turn improved the movement of goods and people for commerce and travel, and, perhaps most crucially, provided a military advantage by lending agility to the mobilization of troops and arms. This latter concern was paramount in 1885, when Louis Riel led groups of Métis and their allies into conflict with the newly assembled Northwest Mounted Police, various settlers, and agents of the Saskatchewan territory. To quell what some deem a facet of the broader transnational revolt against British imperialism,⁴¹ the federal government invested in the nearly defunct Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). This action accelerated work on the tracks in the prairies and improved the mobility of the troops,⁴² facilitating what select military historians regard as “Canada’s first independent military venture.”⁴³

At that time, the future Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, was working as a young lawyer in Brandon, Manitoba. Though his name would later become synonymous with the controversial prairie settlement policies, in the 1880s he observed that there was too much confusion around settlement and land laws, which gravely delayed colonization in the West.⁴⁴ In 1891, at age 30, Sifton was appointed the Attorney General of Manitoba, and assumed a key role as a member of the provincial legislature in the debate around federal/provincial jurisdiction. When Wilfrid Laurier was elected prime minister in June 1896, Sifton sought and won a seat in the federal government, and was then named to the ministerial post where he would make his name, remaining there until 1905. Biographer D.J. Hall calls attention to Sifton’s sympathies toward corporate advantage, which complemented his ambition to turn public land into productive private property, an ambition that Sifton believed could be well served by law and its administrative apparatuses. In addition to legal entitlements, law also had an important punitive function for Sifton. By 1896 a small group of Galicians were squatting in the woodlands of what today is Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba; responding to this, “not only did [Sifton] decline to recognize squatters’ rights ... but he actually facilitated their removal,” exuding an “instinctive aversion to recognizing any breaking of the law or infringement of the rights of property owners.”⁴⁵ As minister, Sifton skillfully mobilized the law to facilitate the settlement of public lands and had in mind a clear vision of the ideal type that could fulfill this charge.

41. Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 7.

42. Peter B. Waite, *Canada 1874–1896: Arduous Destiny* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), 140.

43. Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion*, 4.

44. Waite, *Canada 1874–1896: Arduous Destiny*, 147.

45. D.J. Hall, “Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896–1905,” in Howard Palmer, ed., *The Settlement of the West* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1977), 62–63.

Because “the sight of thousands of acres being given away to suspect foreigners badly jarred the Anglo-Saxon sense of proprietorship in the prairies,” there was an understanding that the under-utilized land needed to be worked by the right people.⁴⁶ The paternalistic sheen to J.S. Woodsworth’s *Strangers Within Our Gates* (published in 1909) illustrates this point, especially his recounting of how the ignorant Galician “knelt down and kissed the sod”⁴⁷ upon being shown to his quarter section. This statement from the first leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (the New Democratic Party’s precursor) suggests that full rights and privileges would be granted only to those Ukrainians who show the requisite amount of gratitude – lest Ukrainians forget that they were there because of the good graces of Canadians. These qualifiers shed light on a system of probationary assimilation that set in motion a myriad of paradoxical discourses that constitute the legal subjectivity of Ukrainian Canadians even beyond World War II.⁴⁸

An article from *The Globe* provides a glimpse of what constituted the ideal immigrant in 1900: “the man who in an intelligent way provides for his own needs as well as for the needs of his wife and dependents, who adds to the wealth of the community by industry, and respects the rights of others, is a good citizen.”⁴⁹ *Homo economicus* with a civic-minded flair, such was the ideal, but other considerations carried some weight as well. In Sifton’s time, some form of Social Darwinism informed the immigration policies of many countries around the world; as Ukrainian Canadian historian Peter Melnycky explains, this “theory preached the inherent genetic inequality of races and people and classified people hierarchically according to their presumed social and biological traits: certain races and cultures were considered innately inferior.”⁵⁰ Later eugenic manifestations provided a particular slant to the ideal, evident in the words of Helen Reid, Chairperson of the Division of Immigration for the Canadian Committee for Mental Hygiene, who claims that “Health means wholeness. An immigrant with a lame or crippled mind is not a healthy immigrant, nor is he a whole man. Canada needs whole men.”⁵¹ This vision of what

46. Orest Subtelny, *Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 58.

47. James S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates (or Coming Canadians)* (1909; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 112.

48. I go into significant detail on this subject in another piece; see Susan Brophy, “Freedom, Law, and the Colonial Project,” *Law & Critique* 24 (2013): 39–61.

49. “Manitoba Franchise Law” (editorial), *The Globe*, 22 June 1900.

50. Peter Melnycky, “Political Reaction to Ukrainian Immigrants: The 1899 Election in Manitoba,” in Paul Yuzyk, ed., *New Soil – Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba for the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), 18–32.

51. Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians, a Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Nelson, 1931), x.

constituted a “whole man” not only provided a pseudo-scientific basis for immigration and assimilation policies, but also a pseudo-scientific foundation for the mythic ideal.

It was precisely this brand of idealization that Fanon was challenging in his decolonization-era writing, which included a plea to rethink “man”: “today, we are assisting in a stasis of Europe. Let us flee, comrades, this immobile movement where the dialectic, little by little, transforms itself into the logic of the status quo. Revisit the question of man. Revisit the question of intellectual reality, the intellectual mass of all humanity that must multiply its connections, diversify its networks, and rehumanize its messages.”⁵² The European “man” meant intellectual torpor for Fanon; revisiting “man” required humanizing beyond the self-interested individual. The mythic ideal promotes a circumscribed notion of “man,” and in carrying out a situated critique of this idealization, we recover an emancipatory narrative that provides the impetus to interrogate the mythic “man” at every turn.

PART III – NON-CONFORMISM

Settlements

IN SIFTON’S ERA, an adult male immigrant would gain rights – but not immediately title – to settlement lands by selecting his preferred 160 acres and paying 10 dollars to the Land Titles Office. The rights-holder had to build a house, clear and cultivate 30 acres, and live there for a minimum of 6 months per year over 3 years before a conditional patent for the land could be requested.⁵³ Full title was not issued until after the settler had become a citizen of Britain.⁵⁴ Worried that Anglo-Canadians would desert Canada for the United States as a reaction to the federal government’s courtship of supposed lesser-thans, Sifton was nevertheless convinced that urbanites were unfit for internal re-settlement on these rural lands.⁵⁵ Such were the terms of the first wave of Ukrainian immigration.

52. Fanon, *Les damnés*, 241. [Translation mine.]

53. John C. Lehr, *Community and Frontier: A Ukrainian Community in the Canadian Parkland* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 28.

54. To clarify, Canadians were exclusively British citizens until after World War II. With the passing of the *Canadian Citizenship Act* (1949), the legal category of “Canadian Citizen” was created that paved the way for a controversial system of dual citizenship until 1982. See Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 41.

55. Hall, “Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896–1905,” 73–74.

Among the first Ukrainian settlers in Canada were the celebrated Ivan Pylypiw and Wasyl Eleniak in 1891 – celebrated in as much as they are considered the first “pioneers” whose reconnaissance stirred the hopes of many friends and family members. Larger waves of immigration did not occur until 1895, following a concerted propaganda campaign spearheaded by Dr. Josef Oleskow. In his enticing 1895 pamphlet, however, he made the curious recommendation that Galicians settle not on the southern prairie (where the terrain is flatter with fewer trees), but that they should seek out Crown land in the more forested areas. John C. Lehr, a historical geographer at the University of Winnipeg, explains the rationale for Oleskow’s advice, writing that settling the forested regions “would conserve limited capital and also facilitate the establishment of contiguous blocks of Ukrainian settlement.”⁵⁶ In terms of historical context, it should also be noted that after the official freeing of the serfs in the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, “the peasant now had to pay whatever price the landlord stipulated in order to obtain firewood and building materials.”⁵⁷ Access to wood, essential for fuel and shelter, was cost prohibitive; not wanting to face similar scarcity in Canada, many immigrants were drawn to forested lands.

The settlement patterns of the early Ukrainians became highly controversial, as ethnic and religious blocs began to materialize by the turn of the century. Rather than aggravate Anglo-Canadian anxieties with the looming encroachment of Ukrainian bloc settlements, the government attempted to disperse immigrants across the prairies, usually against the wishes of the settlers who had come to Canada with the intent on settling with family or friends. In his recollection of his journey to Alberta in 1899, Bukovynian Georgii Martyniuk describes the confusion caused by railway and colonization officials’ active engineering of settlement. The only information that guided Martyniuk and other Bukovynians was that Genik, a man from the “old Country,”⁵⁸ advised that they should settle in Edmonton. After pulling away from the Winnipeg station, the train that was carrying mostly Bukovynians and some Galicians came to an unexpected stop in the middle of the prairie. They were told that this was Assiniboia, their end destination, but the immigrants protested loudly and pointed to their tickets that stated that the terminus was Edmonton. The agents and engineers responded by unhitching the engine from the passenger cars, leaving the newcomers stranded. Martyniuk recounts, “we got out of the cars and sat in a circle like Indians on the prairie and began to hold a council

56. Lehr, “Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians,” 5.

57. Subtelny, *Ukrainians in North America*, 7.

58. He was likely referring to Cyril (Kyrolo) Genik, an educated Galician immigrant who was hired by the Immigration Branch on Oleskow’s recommendation. As Martynowych explains, “as a translator and immigration agent, he met incoming immigrant trains, accompanied new arrivals to their homesteads and advised them on the practical necessities for immediate survival”; see Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 64.

on what all this meant. The women, too, came out, sobbing and reproaching their husbands for needlessly wanting to come to Canada. 'Now do you see,' they said 'here's Canada for you.'⁵⁹ Deserted on the prairies for at least five hours, the train eventually returned with the agents claiming that there was a miscommunication and assuring that those who were destined for Edmonton would be there by the next day. Martyniuk concludes, "in Alberta we already felt at home. Here we met our own people and found a nice countryside, not a treeless waste like 'Siniboia.'⁶⁰

Engineered settlement was not possible, as one news article from 1900 attests, "the government, [Sifton] pointed out, could not compel these settlers to go where they did not want to."⁶¹ Settlements were of political import for the federal Liberals, especially Sifton, so the lack of direct control over their dispersal forced the government to rely on other measures to monitor their progress. Surveillance was one means, as evinced in the frequent reports that were requested from local immigrant officials. With the federal Conservatives wishing to gain political favour by accumulating evidence that might attest to the failure of Sifton's immigration policy, the Liberals were relentlessly vigilant.⁶² The demand for reports on "destitute cases" suggests that government officials were especially keen to know of any non-conformist Ukrainians whose destitution might cause political headaches in Ottawa.⁶³ Given this mindset, it might also be expected that in 1899 when scarlet fever broke out among the earliest group of Galician colonizers to settle the rural municipalities of Strathclair and Shoal Lake in Manitoba, a considerable amount of energy was invested in dealing with the public relations problems caused by the prospect of a disease-infested group of immigrants. After all, immigrants with compromised mental or physical health could hardly be expected to constitute the ideal "whole men" that Canada needed. Although the more anxiety-inducing concerns included moral decay and communicable disease, both of which could cause the social retrogradation of Canada, the even greater worry was economic stagnation.

The General Colonization Agent in Winnipeg, C.W. Speers, sent a follow-up report in June 1899 to Ottawa regarding the condition of these Manitoba settlements, writing, "they are already showing evidence of prosperity," further

59. William A. Czumer, *Recollections about the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1981), 38.

60. Czumer, *Recollections about the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, 38.

61. "Estimates all Passed: The House of Commons Will Probably Finish Its Business To-Day" (special dispatch), *The Globe*, 17 July 1900.

62. Melnycky, "Political Reaction to Ukrainian Immigrants: The 1899 Election in Manitoba," 18.

63. Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), 275.

detailing, “they have purchased a great many cows, have built temporary shanties that are comfortable and generally speaking are manifesting a great individual interest in their own welfare.” Woodsworth echoes this account, “their worst enemies must admit that since coming to Canada they have made progress ... They are purchasing modern machinery, and are gradually adopting Western methods.”⁶⁴ This manner of exhibiting an ethos of self-sufficiency was certainly welcome; in fact, once Ukrainians were in a position to buy goods and farm equipment from the Anglo-Canadian shopkeepers and dealers, there was muted appreciation for the new consumers.

More than welcome consumers, however, this stock of immigrants were model labourers. “This sturdy peasantry,” writes one *Manitoba Free Press* (later *Winnipeg Free Press*) reporter in 1908, “had all the eagerness and earnestness of a primitive people.... They were fit pioneers to break the prairies.”⁶⁵ Woodsworth, himself a labour-supporter arrested for his part in the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919,⁶⁶ remarks that “the girls, as a rule, make good domestics,”⁶⁷ while “the unskilled labor for which contractors and railway builders have been loudly calling is supplied principally by the Galician.”⁶⁸ In one particular phrase we see a common characterization of these newcomers: “Working with a physical endurance bred of centuries of peasant life and the indifference to hardships that seems characteristic of the Slav.”⁶⁹ This essentialization of the Ukrainian “indifference to hardship” rebuffs the self-evident agency of these immigrants, which is odd considering that it was largely in response to hardship that made them decide to come to Canada in the first instance – again contradicting Avery’s statement that even before arriving in Canada, “collective action against economic and social exploitation was an established fact.”⁷⁰ With one sentence, however, Woodsworth reifies the Ukrainian subject to suit the particular socio-economic ends of the Canadian state, and strategically denies even the agentic aspect of the history that he cites in sketching this caricature.

As soon as Anglo-Canadians were reminded of the fact that the Ukrainians can and do respond when faced with exorbitant pressures, that their identities are not “immutable” in the way Woodsworth depicts,⁷¹ then negative press

64. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates (or Coming Canadians)*, 112.

65. *Manitoba Free Press* (editorial), 21 November 1908.

66. Judy Fudge and Eric Tucker, *Labour Before the Law: The Regulation of Workers’ Collective Action in Canada, 1900–1948* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 111.

67. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates (or Coming Canadians)*, 112.

68. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates (or Coming Canadians)*, 110.

69. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates (or Coming Canadians)*, 112.

70. Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 67.

71. Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation*, 9.

ensued, prisons filled, internment camps were erected, disfranchisement was enacted, and if nothing else worked, there was deportation.

Containment and Fight-back

UKRAINIANS WERE RELATIVELY EASY prey for discriminatory treatment because they were obviously different, but it was a menacing difference in its capacity to undermine the mythic ideal. A series of excerpts from *The Globe* capture this essentialization. In 1903, reporter Victor Ross laments the Galicians' lack "of regard for human life or the rights of property" and warned that the ethnic bloc settlements will have dangerous consequences.⁷² To remedy both concerns, he encouraged the geographical dispersal of English and Americans, writing that "thinking men in the west do not believe that the greatest good to the country can come from the hiving together of the more enlightened settlers, upon whom the hopes for the development of a high ideal of citizenship depends."⁷³ As exemplars and advocates of the ideal, Anglo populations had an important civilizing mission and the mainstream press at the time reinforced this duty. Even more crudely, in J.H. Hardy's 1914 article entitled "The Galician in Alberta, His Habits and Customs," we learn that these newcomers were dirty: "the most noticeable feature of the dwelling and its occupants is the lack of cleanliness"; they were malodorous: "the whole establishment reeks with a strong, peculiar Russian odor"; they were untrustworthy: "if a 'Russian' does not pay cash, but informs you that he will pay on a certain day, he has no intention of ever keeping his promise," and they were drinkers: "all Galicians drink large quantities."⁷⁴

Beyond such caricatures, this group was an important political target specifically because of their irksome capacity to operate as a collective in support of the collective. Three brief examples lend weight to this observation: first, in the early days of settlement those with farms and families would take in the single, homeless, and unemployed men during the winter; second, when there was a strike, such as at CPR in 1901, the unemployed strikers built communal "cave dwellings" in the Edmonton river bank, and would work odd-jobs in the city only to pool their earnings, and; third, in urban centres at the beginning of the last century, the Galicians set up community kitchens using these pooled earnings to feed the unemployed.⁷⁵ With regard to the third example, such a collective response to hardship was troubling because it allowed the

72. Victor Ross, "The Remarkable Record of the Foreign Colonies in the Land of Roses, in the Saskatchewan Valley," *The Globe*, 26 May 1903.

73. Ross, *The Globe*.

74. J.H. Hardy, "The Galician in Alberta, His Habits and Customs," *The Globe Magazine*, 3 January 1914.

75. Mykhailo Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982), 90–91.

significant pool of cheap labourers to stand their ground against CPR, which demanded that they work below a certain wage. Related to these types of collective resistance was their tendency towards self-education, a practice that continued from their villages in Ukraine. This found a most robust expression in their building of reading houses, first in 1903 in Winnipeg, then across the country as Ukrainians became more politically organized.⁷⁶

In the time leading up to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, relations with the Anglo-Canadian establishment became increasingly strained as these newcomers continued to settle in blocs, became naturalized then franchised, and began to vote accordingly.⁷⁷ Heavy surveillance quickly transformed into a heightened police presence under these testy conditions.

In his study of Galician criminalization, historian Gregory Robinson rejects reifying discourses in order to offer a more historically attentive assessment. He cites Emily Murphy – famous women’s rights campaigner and eugenicist, who moved to Manitoba from Ontario in 1903 then to Edmonton in 1907 – to underscore the type of discourse that set Canadian patriotism afire. Murphy deployed something akin to a phrenologic lens to essentialize the violent criminality of Galicians, writing in 1912 that “they are bonny fighters these Ruthenians from Galicia ... and if they cannot ‘have the law’ on one another they may always have the consolation of fisticuffs. And what pray, are muscles hard for and skulls thick, except to fight. Riddle me that!”⁷⁸ In contrast to these reactionary and scholastically insupportable condemnations, Robinson contextualizes the violence and criminality that did exist among Ukrainians as attributable to a myriad of circumstances including the transference of old intercultural rifts to Canada, poverty, and their exploitation both in Galicia and again in Canada.⁷⁹ He explains that much of it emanated from what might be understood as the lumpenproletariat class of Galicians, specifically two groups called “the Jacks” (“*dzheky*”) and “the Bulls” (“*buhai*”) prevalent in Alberta until the 1930s.⁸⁰ Robinson suggests that the circumstances that gave rise to these groups also produced a degree of readiness among them to enter into armed conflict – a type of self-policing that also would be deployed on the tentacles of sovereign power when the situation warranted as much.

For the most part, the internal violence was spectacular for outsiders, easily sensationalized and moralized, which might explain the

76. Krawchuk, *Our History*, 3.

77. Frances Swyripa, “The Politics of Redress: The Contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian Campaign,” in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 356.

78. Cited in Robinson, “Rougher Than Any Other Nationality? Ukrainian Canadians and Crime in Alberta, 1915–1929,” 226.

79. Robinson, “Rougher Than Any Other Nationality?,” 219.

80. Robinson, “Rougher Than Any Other Nationality?,” 221–224.

scrutiny-*cum*-preoccupation on behalf of Anglo-Canadians. Yet Robinson also points out that the over-reporting of criminal activity in newspapers “had the psychological effect of convincing both the police and the general public that Ukrainians were committing a far greater number of violent crimes than their numbers warranted,” emphasizing that “this belief held sway for decades – despite the fact that no reliable statistics existed to support it.”⁸¹ Indeed, this apparent genetic propensity for Ukrainians to disregard both the ideals and the laws of Anglo-Canada was shocking.

That Ukrainians could consolidate their political power and vote in blocs caused worry within Anglo-Canada; one way of mitigating this political encroachment was through education. A series of editorials in the *Manitoba Free Press* from 1915 attests to the importance of the education question, with one commentator in particular speaking to the “educational ideal,” writing that “[the ideal] consists in regarding and using bilingual teaching, in settlements where one nationality predominates, as an educational means of introducing non-English-speaking children to Canadian ideals and Canadian customs.”⁸² With so much at stake, not just in Manitoba but in every province where homogenous blocs existed, the laws pertaining to education became a flashpoint.

Consider, for example, the “School Revolt” of 1913–1914 in Alberta. At the time there was a sense that the growing number of taxpaying Ukrainians deserved Ukrainian educators, a quest that turned violent when the Department of Education denied Wasyl Czumer a teacher’s permit. Mr. Armstrong replaced Czumer, but the former was assaulted with an iron pot when he refused to leave the school that the settlers built.⁸³ Reports claim that it was Mary Kapitsky who led a group of women in this assault; Kapitsky was sentenced to two months in prison, which she served accompanied by her infant child.⁸⁴

Another example that can be cited of Ukrainian transgression, albeit for reasons other than education, occurred a few years later during internment. With the onset of World War I, the federal government passed provisions under the *War Measures Act* that demarcated the “enemy alien” category, which applied to “Immigrants of German or Austro-Hungarian Nationality.”⁸⁵

81. Robinson, “Rougher Than Any Other Nationality?,” 227.

82. “Ruthenian Catholic Organ Asserts Language Rights” (editorial), *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 February 1915.

83. Robinson, “Rougher Than Any Other Nationality?,” 219; Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 355.

84. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 355.

85. Government of Canada, *Internment Proclamation* (Ottawa 1914) in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983), 171–173.

Ukrainians made up most of the 6,000 in internment camps.⁸⁶ With men interned, women were without the primary breadwinners, which in some cases caused desperation, as noted by Melynycky, “left without family, friends or means of support after her husband’s internment, Catherine Boychuk was sentenced to a month in a prison for committing minor theft and her eight-month-old daughter was placed in an orphanage.”⁸⁷ Because the terms of internment were cast so widely, there was an unremitting threat that anybody could be taken into custody for any reason, and to be seen helping enemy aliens was likewise treasonous. With the networks of support in peril, therefore, certain modes of survival involved a degree of mobilizing forces from outside the paradigm of liberal democratic authority.

When placed side by side and examined under a different light, these events come together to fashion a discernible emancipatory narrative. However, from the mainstream perspective of Anglo-Canadians, “Ukrainian rural colonies and urban quarters alike were breeding grounds for lawlessness and immorality.”⁸⁸ It is this notion of “lawlessness” – or in other words, a willingness to challenge the most foundational precepts of what it means to be a “whole man” – that made certain Ukrainian Canadians so threatening to the fabric of the nation.

Rather than simply succumb to the circumstances of their oppression, certain Ukrainian Canadians challenged the state. Two additional events underscore this point. First, internees themselves exercised some resistance to their treatment. For example, three internees successfully managed to escape the Brandon camp in 1915, one of which was later caught and tried in 1916. Around the same time one man jumped from a window to escape but was quickly apprehended, another uttered threats of revenge to the officers managing the camp and was disciplined, and another two fled after also jumping from the window.⁸⁹ A more coordinated attempt was mounted in June 1915 among seventeen internees, during which Andrew Grapko, an eighteen-year-old internee, was shot and killed and others were injured.⁹⁰ In Québec, 2 others were reportedly killed in their efforts to flee, one at Spirit Lake and the other in Montréal, while across Canada nearly 80 internees of “Austrian” ethnicity died from tuberculosis or pneumonia while in custody.⁹¹ In addition to those who would attempt escape, strikes by the internees also took place, such as

86. Peter Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada,” in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983), 1.

87. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada,” 5.

88. Robinson, “Rougher Than Any Other Nationality?,” 214.

89. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada,” 9.

90. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada,” 9.

91. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 340n65.

at a mine in Sydney, Nova Scotia, and at one in Kapuskasing, Ontario, which ended in a violent riot.⁹² Second, concurrent to internment, there were concerted efforts underway by the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Canada (USDP, formerly the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats/Canadian Social Democratic Party) to organize workers. For May Day in 1914, many participated in the USDP-organized events, though as the economic conditions worsened (with a recession followed by inflation) and as restrictions on their movement tightened under the *War Measures Act*, many of the early internees were captured after attempting to leave Canada to seek work in the US.⁹³

By bringing these examples together, I show how attempts to essentialize criminality effectively moralize and render exceptional those events that might be more accurately interpreted as instances of emancipatory praxis. Instead we see how efforts to contain Ukrainians through surveillance and criminalization drew from and reinforced the prevailing mythic narrative. As I interrogate this idealization with a situated critique, however, the emancipatory narrative can take centre stage.

PART IV – BETTER RED

Disfranchisement, Censorship, and Deportation

THE MOVE TO DISFRANCHISE newly settled Ukrainians started early in Manitoba. During the provincial election of 1899, Conservative leader and eventual premier, Hugh John Macdonald – son of Sir John A. Macdonald – undertook a campaign that warned of the “Galician peril.”⁹⁴ Statements uttered during a speech in Winnipeg lay bare his intentions, remarking that “the foreign settlers have been informed that I intend to disfranchise them if they cannot read English,” adding, “I could certainly legislate against ignorant serfs who came from a country where they are not allowed to express an opinion ... who know nothing whatever about the dearest gift of freedom.”⁹⁵ The aim was to dehumanize Galicians as much as possible, which served the efforts to criminalize their actions and render their claims to citizenship tenuous.

Later, when Conservative Prime Minister Robert Borden succeeded Laurier in 1911, he was faced with economic crises, the Russian Revolution, and the upheavals of World War I, which provided a suitable backdrop for

92. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada,” 9.

93. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada,” 4.

94. Melnycky, “Political Reaction to Ukrainian Immigrants: The 1899 Election in Manitoba,” 21.

95. Cited in “Right About Face on the Galician Question” (editorial), *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 February 1904.

disfranchisement to begin in earnest. The *War-time Elections Act* of 1917 rescinded the voting rights of those immigrants classified as “enemy aliens” who were naturalized in 1902 and later. This reflected the sentiment that “the immigrant was a political ‘problem’ because he was incapable of exercising the franchise intelligently.”⁹⁶ In the same Act, women related to men serving in the war were given the right to vote, effectively empowering the Anglo-Canadian majority and weakening the legal standing of the enemy aliens.⁹⁷ Tellingly, these federal disfranchisement laws further circumscribed the legal subjectivity of Ukrainians at the same time that the reverberations of the Russian Revolution were being felt worldwide.

Historians look to a few reasons as to why the socialist movement was as strong as it was among Ukrainians in Canada. John Kolasky attributes the propensity towards socialism as partly the result of personal deficiency. While he recognizes that discriminatory barriers existed, he finds that many Ukrainians failed to “integrate into Canadian society” and were thereby “destined to the lowest rung of the social scale and a life of isolation, privation and hardship,” and became “resigned” to this life.⁹⁸ That such “failure” was the individual’s fault reiterates the view from Yuzyk that these immigrants were ignorant and gullible. However, Rhonda Hinthner suggests that “radicalized by unfulfilled expectations of Canada, exploitation, and discrimination and often harbouring socialist and anti-clerical attitudes nurtured in the Old Country, many Ukrainian immigrants became labour activists, often through Ukrainian language-based socialist organizations.”⁹⁹ Certainly not all Ukrainians shared the same views, with dividing lines between Presbyterian “progressives,” Catholics, Orthodox, nationalist populists, and internationalist socialists¹⁰⁰ – not to mention the gender divide, given that many women “who were isolated on homesteads were less able to meet, acquire literacy skills, and learn English.”¹⁰¹

These divides were most pronounced in the publications popular during that era. Among the first Ukrainian publications to appear in Canada was in Winnipeg in 1903, a Liberal-funded paper called *Kanadyiskyyi*

96. John Herd Thompson, “The Enemy Alien and the Canadian General Election of 1917,” in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983), 31.

97. Thompson, “The Enemy Alien and the Canadian General Election of 1917,” 33.

98. John Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1979), 2.

99. Rhonda L. Hinthner, “Raised in the Spirit of the Class Struggle: Children, Youth, and the Interwar Ukrainian Left in Canada,” *Labour/Le Travail* 60 (October 2007): 49.

100. Czumer, *Recollections*, 85–6.

101. Joan Sangster, “Robitnytsia, Ukrainian Communists, and the ‘Porcupinism’ Debate: Reassessing Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in Early Canadian Communism, 1922–1930,” *Labour/Le Travail* 56 (February 2005): 74.

farmer (*Canadian Farmer*), which was counteracted by the Conservative-funded paper, *Slovo (The Word)*.¹⁰² First evidence of the divisiveness of the Ukrainian-language press and politics is the fact that a few of those originally responsible for the first reading club in Winnipeg later joined the Liberals and the *Kanadyiskyi farmer*, while still others would support the Conservatives.¹⁰³ Different religious groups also published their own materials, among them the Presbyterians' *Ranok (Morning)* and *Canadian*, which opposed "Canadianization" because they believed it "consisted of erasing any traces of national identity," a position that sometimes conflicted with the prevailing religious themes of the papers.¹⁰⁴ The nationalist publications included *Ukrainian Voice*, *New Country*, and *News*, which focused less on the matter of religion and more on how Ukrainians could maintain their cultural identity, as Ukrainian Canadian historian Mykhailo Marunchak explains, "they strove to orient the people about the need of depending on their own strength and underlined the feeling of pride in the effort that the Ukrainian people had put into the development of Canada."¹⁰⁵ But the instilment of such pride by playing into the mythic ideal during the pre-war years made the sting of internment and disfranchisement that much more severe.¹⁰⁶

In terms of socialist press, three branches growing out of the Taras Shevchenko Society – an early reading club, later part of the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) – were the first to publish. Together, these bodies produced a short-lived weekly called the *Chervonyi prapor (Red Flag)* out of Winnipeg in 1907, the first Ukrainian socialist newsletter in North America.¹⁰⁷ Not long afterward, this group suffered a break when in 1910 a "populist" society splintered and published *Ukrainskyi holos (Ukrainian Voice)*. Among the more significant publications of the era, however, was the *Robochyi narod (The Working People)*, first published in 1909. In this paper, the frustrations of Ukrainians socialists were expressed in response to the ill treatment they were experiencing at the hand of the Anglo-Canadian leaders of the SPC, whose Canadian nationalism was not only at odds with Ukrainian nationalism, but also with the broader spirit of internationalism that was emerging at that time.¹⁰⁸ This sentiment spawned the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats (FUSD), which later merged with the Canadian Social Democratic Party, only to face another internal division with one group deciding to publish

102. Czumer, *Recollections*, 85.

103. Krawchuk, *Our History*, xviii.

104. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 313.

105. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 312.

106. Subtelny, *Ukrainians in North America*, 99.

107. Krawchuk, *Our History*, 5.

108. Krawchuk, *Our History*, 7.

the *Nova hromada* (*New Community*) out of Edmonton in 1911.¹⁰⁹ However, this splinter, known as the Federation of Ukrainian Socialists (FUS), did not recruit and expand at the same rate as the FUSD. The bitterness between the two groups materialized in their respective publications, and while FUS's *Nova hromada* printed sustained attacks on FUSD, the latter's *Robochyi narod* began to adopt more internationalist tendencies.¹¹⁰

After the FUS and its paper dissolved in 1912, the in-fighting at the FUSD continued. By the next year FUSD was "the object of concentrated attacks by Ukrainian nationalists, especially through their newspapers, which were in the main supported by the Liberal and Conservative parties, as well as the religious sects."¹¹¹ We add to this yet another dimension in 1915: socialist internationalism. Much of the in-fighting among socialists revolves around the nationalist/internationalist divide, as the former sought an independent Ukraine, while the latter championed international socialism. The FUSD became the aforementioned USDP in 1914, which, in turn, eventually became the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA) in 1918. The focus on farming reflected the fact that many Ukrainians worked in the agricultural sector,¹¹² but more than that, this change impelled a more overt emphasis on culture. This occurred in response to new laws in 1918, which listed numerous socialist organizations (including the USDP) as "unlawful."¹¹³ Mary Skrypnyk, a longtime participant in the ULTA remarks that "in 1918, after the October Revolution in Russia and the establishment of Soviet power, the Conservative government ... began to suppress socialist ideas," and it is in this climate of suppression that the USDP decided "that a cultural-educational society be established beside the political party."¹¹⁴ This had significant consequences, with the ethnic dimensions of the ULTA often clashing with the internationalist focus of the "Anglo-dominated" Communist Party of Canada (CPC), as Hinthier explains, "the type of 'communism' these Ukrainian leftists embraced was inseparably cultural political, combining priorities of Ukrainian cultural preservation and expression with a Marxist-Leninist political philosophy."¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, the ULTA was able to operate somewhat autonomously from the CPC due to its significant membership base.¹¹⁶

109. Krawchuk, *Our History*, 10.

110. Krawchuk, *Our History*, 14.

111. Krawchuk, *Our History*, 18.

112. Sangster, "Robitnytsia, Ukrainian Communists, and the 'Porcupinism' Debate," 55n11.

113. John Herd Thompson and Frances Swyripa, *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983), 193.

114. Mary Skrypnyk, *Forgotten Legacy: Contribution of Socialist Ukrainian Canadians to Canada* (Winnipeg: Canadian Society for Ukrainian Labour Research, 1997), 21.

115. Hinthier, "Raised in the Spirit of the Class Struggle," 48.

116. Sangster, "Robitnytsia, Ukrainian Communists, and the 'Porcupinism' Debate," 56.

These socialist groups promised respite for many workers, not only in terms of cultural familiarity in the midst of alienating conditions, but also as a form of “collective security,” since every member “was assured of a twenty dollar benefit in the event of sickness or unemployment.”¹¹⁷ Ukrainians in this era, it should be noted, fared better than the many Asian immigrants; members of the latter group experienced what Avery calls the “virtual exclusion from the Canadian trade union movement.”¹¹⁸ However, tensions between Ukrainians and other self-identified “Canadian” workers escalated during World War I, and the relations became even more complicated against the backdrop of labour scarcity. Though the more prejudiced among the Canadian workers felt that it was treasonous to work beside enemy aliens, capitalists relied heavily on their precarious legal standing that engendered a work-to-survive ethic.¹¹⁹ Canadian industries also benefited from the legally mandated low wages for enemy aliens “conscripted for non-combatant service,”¹²⁰ which was similar to what the Japanese later faced during World War II.¹²¹

Labour unrest grew more intense as a result of this differential treatment, but while an ethnic rift among the workers was a significant challenge, the spectre of class solidarity was an even greater worry. Following the Russian Revolution, this threat was palpable from both the capitalists’ as well as the federal government’s perspectives, and so the ideological foundation for active censorship and potential deportation was firmly in place by 1918. To suffocate the agitating capacities of socialist organizers in Canada, the federal government passed laws that expanded their power to suspect, seize, and sentence. The laws to prohibit the manufacturing and distribution of “enemy” publications were in place by 25 September 1918;¹²² with a heavy hand, restrictions on organization and assembly were carried out in many locations across the country. Without delay, the federal government shut down *Robochyi narod*, with its final installment dated 28 September 1918. It was also promulgated that “anyone who belonged to the banned organizations, associations or parties, or attended their meetings, would be punished by a five-year prison sentence

117. Donald H. Avery, “The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919,” in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976), 211.

118. Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 9.

119. Donald H. Avery, “Ethnic and Class Tensions in Canada, 1918–1920: Anglo-Canadians and the Alien Worker,” in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983), 80.

120. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 427.

121. Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 124.

122. Avery, “Ethnic and Class Tensions in Canada,” 81.

or a fine of \$5,000.”¹²³ More than threats, the success of these censorship laws as a deterrent meant that that an apparatus of sanction and punishment was also necessary.

The “Red Scare” prompted all levels of the Canadian justice system to dutifully exercise their authority in the service of power; without the infringements of due process and other procedural safeguards that sanctify the ruse of legal autonomy, cases were expedited and maximum sentences were common. Still, the capitalists’ and government’s worst fear came to pass with the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919. This class solidarity was foreshadowed during Manitoba’s provincial election of 1914, when *Robochyi narod* encouraged its readers to vote for “Social Democratic candidates at election time, regardless of nationality.”¹²⁴ Likewise, raids on Ukrainian gatherings began years prior to the General Strike, such as in downtown Toronto in 1917, which predates the 1918 prohibition on radical associations.¹²⁵ Winnipeg’s Ukrainian Labour Temple was eventually targeted by police in 1919,¹²⁶ at which time they removed “vast quantities of literature” from the Temple,¹²⁷ which was a principal meeting place during the strike.¹²⁸

With regard to law enforcement, information sharing was crucial, particularly in the arrest of those believed to have led the General Strike, as one newspaper report from June 1919 notes, “carefully planned by the authorities, with the co-operation of the Military Intelligence Department and other police branches, not one word of the impending arrests leaked out.”¹²⁹ Meanwhile, Hugh Macdonald, Winnipeg’s police magistrate at the time, “blamed Ruthenian Bolshevik ideas for the Winnipeg General Strike,”¹³⁰ ignoring the social and political causes while insinuating that deviant Ukrainians were responsible. It was also implied that the sentiments expressed by strikers were foreign, brought into Winnipeg by the Slavs, who were held as scapegoats despite the fact that most of the General Strike’s leaders were new British immigrants.¹³¹ Memorial University historian, Kurt Korneski, clarifies the

123. Krawchuk, *Our History*, 35.

124. Avery, “The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919,” 211.

125. “Eighty Aliens are in Custody: Police Break Up Meeting of Social Democrats,” *The Globe*, 11 June 1917.

126. “Strike Heads are Arrested: Nine of Them Are Secretly Seized in Bed in Winnipeg,” *The Globe*, 18 June 1919.

127. “Strike Heads are Arrested,” *The Globe*.

128. Hinthier, “Raised in the Spirit of the Class Struggle,” 49.

129. “Strike Heads are Arrested,” *The Globe*.

130. Manoly R. Lupul, *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada’s Ukrainians* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1984), 138.

131. Nelson Wiseman, “Ethnicity, Religion, and Socialism in Canada: The Twenties through the War,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 47, 2 (2015): 3.

rationale behind this position, revealing why this type of interpretation of the General Strike continues to resonate: “by portraying the strike as a bizarre, local upheaval, historians can remain confident that the political climate in Canada has generally been peaceful, conservative, and reformist.”¹³² To support his claim, Korneski highlights the fact that sympathy strikes occurred around the country, which shows that labour unrest was a nation-wide phenomenon, not a geographical or historical aberration introduced by an alien element.¹³³

Feminist historian Barbara Roberts explains that during World War I and for a spell afterwards, “the first deliberate and systematic deportation of agitators, activists, and radicals” was undertaken, further remarking that “the threat they posed was not to the common people of Canada, but to the vested interests represented by big business, exploitative employers, and a government acting on behalf of interest groups.”¹³⁴ The *Immigration Act* was changed in 1919 to accelerate these politically and economically motivated deportations. Section 41 of the Act was changed so that any foreign-born subject, regardless of the length of their residency in Canada, “could be deported for advocating the overthrow of constituted authority by force,” while Section 42 was amended to allow for the deportation of those “public charges” who lived in Canada under five years; notably all deportations were processed in private trials.¹³⁵ Deportations from 1903 to 1928 totaled 17,600 with roughly 1,000 per year.¹³⁶

From the standpoint of a situated critique, to mystify these real exercises of power is to overlook the historical circumstances that preceded such acts: it is to treat them as aberrational and, by extension, illegitimate instances of emancipatory praxis. Against this reactionary tendency I place the history of early Ukrainians in Canada in an anticolonialist-informed analytical framework. In doing so, I build on findings from the likes of Avery, Hinthner, Sangster, Krawchuk, and Roberts, whose contributions can now be more accurately read as part of a liberating narrative.

132. Kurt Korneski, “Prairie Fire: The Winnipeg General Strike,” *Labour/Le Travail* 45 (April 2000): 263–264.

133. Korneski, “Prairie Fire,” 263.

134. Barbara Roberts, “Shovelling Out the ‘Mutinous’: Political Deportation from Canada Before 1936,” *Labour/Le Travail* 18 (June 1986): 80.

135. J. Petryshyn, “Class Conflict and Civil Liberties: The Origins and Activities of the Canadian Labour Defense League, 1925–1940,” *Labour/Le Travail* 10 (October 1982): 47.

136. Petryshyn, “Class Conflict and Civil Liberties,” 47.

Dénouement

SINCE THEIR ARRIVAL IN 1891 through the height of the “Red Scare” and the Winnipeg General Strike, Ukrainian immigrants were treated variably as blessings, as burdens, and as rabble-rousers. In less careful hands, the experiences of these immigrants provide fodder for the romanticized settler narrative, that whitewashing myth that passes over, among other things, the genocide of the Indigenous peoples. Much of this narrative suspends real experiences of injustice to cast the immigrant and the country as mirror images of each other – both tenacious underdogs with big dreams. However, serious accounts of Ukrainian resistance better illustrate the heterogeneity of the “pioneer” experience beyond what Magosci derisively terms “cultural baggage”; an anticolonialist perspective informed by the writings of Fanon especially helps wring the material reality of political agency from the clutches of mythical narrative.

Although this study ends with the 1919 strike, the experiences of injustice continued, with deportations of ethnic agitators increasing fourfold to 4,025 and then nearly doubling to 7,000 in 1930 and 1931, respectively.¹³⁷ And although this study focuses on one ethnic group, similar efforts to recover of emancipatory narratives are being undertaken with different subject matter, such as in certain strains of Balkan studies.¹³⁸ Finally, although I bracket a specific timeframe, vestiges of this mythic ideal persist today with the continued criminalization of immigrants, the detainment and denaturalization of terrorist suspects, and the passing of Bill C-51 (the “*Anti-terrorism Act*”). Mythic idealization in fact undergirds the proscriptive Bill C-51 that was introduced by Conservative Member of Parliament, Steven Blaney, in January 2015. In proposing the legislation, Blaney remarks that “Canada and Canadians are being targeted by jihadist terrorists simply because these terrorists hate our society and hate our values. This is why our government has put forward measures that protect Canadians against jihadist terrorists who seek to destroy the very principles that make Canada the best country in the world in which to live.”¹³⁹ Note the over-simplified causality, the reification of Canadian culture, and the exaggerated claims to national supremacy;¹⁴⁰ reactionary politicking, *par excellence*.

137. Petryshyn, “Class Conflict and Civil Liberties,” 47.

138. Srećko Horvat & Igor Štikš, eds., *Welcome to the Desert of Post-Socialism: Radical Politics after Yugoslavia* (London: Verso, 2015); Jelena Batinić, *Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

139. Steven Blaney, *Public Safety and National Security*, accessed 28 November 2015, <https://openparliament.ca/committees/public-safety/41-2/53/steven-blaney-2/?page=1>.

140. Beyond these narrative flourishes, there is major cause for concern. With regard to the growing extra-legal powers of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, two Canadian legal scholars remark that “we risk the creation of what is in effect an entirely secret, Kafkaesque body of jurisprudence.” Craig Forcese and Kent Roach, “Bill C-51: The Good, the

“Bourgeois shock”¹⁴¹ is a reaction to “bourgeois illusions and untruthfulness.”¹⁴² Those vulnerable to this type of shock orientate themselves to the mythical ideal at the expense of a more critical take on state authority, entwining their own subjectivity in the sustenance of said authority. This brand of consciousness dilutes the localizable and interconnected nature of power, and, as a consequence, mystifies sovereign power. Not until they experience bourgeois shock can the mythical narrative be revealed to them as a reifying device; at this juncture the choice must be made between a politics of reaction and a politics of emancipation.

On the flip-side of bourgeois shock therefore is a situated critique: a commitment to the interrogation of the mythic ideal for the purposes of recovering an emancipatory narrative.

When there was an obvious conflict of interest, the Canadian government passed laws that criminalized Ukrainians for being poor. With the enforcement of these laws, a legal subjectivity was constituted that helped to bridge the discord between liberal democratic rhetoric and capitalist realities, and affirm state authority. The political will of the state is the impetus behind these bridging and affirming functions, a will that is materially manifested in the distinctive legal subjectivity of Ukrainian Canadians. With respect to Ukrainian Canadians from 1891–1919, there certainly were remarkable legal measures taken by the Canadian state in the name of national interest and security; however, it is imprudent to see the implications of this legislation as “cultural baggage.” As this essay elucidates, a situated critique focuses on the concrete grounds of authority, ensuring that the mysticism of the mythical narrative does not persist unchallenged.

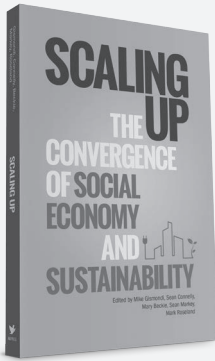
For taking the time to offer such thoughtful comments, I thank the three anonymous reviewers, Dr. Sean Cadigan, and Dr. Rade Zinaić.

Bad ... and the Truly Ugly,” *The Walrus*, accessed 28 November 2015, <http://thewalrus.ca/bill-c-51-the-good-the-bad-and-the-truly-ugly/>.

141. Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme* (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1962), 11. In the original French text, Césaire writes, “Et alors, un beau jour, la bourgeoisie est réveillée par un formidable choc en retour : les gestapos s’affairent, les prison s’emplissent, les tortionnaires inventent, raffinent, discutent autour des chevalets. On s’étonne, on s’indigne,” 11–12. The widely cited concept that emerges out of this passage in the Joan Pinkham translation is that of the “boomerang effect,” thus: “And then one fine day the bourgeoisie is awakened by a terrific boomerang effect: the gestapos are busy, the prisons fill up, the torturers standing around the racks invent, refine, discuss. People are surprised, they become indignant”; see Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans. J. Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 36. While it is an apt translation overall, Pinkham omits the use of the term “choc” or “shock” from the original text, which is intentionally recaptured by employing the concept of “bourgeois shock” in this article in the same instances, but in the place of, the idea of the “boomerang effect.”

142. Hannah Arendt, “Introduction,” in Hannah Arendt, ed., *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 34.

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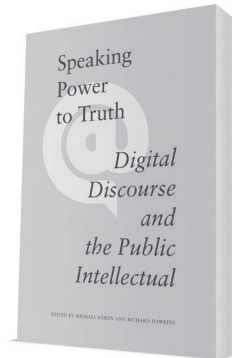
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