

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Hans Ibing, Interview with Arthur Grenke, 1980, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) German Workers and Farmers Association Fonds R11667-0-6-E, formerly MG28-V112 (hereafter Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E); Mark Zuehlke, *The Gallant Cause: Canadians in the Spanish Civil War* (Mississauga: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 277–78.
- 2 Hans Ibing, “Reminiscences of Members of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion of the Spanish Civil War,” LAC Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion Collection, MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 84–85.
- 3 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 84; Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 278.
- 4 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 5 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 6 In addition to his concerns about returning to hard times in his past, he seemed uneasy with his grandson-in-law conducting formal interviews with him; I did not ask again for years.
- 7 Ibing, interview with Reynolds, “Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Radio: Spanish Civil War Oral History Tapes,” LAC 1979-0081 MISA. According to archivist Ernest J. Dick, Reynolds was among a group of researchers at the CBC who became interested in oral history, and they conducted interviews on many subjects “for their own sake, or on speculation that they might prove useful for a future CBC documentary.” Many of Reynolds’s interviews were used in Victor Hoar’s book on Canadian volunteers in Spain, although the one with Ibing was not. Dick claims that this was “perhaps one of the first Canadian examples of such oral history interviews being used for a published history.” See Ernest J. Dick, “Oral History as a Process: The CBC Experience,” *Oral History Forum – Forum D’Histoire Orale* 16–17 (1996–1997), 71–83. The CBC did not produce a documentary using these interviews in the 1960s and the tapes went missing for years. But they were recovered in 2012 and turned into a documentary, “The Spanish Crucible,” which featured in two parts on the CBC radio program Living Out Loud (www.cbc.ca/radio/livingoutloud). Hoar’s book was first published in 1969 (Toronto: Copp, Clark), then republished in 1986 under the name Victor Howard; the latter will be cited here. See Victor Howard with Mac Reynolds, *The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion: The Canadian Contingent in the Spanish Civil War* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1986).
- 8 The transcript of Grenke’s interview is almost 26,000 words; Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 9 Michael Petrou, *Renegades* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008). In 2010 Petrou kindly agreed to share his notes from the interview as well.
- 10 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4; William Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers in Spain, 1936–1939* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1989). Ibing’s experience as a truck driver did not fit Beeching’s focus on combat units, especially the Mac-Paps themselves.

- 11 Indeed, scholars do not often get the opportunity to engage literature on subjects as diverse as Weimar Germany, the rise of the Nazis, Canadian immigration policy, the impact of the Depression in Canada and the government's response, the international Communist movement, the left in Canada in the 1930s and 1940s, the Spanish Civil War and the International Brigades, the plight of veterans from the war, the experience of enemy aliens in Canada during World War II, the impact of the Cold War, life behind the Iron Curtain in East Germany, and the Golden Age of welfare capitalism in the mid-twentieth-century – all for one book.

1: *Turbulent Times*

- 1 Hans Ibing, personal notes left to his family.
- 2 By 1914 the SPD counted more members (at over a million) than any other political party in a Western democracy. The party also overcame an electoral system slanted in favour of conservative rural areas to win more seats in the Reichstag than any other party. Still, in general, the imperial German political system was far from democratic: the power of elected assemblies remained quite limited up to and through World War I. (Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire, 1875–1914* [London: Abacus, 1987], 116–18.)
- 3 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 73.
- 4 Ibing, personal note.
- 5 Ibing, personal note.
- 6 Ibing, personal note; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 7 Richard Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich: How the Nazis Destroyed Democracy and Seized Power in Germany* (London: Penguin, 2003), 74–81; Ian Kershaw, *To Hell and Back: Europe 1914–1949* (London: Penguin, 2015), 85–86; Geoff Ely, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000* (New York: Oxford, 2002), 165–69.
- 8 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 118–19.
- 9 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 78.
- 10 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 73.
- 11 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 62–65; Eberhard Kolb, *The Weimar Republic*, trans. P.S. Falla (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 5–9. Soviet Russia would become the Soviet Union in 1922.
- 12 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 60–61; Kolb, *Weimar Republic*, 29–32. The Allies saw these as appropriate terms, far less punitive than those the Germans had imposed on the Soviet Union at Brest-Litovsk in early 1918, and consistent with the Germans' culpability as established in the war guilt clause. France and Belgium especially wanted compensation after more than four years of bitter fighting on their soil, not to mention the toll the Germans took upon land they occupied for most of the war. (Kershaw, *To Hell and Back*, 188–89.)
- 13 Hans Mommsen, *The Rise and Fall of Weimar Democracy*, trans. Elborg Forster and Larry Eugene Jones (Charlotte: University of North Carolina, 1996), 91.
- 14 Kolb, *Weimar Republic*, 35–36.
- 15 Kershaw, *To Hell and Back*, 86–87. Indeed, most Germans on the political right only saw – or only wanted to see – the alleged treason of the left's “November criminals” as the cause of Germany's humiliation. (Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 74–75.)
- 16 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 186–87.
- 17 Kershaw, *To Hell and Back*, 144; Mommsen, *Rise and Fall of Weimar*, 91–92.

- 18 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 19 Kolb, *Weimar Republic*, 46; Frederick Taylor, *The Downfall of Money: Germany's Hyperinflation and the Destruction of the Middle Class* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 238.
- 20 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 21 Kolb, *Weimar Republic*, 48–50.
- 22 Kolb, *Weimar Republic*, 46–47; Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 104–5.
- 23 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 110–11.
- 24 Taylor, *Downfall of Money*, 240–41.
- 25 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 26 Ibing, personal note to his family.
- 27 Kolb, *Weimar Republic*, 68–69.
- 28 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 29 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 30 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 31 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 72–73.
- 32 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 72–73, 183, 269–70; Kershaw, *To Hell and Back*, 104–5.
- 33 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 73.
- 34 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 35 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 36 Richard Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (London: Penguin, 2005), 13–15.
- 37 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, personal communications with the author.
- 38 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 39 Emigration from Germany itself grew to the point that by 1923, the annual rates of departures (at 115,000) exceeded those from the last “great wave” of emigration in the early 1880s. The outflow fell off somewhat through the mid and late 1920s, after German political leaders took measures to discourage emigration; they became concerned that the country should retain its population in order to weather its time of crisis. Nevertheless, emigration rates remained steady at 50,000 to 60,000 annually through to the end of the decade. Ibing came right at the tail end of this wave of migration. (Jonathan Wagner, *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada, 1850–1939* [Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005], 172–73.)
- 40 Arthur Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” *Labour/Le Travail* 35 (Spring 1995), 66–67.
- 41 Men were two to three times more likely to emigrate than women; single men were twice as likely to emigrate as men who were married. In previous periods, Canada had lagged behind South American countries Argentina and Brazil and even further behind the United States in its ability to attract German immigrants. Indeed, the United States consistently received no less than three-quarters of all German emigrants, and this included a large portion of migrants who first landed in Canada but immediately moved on to the U.S. Yet from 1927 to 1930, Canada climbed to second among preferred places to settle, attracting an unusually large proportion – about one-eighth – of all German migrants. (Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 168–69.)
- 42 The quoted terms are ones that Ibing frequently used in conversation about his impression of Canada at the time.
- 43 Although a government-led building program eased the housing crisis (and helped the

- emergence of the modernist style of architecture for which Weimar became famous), the appeal of unsettled lands in Canada remained strong. (On housing policy, see Kolb, *Weimar Germany*, 89–90; on the sense that Germany was overcrowded and Canada was more open, see Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 173–76.)
- 44 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
 - 45 Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 173–75, 186–88.
 - 46 See, for instance, James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).
 - 47 Middle-class reformers, organized labour, the popular press, and other voices complained constantly about “unassimilative” and “uncivilized” Eastern European immigrants posing a great “threat” to Canadian communities and standard of living. And Asians were vilified to an even greater extent. See, for instance, Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History and Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 132–61; David Goutor, *Guarding the Gates: The Canadian Labour Movement and Immigration, 1872–1934* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 22–25.
 - 48 The population grew by 34 per cent between 1901 and 1911 alone, and still greater influxes occurred in the early 1910s before the war started. (Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada’s Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896–1994* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995], 20, 24–25; David J. Hall, “Room to Spare,” *Horizon Canada* 76 [1986], 1803.)
 - 49 Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 127–28.
 - 50 Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 72; Desmond Morton, “Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War,” *Canadian Historical Review* 55 (1974), 32–58; David J. Otter, *Behind Canadian Barbed Wire: Alien, Refugee and Prisoner of War Camps, 1914–1916* (Calgary: Tumbleweed, 1980).
 - 51 To be sure, the hostility in Canada did not reach the levels seen in Britain, South Africa, or Australia, where there were a number of outbreaks of street violence against Germans during the war. Although the United States stayed out of the war until 1917, once it entered the fight, vigilante groups and mobs targeted Germans in the street; more than thirty were killed and hundreds were injured. (Stephen Heathorn, *Haig and Kitchener in Twentieth-Century Britain: Remembrance, Representation and Appropriation* [Farnham: Ashgate, 2013], 34–40; Eric Kirschbaum, “Whatever Happened to German America,” *New York Times*, opinion/editorial page, Sept. 23, 2015, www.nytimes.com.)
 - 52 Altogether, most Central and Eastern Europeans in Canada, whatever their actual ethnic background or political allegiances, faced discrimination and suspicion that they were from Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or some country full of dangerous ideas or revolutionaries. (Goutor, *Guarding the Gates*, 25–26.)
 - 53 Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 83–84; see also Kelley and Trebilcock, *Making of the Mosaic*, 164–82.
 - 54 The economy, contrary to the popular image of the era today, was mired in a wretched slump through the early 1920s.
 - 55 Under the Railway Agreement, around 185,000 immigrants came to Canada from 1925 to 1930, and overall immigration averaged about 145,000 annually. In reopening its gates to large-scale immigration, Canada stood out from many other countries, especially the United States, which kept most of its restrictions in place through the 1920s. (Goutor, *Guarding the Gates*, 25–27; David Scott FitzGerald and David Cook-Martin, *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014], 98–107, 163–66.)

- 56 Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 166–67, 183–84.
- 57 Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 175–76, 203–4.
- 58 The Canadian Lutheran Immigration Society sent 567 migrants to Canada in the first seven months of 1930 alone, an impressive total for a single religious organization. (Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 189–90.)
- 59 Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 197–98; Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 97–98.
- 60 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 61 LAC RG76, C-1-b (Records for Port of Halifax) Vol. 11, 117.
- 62 Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 171.
- 63 LAC RG76, C-1-b Vol. 11, 113–121; Ibing, interview with the author. Ibing’s recollections of the trip were remarkably clear for the rest of his life. In casual conversation about the trip more than sixty years later, he remembered that there were about a half-dozen Swiss on the boat.
- 64 Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 212.
- 65 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 66 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 73; LAC RG 76 C-1-b Vol. 11, 113–21.
- 67 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 68 Ibing, interview with the author; on the role of Lutheran Immigration Board in placing immigrants in Canada, see Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 197–99.
- 69 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 70 On the LIB’s promises, see Wagner, *Migration from Germany*, 197.
- 71 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 72 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 73 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 74 The relief budget grew from around \$32,000 in 1927–28 to \$1,684,000 in 1930–31. (Barbara Roberts, “Shovelling Out the Unemployed,” *Manitoba History* 5 [Spring 1983], www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history.)
- 75 Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 109.
- 76 In Winnipeg, it was already “a regular practice” by the fall of 1930 for municipal relief officials “to report to the local Immigration office the names of any immigrants (of less than 5 years) who received relief”; in such cases, deportation was usually automatic. (Roberts, “Shovelling Out the Unemployed”; see also Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–1997*, rev. ed. [Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997], 117.)
- 77 Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 110.
- 78 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 79 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 80 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 81 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 82 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 83 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 84 *Rowell-Sirois Commission Report*, Book 1: Canada 1867–1939, 150. In Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, net farm income fell from \$363 million in 1929 to *negative* \$3.1 million in 1932. (Kenneth Norrie, Douglas Owrarn, and J.C. Herbert Emery, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 3rd ed. [Toronto: Thompson, 2002], 323.)
- 85 Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 110; Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 115.

- 86 Kelley and Trebilcock, *Making of the Mosaic*, 229.
- 87 Eric Strikwerda, *The Wages of Relief: Cities and the Unemployed in Prairie Canada, 1929–1939* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2013), 54.
- 88 Strikwerda, *Wages of Relief*, 59–61.
- 89 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 90 Strikwerda, *Wages of Relief*, 138; James Struthers, *No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare States, 1914–1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 81–82; Bill Waiser, *All Hell Can't Stop Us: The On-to-Ottawa Trek and the Regina Riot* (Winnipeg: Fifth House, 2003), 25–40.
- 91 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 92 Overall, Canada deported around 30,000 immigrants in the early 1930s, most of them for being “public charges.” (Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 116.)
- 93 Roberts, “Shovelling Out the Unemployed.”
- 94 In September 1934, Winnipeg cut off 500 families and 1,600 single men who had arrived in Canada in 1929 and 1930 from relief programs. According to Avery, the clear majority of those affected by the cuts were Central Europeans. (Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 110–11.)
- 95 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 96 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 97 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 98 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 99 Ibing, personal communication with family.
- 100 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 101 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 102 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.

2: *Turning Left*

- 1 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 2 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 3 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 74.
- 4 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 5 Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 56–58, 74–75.
- 6 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 251–2.
- 7 Kershaw, *To Hell and Back*, 210–12; Evans, *Coming of the Third Reich*, 237–43.
- 8 As James Naylor notes, even when their rivalry was at its worst, the two sides could find ways to co-operate, especially on the grassroots level where “there was relatively broad interest in preserving working class unity and sympathy for what the Communists described as a ‘united front from below.’” (James Naylor, *The Fate of Labour Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Dream of a Working-Class Future* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016], 180.)
- 9 Bryan Palmer, *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800–1991*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 196–205 ; Tom Mitchel and James Naylor, “The Prairies: In the Eye of the Storm,” in *The Workers’ Revolt in Canada, 1917–1925*, ed. Craig Heron (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 176–230. For an overview of the labour unrest in the period, see Craig Heron, “National Contours: Solidarity and Fragmentation,” in *Workers’ Revolt in Canada*, ed. Heron, 268–304.
- 10 Stephan Epp-Koop, *We’re Going to Run This City: Winnipeg’s Political Left after the Gener-*

- al Strike* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 42–43, 56–57, 85, 116–18, 143.
- 11 Naylor (*Fate of Labour Socialism*, 3–16) contends that “labour socialists” is a better term for these activists, but this book will keep the more common term “social democrats.” A particularly significant difference between the Canadian ILP and the German SPD was the former’s connection to British democratic and union traditions.
 - 12 Henry Trachtenburg, “The Jewish Community of Winnipeg and the Federal Election of 1935 in Winnipeg North,” *Manitoba History* 61 (Fall 2009), www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history.
 - 13 Epp-Coop, *We’re Going to Run This City*, 117–18.
 - 14 Communists held only two council seats, while the ILP held six seats and the mayor’s office; there was also one independent socialist alderman. (Epp-Coop, *We’re Going to Run This City*, 117–18.)
 - 15 Trachtenburg, “The Jewish Community of Winnipeg.”
 - 16 Woodsworth and Heaps held two of only seven seats in Parliament that the CCF managed to win in its first election in 1935, and the party would have little organizational strength at the grassroots level in most of the country until the end of the decade. (Ian McKay, “Joe Salsberg, Depression-Era Communism, and the Limits of Moscow’s Rule,” *Canadian Jewish Studies* 21 [2013], 130–42. See also Walter Young, *Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF, 1932–61* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969].) Although the Communist Party of Canada was smaller than its counterparts in Europe, since being launched in 1921 it was an energetic force, often working through affiliated groups such as the Workers Party of Canada. (See also David Ackers, “Rebel or Revolutionary?: Jack Kavanagh and the Early Years of the Communist Movement in Vancouver, 1920–1925,” *Labour/Le Travail* 30 [Fall 1992], 9–44.) In fact, Ian McKay calls the CPC “the first attempt in Canada to organize a modern, powerful, left-wing party in a contemporary sense – that is, a stable organization with a discernible membership and leadership structure, capable of intervening from coast to coast, with a program, regular conventions, and elected representatives in various political bodies and ultimately in Parliament.” Hence in this period, the CPC was “in essence *the* major party of the left in Canada.” (McKay, “Joe Salsberg,” 136.)
 - 17 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
 - 18 John Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!’: The Communist Party of Canada, the ‘People’ and the Popular Front, 1933–1939,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36,4 (Winter 2002), 4. See also Stephen Endicott, *Raising the Workers’ Flag: The Workers’ Unity League of Canada, 1930–1936* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012). As Naylor notes (*Fate of Labour Socialism*, 182), labour socialists and ILP supporters were not as well prepared to mobilize workplace protests at this time, and thus tended to be “on the outside looking in at this activity.”
 - 19 Manley, “‘Starve, Be Damned!’: Communists and Canada’s Urban Unemployed, 1929–1939,” *Canadian Historical Review* 79,3 (Sept. 1998), 478.
 - 20 Waiser, *All Hell Can’t Stop Us*, especially ch. 6 and 10.
 - 21 Naylor, *Fate of Labour Socialism*, 182–83.
 - 22 Tony Judt and Timothy Snyder, *Thinking the 20th Century* (New York, Penguin, 2012), 169.
 - 23 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
 - 24 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
 - 25 Eric Hobsbawm, *How to Change the World: Tales of Marx and Marxism* (London: Little, Brown, 2011), 285–86.

- 26 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!’” 62–63.
- 27 Hobsbawm, *How to Change the World*, 299.
- 28 Naylor, *Fate of Labour Socialism*, 168–69.
- 29 See, for instance, Manley, “‘Starve, Be Damned!’” 479–80; Ian Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 9–10, 35–39. On the Communists’ relationship to European immigrant communities in Winnipeg in particular, see Epp-Coop, *We’re Going to Run This City*, 68–72, 87.
- 30 Other “language affiliates,” like the Finnish and Ukrainian affiliates, were large in comparison. (Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 66.)
- 31 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 66–69.
- 32 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E. On “hall socialism,” see Ian Radforth, “Finnish Radicalism and Labour Activism in the Northern Ontario Woods,” in *A Nation of Immigrants*, ed. Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 293–316. The term is usually used to describe the experience of Finnish immigrants, though it applies to other communities such as the German one, as well.
- 33 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!’” 61–62.
- 34 “Documents on Volunteers of the International Brigades, Participants of the National-Revolutionary War in Spain, 1936–1939” (Comintern Records), Ibing, Hans J, LAC MG 10 K2, Mackenzie-Papineau Fonds 545, File List 6, Microfilm Reel K 263.
- 35 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 36 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 37 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 38 Jack Scott, *A Communist Life: Jack Scott and the Canadian Workers Movement, 1927–1985*, ed. Bryan Palmer (St. John’s: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1988), 49.
- 39 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 40 Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), 146–47. Manley depicts the change as starting at the formal July 1935 announcement, although he also notes that in late 1934 the party was already changing, looking for “new blood and new members,” and launching some initiatives that are discussed here. (Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!’” 63.) I would argue that these changes reflect the influence of the May 1934 signals from the Comintern in favour of the Popular Front.
- 41 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!’” 60–62.
- 42 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 43 Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century* (London: Abacus, 1994), 154.
- 44 See, for instance, Nigel Copsey, “Communists and the Inter-war Anti-fascist Struggle in the United States and Britain,” *Labour History Review* 76,3 (2011), 184–206.
- 45 Kershaw, *To Hell and Back*, 249, 264–65, 449–50; Judt and Snyder, *Thinking the 20th Century*, 169–70; Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 15–16, 60–62.
- 46 Waiser, *All Hell Can’t Stop Us*, 18–20; CBC, “Communist Canada,” *Canada: A People’s History*, www.cbc.ca/history.
- 47 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, ch. 9; Kershaw, *To Hell and Back*, ch. 3.
- 48 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 135–36.
- 49 Hobsbawm, *How to Change the World*, 267; Pierre Birnbaum, *Léon Blum: Prime Minister*,

- Socialist, Zionist*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 116–17. That Blum was Jewish only deepened the right's hostility toward him.
- 50 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 51 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!,’” 61.
- 52 In addition to the 17,000 supporters inside, there was a crowd of 8,000 more outside. (Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 37–38.)
- 53 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!,’” 61–62.
- 54 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 55 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!,’” 63.
- 56 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!,’” 63–65.
- 57 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author. The Comintern's (very brief) records on Ibing from his service in Spain are confusing on this point. They note that he was a unit secretary – which is consistent with his description of his role in the GWFA – but suggest that he had this role with the Communist Party of Canada itself. This was either a case of imprecision and ambiguity in the note-taking (which would not be surprising, as the record seems to be a hastily assembled list of details and comments), or simply a mistake. Ibing never spoke of having such a role. “Documents on Volunteers of the International Brigades,” LAC MG 10 K2, Mackenzie-Papineau Fonds 545, File List 6, Microfilm Reel K 263.
- 58 Ibing, interview with Petrou. On the persistence of Stalinism, see Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!,’” 59–62.
- 59 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 60 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 61 Judt and Snyder, *Thinking the 20th Century*, 219.
- 62 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 63 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 64 Kershaw, *To Hell and Back*, 254–55; Adam Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 25.
- 65 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 136.
- 66 Ibing, personal communications.
- 67 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 69.
- 68 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 189.
- 69 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 154.
- 70 See Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, ch. 5, “Behind the Gentleman's Agreement: The Great Powers Betray Spain,” 135–62; Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 43–46; David Wingate Pike, *France Divided: The French and the Civil War in Spain* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), ch. 3, “The Appeal of Giral,” 18–28; Jacques Danos and Marcel Gibelin, *June '36: Class Struggles and the Popular Front in Spain*, trans. Peter Fysh and Christine Bourry (London and Chicago: Bookmarks, 1986), 220–22.
- 71 Eric Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries*, 2nd ed. (London: Abacus, 2007), 126.
- 72 H.V. Nelles, *A Little History of Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2004), 179.
- 73 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 140–41.
- 74 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 22.
- 75 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 139.
- 76 This reached the point that by early 1937 there were more than 100,000 Italian troops fighting on Franco's side. (Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 140–45.)

- 77 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 73.
- 78 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 79 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 73; Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 80 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 59–60; Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 81 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 82 Helen Graham, *The Spanish Civil War: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 33. General Mola, another leading military figure on the Nationalist side, declared the same month: “It is necessary to spread terror. We have to create the impression of mastery, eliminating without scruples or hesitation all those who do not think as we do. There can be no cowardice.” (Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 103.) See also Paul Preston, “Franco as a Military Leader,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6,4 (1994), 21–41.
- 83 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 121.
- 84 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 276.
- 85 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 86 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 87 Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, 159.
- 88 Petrou, *Renegades*, 39; Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 46–47.
- 89 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, ch. 2. See also G. Scott Waterman, “The Common Cause of All Advanced and Progressive Mankind: Proletarian Internationalism, Spain, and the American Communist Press, 1936–1937,” unpublished MA thesis, University of Vermont, 2015; Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 46–49.
- 90 Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (London: Phoenix, 2006), 176. On activities in Canada, see Petrou, *Renegades*, 18–19, 27, 38–45; Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!’” 70–72; Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 37–40.
- 91 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 92 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 74.
- 93 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 60–61.
- 94 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 95 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 176–77.
- 96 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with Petrou; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 97 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 171.
- 98 There were 1,700 according to Petrou, based on his collection of names; Beeching’s figure is 1,448 based on materials from the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, and some supplementary research by Lee Burke, a veteran of the Mac-Paps. But after the Russian archives were opened to researchers, Petrou found some new names in them of Canadian veterans – many of them not in the Mac-Paps but part of other units. See Petrou, *Renegades*, 11–12; and Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 7, 13n.8.
- 99 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 100 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 7–8; Petrou, *Renegades*, 31–33; Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 135.
- 101 Petrou, *Renegades*, 18–19, 26–27, 33–35. Like Ibing, many of the European immigrants who volunteered were involved with Communist-allied organizations in their communities. Ibing never recounted being recruited by the CWFA, but in general the CPC did much of its

recruiting through ethnic organizations such as the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association. See also Myron Momryk, “Ukrainian Volunteers from Canada in the International Brigades, Spain, 1936–39: A Profile,” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16,1–2 (Summer–Winter 1991), 181–94.

102 Ibing, interview with Petrou.

103 Petrou, *Renegades*, 33.

104 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.

105 Petrou illustrates this point with the fact that “once in Spain, few complaints made by Canadian soldiers were about their pay.” (*Renegades*, 32.)

106 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 8.

107 Surveys by the CPC showed that “to fight fascism” was the most common reason Canadian volunteers cited for going to Spain. Ibing did not participate in these surveys, but as noted, in interviews he identified fighting fascism as his main motivation for volunteering.

108 Petrou, *Renegades*, 43.

109 Ibing, interview with Petrou.

3: *The International Brigades*

1 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 82.

2 Ibing, interview with Reynolds, LAC 1979-0081 MISA. Most volunteers took ships to Le Havre, but in interviews and written testimony, Ibing recalled landing in France at Cherbourg. In his interview with Grenke (LAC R11667-0-6-E), however, Ibing did seem a little uncertain.

3 Petrou, *Renegades*, 56.

4 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 74.

5 Peter Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade: Americans in the Spanish Civil War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 66–67; Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 15; Petrou, *Renegades*, 56.

6 “Ile de France Ocean Liner,” Ile de France French cheese website, <http://iledefrancecheese.com>.

7 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 74.

8 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 177–79.

9 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 88–89.

10 Cecil Eby, *Comrades and Commissars: The Lincoln Battalion in the Spanish Civil War* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2007), 17–18.

11 Petrou, *Renegades*, 56–57; Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 45–46.

12 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 18–28; Petrou, *Renegades*, 57–58, Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 124–26.

13 Edward Cecil-Smith, draft history of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 1, File 14.

14 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.

15 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 132–33.

16 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 75.

17 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 75.

18 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 20.

19 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4; Petrou, *Renegades*, 57; Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 125.

- 20 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 20. See also Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 133–34.
- 21 Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 125.
- 22 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 75.
- 23 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 112–13.
- 24 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 112.
- 25 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 113.
- 26 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 112–13.
- 27 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 75.
- 28 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 113.
- 29 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 75; Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 30 George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Penguin, 2000 [1938]), 93–96; Sid Lowe, *Fear and Loathing in La Liga: Barcelona vs. Real Madrid* (London: Yellow Jersey Press, 2013), 48–49.
- 31 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 235–43.
- 32 Lowe, *Fear and Loathing in La Liga*, 31.
- 33 George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, 3.
- 34 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 239–41.
- 35 Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, 93–96; Lowe, *Fear and Loathing in La Liga*, 48–49.
- 36 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 250–52.
- 37 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 76.
- 38 To add to the confusion, in his reminiscences Ibing identified it as the office of the POUM, but he described the POUM not as the Trotskyist party, but as “the military arm of the anarchists in Spain.” (Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 76.)
- 39 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 74.
- 40 Ibing, interview with Petrou; Ibing also made this claim a number of times during informal conversation.
- 41 See, for instance, Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 345. Ibing was likely exposed to less propaganda than other volunteers. Since they were constantly on the road, the members of Ibing’s transport regiment were often isolated from the rest of the Brigades and their political commissars.
- 42 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 74.
- 43 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 112; Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 120–21; Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 24–25.
- 44 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 180–81.
- 45 In fact, the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion would first be formed as a unit within the Abraham Lincoln Battalion.
- 46 Some continued to do so after the Mac-Paps were formed.
- 47 Petrou, *Renegades*, 59; see also Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 182, 235.
- 48 In his reminiscences for the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion (LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4), Ibing did not mention his initial placement in the Thaelmann Battalion – but he did note it in his interviews with Petrou and Grenke.
- 49 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 76.
- 50 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 76–77.
- 51 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 77.

- 52 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 77.
- 53 Ibing, interview with Petrou, Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 54 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 80.
- 55 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 208–9.
- 56 Ibing, interview with Reynolds, LAC 1979–0081 MISA.
- 57 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 58 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 194–95.
- 59 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 80.
- 60 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 80.
- 61 See, for instance, Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company*, ch. 8 and 9.
- 62 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 196–98.
- 63 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 64 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 80.
- 65 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 256.
- 66 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 80.
- 67 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 68 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 86.
- 69 On Republican strategy, see Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, ch. 6 and 9.
- 70 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 71 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 312–14.
- 72 Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company*, 212.
- 73 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 74 Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company*, 216–17.
- 75 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 78.
- 76 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 77 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 78.
- 78 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 79 Ibing, interview with Petrou; see also Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, ch. 12, “The Great Retreats.”
- 80 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 361–64. See also Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, ch. 16, “The Retreats.”
- 81 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 405.
- 82 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 83 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 79.
- 84 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 77.
- 85 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 77.
- 86 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 78.
- 87 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 78.
- 88 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 78.
- 89 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 351; see also Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company*, 185.
- 90 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 113.
- 91 Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, 162.
- 92 Roderick Stewart and Sharon Stewart, *Phoenix: The Life of Norman Bethune* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011), ch. 9, “Blood”; Adrienne Clarkson, *Norman Bethune* (Toronto: Penguin, 2009).
- 93 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 82.

- 94 Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, 147.
- 95 Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 104.
- 96 Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company*, 184.
- 97 See, for example, Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 98 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 118.
- 99 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 100 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 101 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 351.
- 102 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 123.
- 103 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 104 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 105 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 106 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 81.
- 107 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 78.
- 108 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 317. See also Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, 107.
- 109 Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, 36.
- 110 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 78.
- 111 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 112 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 79.
- 113 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 114 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 361–64; Petrou, *Renegades*, 90–91.
- 115 As they would be later on the Eastern Front in World War II.
- 116 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 317.
- 117 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 82.
- 118 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 119 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 120 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 82.
- 121 John C. Firmin’s account of the war, LAC MG 30 E173 Vol 1, File 18.
- 122 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 82.
- 123 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 124 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 82.
- 125 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 82.
- 126 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 127 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 80.
- 128 Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company*, 187.
- 129 A long excerpt from the pamphlet can be found in Roderick Stewart and Jesus Majada, *Bethune in Spain* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), 79–85.
- 130 Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain* (London: Norton, 2012), ch. 9 and 12.
- 131 David Wingeate Pike, *France Divided: The French and the Civil War in Spain* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), 207.
- 132 Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company*, 236.
- 133 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 294; Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, 323.
- 134 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 307–9; Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, 323.

- 135 Wingate Pike, *France Divided*, 197, 205.
- 136 Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 175–76; Petrou, *Renegades*, 88–89, Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 367.
- 137 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 372. See also Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 196–204.
- 138 Petrou, *Renegades*, 48.
- 139 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 81.
- 140 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 311.
- 141 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 142 By the summer of 1937, the Communists had a number of disciplinary camps, the largest of which, Camp Lukacs (named for the general of the XII International Brigade), had 4,000 volunteers sentenced to it between August and October alone. (Petrou, *Renegades*, 125–30; Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 321.)
- 143 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 144 “Documents on Volunteers of the International Brigades,” LAC MG 10 K2, Mackenzie-Papineau Fonds 545, File List 6, Microfilm Reel K 263.
- 145 See, for instance, Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, 406–7. According to some scholars, discipline was fairly light in the American Abraham Lincoln Battalion. Carroll (*Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*) claims that there was little coercion in that battalion, mostly due to the deeply felt ideological commitment to Communism of most of its volunteers (see, especially, 108). Eby, however, offers a much different assessment; his book is full of stories of heavy-handedness on the part of the commissars. (See, in particular, *Comrades and Commissars*, ch. 16, “In the Penal Colonies.”) Petrou argues that discipline was a common problem for the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, in part because of an anti-authoritarian culture that took hold in its rank and file, and in part because of tensions with the officers, most of whom were from other countries, especially the U.S. and to a lesser extent Britain. Still, Petrou writes that only a minority of Canadian volunteers (about 150) were charged and punished during the war. Most of these received only a few days’ detention; some were sent to a disciplinary camp, and a few were executed. (*Renegades*, 109–12).
- 146 Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 132.
- 147 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 148 Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 132. It is not clear whether Clark commanded the whole Regiment or just one unit within it. According to the online database of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA) (<http://edit.alba-valb.org>), Clark was the commander of the 2nd Squadron of the Regiment. However, Carroll (citing information from Sennett, the political commissar) claims that he was commander of the Regiment. Clark’s popularity stemmed from both his courage and his understated approach to wielding authority. Sennett remembered that Clark “imposed discipline by personal example only. . . . But nothing could have been more rigorous. [The] regiment was always haunted by the fact that [their] most valuable man was the least political.” (Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 132.)
- 149 Petrou, *Renegades*, 94; Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 348.
- 150 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 81; on the food supplies causing problems for members of the Brigades, see Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 180.
- 151 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 347–48.
- 152 Most histories of the Spanish Civil War and the International Brigades devote some atten-

tion to the volunteers' journey home, but only as a small part of the story. This is not surprising, since most of the major questions – whether the Republic would prevail, or whether volunteers would survive the combat – had been settled. Moreover, the stream of departing internationals in late 1938 was small compared to the flood of Spanish refugees that poured into France as the Republic started to collapse in early 1939. Nevertheless, these journeys out of Spain, through France, and back to volunteers' homes were often remarkable stories in themselves. And they feature many of the themes that were essential in the war itself: the disunity within the Republican ranks, the unreliability of Communist organizations supporting the volunteers, and the Western democracies' indifference or hostility toward the internationals.

4: *The Long Trek Home*

- 1 Petrou, *Renegades*, 93–94.
- 2 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 382; Petrou, *Renegades*, 92.
- 3 John Gates of the Abe Lincoln, for example, was one of those commissars. (Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 190–91; Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 344–45.)
- 4 The Comintern's file on Ibing includes a notation that he “refuses repatriation.” (“Documents on Volunteers of the International Brigades,” LAC MG 10 K2, Mackenzie-Papineau Fonds 545, File List 6, Microfilm Reel K 263.)
- 5 Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 191.
- 6 Ibing's refusal of repatriation referred to in the paragraph above was probably in response to an earlier offer, as the record's date appears (though it is smudged on the microfilm) to be Nov. 22, 1937 – months before the incident discussed here. (“Documents on Volunteers of the International Brigades,” LAC MG 10 K2, Mackenzie-Papineau Fonds 545, File List 6, Microfilm Reel K 263.)
- 7 Tyler Wentzell, “Canada's *Foreign Enlistment Act* and the Spanish Civil War,” *Labour/Le Travail* 80 (Fall 2017), 213–46.
- 8 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 344; Petrou, *Renegades*, 41.
- 9 Petrou, *Renegades*, 41.
- 10 LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 5, File 6, Document C145311.
- 11 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 12 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 83.
- 13 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 83. The original of the Nansen passport is in Ibing's family's possession.
- 14 Beevor, *Battle for Spain*, 403–6.
- 15 Wingate Pike, *France Divided*, 200–201, 205–6. The Munich Accord also sounded the death knell for the Popular Front alliance in France.
- 16 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 77.
- 17 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 83.
- 18 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 189; Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 293; Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 204–5; Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 410–11.
- 19 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 288; see also Petrou, *Renegades*, 98.
- 20 On France's policies, see Wingate Pike, *France Divided*, 188–91; Scott Soo, *The Routes to Exile: France and the Spanish Civil War Refugees, 1939–2009* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 34–41. Soo's main focus is Spanish refugees at the end of the war.
- 21 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 412–13.

- 22 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 412.
- 23 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 190.
- 24 Petrou, *Renegades*, 102–3.
- 25 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E. Ibing did not mention participating in events held for returning veterans in Paris, and it was unlikely that he was able to join any of them. Most were for French veterans. See Wingate Pike, *France Divided*, 373–74.
- 26 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 83. On the parade for French veterans, see Wingate Pike, *France Divided*, 374.
- 27 Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, 490.
- 28 This sweep remains an especially mysterious part of Ibing’s time in Europe, as his recollections of it were confused. He said in one interview that the raids were part of an effort to secure the city in preparation for a visit from King George VI – but the British royal visit occurred months earlier in July. He said that he was arrested by the “Police Mondaine,” which he thought was the unit in charge of watching internationals – but Police Mondaine means the Vice Squad, who were unlikely to be given the task of dealing with internationals.
- 29 Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 415.
- 30 Petrou, *Renegades*, 104–5.
- 31 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 32 John Merriman, *The Red City: Limoges and the French 19th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- 33 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 83.
- 34 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 35 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 276.
- 36 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 37 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 38 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 39 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 277; Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 84.
- 40 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 41 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 42 Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, xviii–xix.
- 43 Aside from the Soviet Union, Mexico was the biggest supporter of the Spanish Republic in international affairs. One of Mexico’s most publicized gestures of support was arranging a tour of Mexico and the United States for the Barcelona football club in 1937. (See Lowe, *Fear and Loathing in La Liga*, 33–35.) Mexico took in about 25,000 Republican refugees in total; some were veterans of the International Brigades, although most were Spaniards who fled later after the war was lost. Mexico was also unconcerned about travel documents, and almost none of the refugees it accepted had government-issued papers. (Jordi Oliveres, “How the Spanish Civil War Drove My Family to Mexico,” *Fusion*, April 12, 2014, <http://fusion.net>.)
- 44 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 45 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 84.
- 46 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 47 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 48 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 49 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 278.

- 50 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 51 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 278.
- 52 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 53 Canadian policy regarding veterans of the International Brigades – and the rather quiet way it was implemented – also shaped Ibing’s long journey back from Spain. This was another aspect of the history of the Spanish Civil War that has not been fully explored by historians, and unfortunately for Ibing, at the time Communist organizations were slow in understanding and acting upon the policy.
- 54 Petrou, *Renegades*, 54–55, 170–72.
- 55 This story has been well documented in Gregory Kealey, *Spying on Canadians: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service and the Origins of the Long Cold War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).
- 56 Reg Whitaker and Gregory S. Kealey, “A War on Ethnicity? The RCMP and Internment,” in *Enemies Within: Italians and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, ed. Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 139.
- 57 Petrou, *Renegades*, 173–74.
- 58 The policy was recorded in a series of government documents kept in the Mackenzie-Papineau collection at Library and Archives Canada. It is not clear who authored most of the documents, but they do outline the position of different government departments, and crucially, they issue final directives to officials regarding policy implementation. The policy that the government did implement, as recounted by a number of historians, especially Howard, is in line with the one outlined in the memos. See LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 5, File 6; and Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 224–47.
- 59 LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 5, File 6.
- 60 A letter from the RCMP to O.D. Skelton, Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as quoted in “The Spanish Crucible, Episode 1,” *Living Out Loud*, www.cbc.ca/radio/livingoutloud.
- 61 LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 5, File 6.
- 62 LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 5, File 6; Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 226.
- 63 LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 5, File 6; Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 225. The Immigration Branch did not know that Ibing *did* harbour ambitions to resettle in Spain if the war was won, though this was hardly his primary reason for going to Spain.
- 64 Petrou, *Renegades*, 103.
- 65 LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 5, File 6; Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 226–29.
- 66 The main officer in charge of the processing in Ripoll, Colonel Andrew O’Kelly, became the object of some veterans’ scorn for the slow, painstaking approach to interviewing the veterans and assessing their answers. O’Kelly’s coldness and evident lack of urgency was consistent with Ottawa’s approach to the volunteers. His attitude accounted for some of the delay in getting the Canadians out of Spain – and in turn perhaps some of the delay in word spreading about Canada’s policies. However, he did allegedly speed up his work after some of the volunteers gave him new incentive by stealing some food from his private stash. (Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 191.)
- 67 Petrou, *Renegades*, 102.
- 68 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 191–92; Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 268; Petrou, *Renegades*, 101–3; LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 1, File 5, Doc. 1, Memo from O.D. Skelton to Mackenzie King, date not clearly marked.
- 69 MacLeod and Tim Buck had been the first Canadians to visit Spain just after the war start-

- ed, having been invited as part of the Republic's effort to gain international support. After problems with MacLeod's passport and visa requirements for travel (LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 1, File 5, Doc. 1, Memo from O.D. Skelton to Mackenzie King), he proved an able representative, raising large sums of money for the veterans in London before focusing on arranging their voyages home.
- 70 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 1–3, 191–92; Petrou, *Renegades*, 102.
- 71 The main group of Canadians had to watch as British, American, and other veterans were able to leave Spain while they continued to sit in the gloom of Ripoll. Watching the large contingent of veterans of the Abe Lincolns depart at the start of December was especially demoralizing. (Petrou, *Renegades*, 102; Howard, *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, 228–89; on Abe Lincolns returning home, see Eby, *Comrades and Commissars*, 412–17.) All the while the Republican defences continued to falter and Franco's armies were advancing. (Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 268.) For Canadians in Ripoll it made for an uneasy time – and an ever colder and hungrier one as winter set in – but the tension they experienced in early December was not as severe as that which Ibing was facing around the same time.
- 72 RCMP Memo, Oct. 18, 1938, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 1.
- 73 In all of his testimonies about his return from Spain, Ibing stated matter-of-factly that his lack of Canadian citizenship and his lack of valid travel papers made it obvious that he would not get permission from Canadian authorities to be repatriated.
- 74 Petrou, *Renegades*, 103.
- 75 RCMP Memo, Feb. 4, 1939, Nova Scotia Branch, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 2.
- 76 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 269.
- 77 Petrou, *Renegades*, 103.
- 78 Petrou, *Renegades*, 103.
- 79 “Memo on International Brigade Work in Canada,” Aug. 22, 1939, LAC R14760-0-4-E (formerly MG10-K2), Fonds 545, File List 6, File 535.
- 80 Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 194. Petrou does not make the same claim about veterans perishing due to starvation, but does describe similarly dire conditions in the camp; see Petrou, *Renegades*, 104–5.
- 81 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 282; Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers*, 180–81.
- 82 They were left stranded in the port in late April due to a lack of funds for their trip home, and the authorities threatened to send them to a detention camp. Only after a quick response from supporters to another desperate fundraising plea from the FMPB did the group reach Canada in early May. (Memo from the Rehabilitation Fund of the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, copied in RCMP Files on the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, April 1939: RCMP Memos April 1939, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 3.)
- 83 RCMP Memos Aug. 1939, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 4.
- 84 Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 293.
- 85 Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 283–84. The RCMP's internal report contemptuously claimed the crowd in the main waiting room in the station – which numbered about 3,000 while the rest were outside – was made up of “about 85% foreigners . . . Jews as usual were well represented.” (Secret RCMP Memo, Feb. 5, 1939, Toronto Branch, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 2.)
- 86 These events drew 2,000 in Vancouver, 4,000 in Montreal, 4,000 in Winnipeg, and 5,000 in

Edmonton. (RCMP Memos, Feb. 1939, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 2.) Smaller groups of returning volunteers also had welcome parties waiting for them. Paivio's group of about thirty released prisoners got a reception when they landed in Canada in early May; when about seventeen from the group arrived in Winnipeg they were met by a crowd of 600. (Zuehlke, *Gallant Cause*, 284; RCMP Memo, May 13, 1939, Winnipeg Branch, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 2.)

- 87 Albert Camus, *L'Espagne Libre* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1946), 9; quoted in Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts*, xvii (and it is part of the title of his book), and Wingate Pike, *France Divided*, 240.

5: *Settling Down*

- 1 Ibing, "Reminiscences," LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 85.
- 2 "Activities of the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, National Committee Report," LAC R14760-0-4-E (formerly MG10-K2), Fonds 545, File List 6, File 535, 3–4.
The report also claimed that across Canada, the veterans required a total of 884 visits to the doctor.
- 3 Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, "Memo on International Brigade Work in Canada," Aug. 22, 1939, LAC R14760-0-4-E (formerly MG10-K2), Fonds 545, File List 6, File 535.
- 4 O.C. Doolan as quoted in Gregory Kealey and Reg Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part V, 1938–1939* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1997), 379–80.
- 5 Kealey and Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins, 1938–1939*, 399–400.
- 6 The GWFA was reorganized into the German-Canadian League in 1937, while Ibing was in Spain.
- 7 Ibing, "Reminiscences," LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 81.
- 8 Kealey and Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins, 1938–1939*, 379.
- 9 "Memo on International Brigade Work," LAC Fonds 545, File List 6, Files 535-37.
- 10 Ibing was missed by the FMPB's largest effort to track the veterans – which included assessments of each veteran's commitment to Communism. But he was included in several subsequent lists, including one that noted his address upon returning to Winnipeg and his place of work. (LAC R14760-0-4-E [formerly MG10-K2], Fonds 545, File List 6, Files 535 and 536.)
- 11 LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 1, File 5.
- 12 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 13 RCMP Memos, April 1939, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 3.
- 14 Ibid; "Reminiscences," LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 85.
- 15 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 16 Although it was a successful business, Sarah longed for the cultural and political vibrancy she remembered enjoying in her youth in Eastern Europe. (Ibing, interview with the author; Ibing, personal communications with the author.)
- 17 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 18 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 19 Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 580–61. Perhaps the leading study of *Kristallnacht* is Martin Gilbert, *Kristallnacht: Prelude to Destruction* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006).
- 20 Henry Trachtenberg, "The Jewish Community of Winnipeg and the Federal Election of

- 1935 in Winnipeg North,” *Manitoba History* 61 (2009), www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history;
- Henry Trachtenberg, “The Winnipeg Jewish Community and Politics: The Inter War Years, 1919–1939,” *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions* 3, 35 (1978–1979), www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions.
- 21 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 87.
- 22 Gregory Kealey and Reg Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part III, 1936* (St John’s: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1997), 180–81.
- 23 Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 1945), 58–59.
- 24 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 92.
- 25 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 278–79.
- 26 Gerald Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg: A Life of Commitment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 60–61; Avakumovic, *Communist Party in Canada*, 139–40.
- 27 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 28 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 279–80.
- 29 Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg*, 61; Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!,’” 80.
- 30 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!,’” 81.
- 31 Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 280.
- 32 Avakumovic, *Communist Party in Canada*, 140–41.
- 33 Avakumovic, *Communist Party in Canada*, 141.
- 34 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 35 Manley, “‘Communists Love Canada!,’” 81.
- 36 Avakumovic, *Communist Party in Canada*, 140; John Riddell and Ian Angus, “The Left in Canada in World War II,” *Socialist History Project*, www.socialisthistory.ca. The *Toronto Clarion’s* claim was not entirely fabricated out of thin air, as Communist organizations had for many years described Ottawa’s use of arbitrary power as a sign that the government was developing fascistic tendencies, or that fascism was subtly expanding its reach in Canada. Still, the preposterousness of calling Ottawa a greater fascist threat than Nazi Germany would have been all too evident to someone like Ibing.
- 37 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 93–94.
- 38 Petrou, *Renegades*, 175.
- 39 Petrou, *Renegades*, 174–75.
- 40 Ibing, interview with Petrou. A number of other Communists also tried to enlist despite the party’s official line. Jack Scott, for instance, also said he went to a recruitment office but was turned away because he was too short. (Scott, *A Communist Life*, 56.)
- 41 Ibing, interview with Petrou. See also Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 85; Ibing, interview with the author. In his interview with Petrou, Ibing’s recollections about just when he tried to enlist are a little unclear. But in his reminiscences for the official history of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion and his interview with the author, he was clear that it was after the war started.
- 42 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 43 Ian Radforth, “Political Prisoners: The Communist Internees,” in *Enemies Within*, ed. Iacovetta, Perin, and Principe, 197–98; Whitaker and Kealey, “A War on Ethnicity?,” 128–29; Kelley and Trebilcock, *Making of the Mosaic*, 274–75; Reg Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism During World War II,” *Labour/Le Travail* 17 (Spring 1986), 136–39.
- 44 Whitaker and Kealey, “A War on Ethnicity?,” 129.
- 45 Ibing, interview with Grenke; Ibing, interview with the author.

- 46 Whitaker and Kealey, “A War on Ethnicity?,” 134–37. According to some historians, particularly Robert Keyserlingk, Ibing should have counted himself somewhat lucky that he avoided internment. Keyserlingk argues that the RCMP had almost no useful intelligence on Nazi sympathizers within the German-Canadian community, and thus when it faced demands to take action in September 1939 it “threw together in great haste haphazard lists of hundreds of Canadian residents and citizens without much chance of turning up truly dangerous agents.” (Robert Keyserlingk, “Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Attitudes towards German Canadians, 1939–1945,” in *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939–1945*, ed. Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Puciuk [Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988], 53–69.) Although the numbers were small and most internees were from rural areas and tended to lean to the right politically, Keyserlingk contends that many “simple workers or farmers” were interned, often solely on the basis of their “neighbours’ denunciations.” (55) However, Whitaker and Kealey argue persuasively that the RCMP was generally “cool-headed” in the face of political pressure to take action against perceived fascist sympathizers, and actually had a clear idea of who were the prominent Nazi-sympathizers in the German community. In fact, some of the RCMP’s intelligence on Nazi supporters came from the surveillance work and testimony of leaders of the German-Canadian League. (Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 93).
- 47 RCMP Intelligence Bulletin, Oct. 23, 1939, as quoted in Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism,” 139.
- 48 Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism,” 136–39, 141–52.
- 49 Radforth, “Political Prisoners,” 198; Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 94.
- 50 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 94.
- 51 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 52 Ibing, interview with Grenke.
- 53 Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism,” 145.
- 54 Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism,” 141.
- 55 Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism,” 144; Keyserlingk, “Breaking the Nazi Plot,” 60.
- 56 Throughout the war, 847 were interned for suspected Nazi sympathies, and about 140 for suspected Communist connections. (Whitaker and Kealey, “War on Ethnicity?,” 137–38.)
- 57 Keyserlingk, “Breaking the Nazi Plot,” 60.
- 58 Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism,” 147; Keyserlingk, “Breaking the Nazi Plot,” 60.
- 59 “List of Spanish War Veterans,” RCMP Files, Feb. 25, 1941, LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 4.
- 60 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 61 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 62 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 63 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 94. The RCMP also contended that the league was concocting the most absurd scenarios to defend Soviet policies, proposing, for instance, that Stalin was waiting for Germany to tire itself in Western Europe so that he could eventually launch his own attack and sweep through Europe himself. See Kealey and Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins, 1938–1939*, 281.

- 64 Ibing, interview with the author; Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 65 Ibing, personal communication with the author. On Saltzman's life, see "Percy Saltzman, Canada's First TV Weatherman, Dies," *CBC.ca*, Jan. 16, 2007; "Biography," Percy Saltzman website, www.percysaltzman.com.
- 66 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 67 Avakumovic, *Communist Party in Canada*, 148–50. See also Ian Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks: The Early Years of the Communist Party of Canada* (Montreal: Vanguard Publications, 1981), 319–20.
- 68 But in a testament to the scale of the casualties suffered by volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, the total number of Canadians killed while serving in the International Brigade – at least 600 – dwarfed the numbers of CPC members killed in World War II – about 50. (Avakumovic, *Communist Party in Canada*, 150.)
- 69 Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg*, 65–66.
- 70 Ibing, interview with Petrou. Ibing also complained about these policy reversals in his interview with Grenke and his interview with the author, and in Ibing, "Reminiscences," LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 85.
- 71 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 72 Ibing, personal communication with the author.
- 73 Petrou, *Renegades*, 159; "Activities of the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion," LAC R14760-0-4-E (formerly MG10-K2), Fonds 545, File List 6, File 535, Reel K 261.
- 74 Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler," 95.
- 75 Ibing, interview with Grenke; Ibing, "Reminiscences," LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 85.
- 76 Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler," 96.
- 77 German Workers and Farmers Association Fonds, LAC R11667-0-0-E. Only a few issues of the journal are available at Library and Archives Canada. In another sign that the federation had at least some support from the Canadian government, its masthead noted that its publication was "Permitted by Wartime Press and Trades Board under Order No. 223."
- 78 Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler," 96–97; German Workers and Farmers Association Fonds, LAC R11667-0-0-E.
- 79 Ibing, interview with Grenke; German Workers and Farmers Association Fonds, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler," 95–97.
- 80 Interview with Petrou. Jack Scott also complained about the tight control of Communist organizations in Toronto compared to the way they could function elsewhere in Canada; see, for example, Scott, *Communist Life*, 49.
- 81 This opinion was shared by other federation members, and by later historians as well.
- 82 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 83 Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler," 97, 104; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 84 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E. Although membership figures of the federation are not available, it was smaller than the German-Canadian League, which probably peaked at 1,800 members in 1939, let alone the German Workers and Farmers Association, which counted well over 2,000 members earlier in the 1930s. The federation's scope was limited almost entirely to central Canada – it had only a small unit in Winnipeg and no units further west. The federation also did not attract the level of support from middle-class professionals that had saved the German-Canadian League. (Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler," 102, 95, 97.)

- 85 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 86 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 95–97.
- 87 “From a human point of view,” is the title of ch. 4 of Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg*, 67–94.
- 88 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 89 Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg*, 65.
- 90 Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism,” 149–52, 156–59.
- 91 Avakumovic, *Communist Party in Canada*, 152–56.
- 92 Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg*, 67–70.
- 93 Dennis Molinaro, “How the Cold War Began . . . with British Help: The Gouzenko Affair Revisited,” *Labour/Le Travail* 79 (Spring 2017), 143–55; Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945–1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995).
- 94 Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg*, 111–15.
- 95 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 98–99.
- 96 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 97 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 98 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 99 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 98–99.
- 100 Ibing, interview with the author.
- 101 Grenke, “From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler,” 100. As historian Michael Maune shows, Döhler would remain a passionate supporter of the DDR through to the 1980s, although he did offer some criticisms of DDR policy, especially in the later years of his activism in the 1960s and 1970s. (Michael Maune, “Les ‘amis de la RDA’ au Canada: Horst Döhler et le Komitee Kanada-DDR face à la Liga für Völkerfreundschaft,” *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* 1 [2007], 120–36.)
- 102 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 103 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E. In some interviews and written statements, he put the year at 1952, but in most he said it was 1953.
- 104 Ibing, personal notes.
- 105 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 106 Eric Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth Century Life* (London: Abacus, 2002), 149.
- 107 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 108 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 109 Ibing, personal note to his family; Ibing, interview with the author.
- 110 Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 13–15.
- 111 Judt, *Postwar*, 59, 131–33.
- 112 Ian Buruma, *Year Zero: A History of 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2013), 180–81.
- 113 Ibing, personal note left to his family.
- 114 Ibing, personal note left to his family; Ibing, personal communication with the author.
- 115 Ulrich Hahnemann, “Prof. Ing. Sigmund Israel Huppert – ein jüdischer Hochschuldozent zwischen Lehre und Antisemitismus in den Jahren 1902–1931,” thesis for the degree of archivist, University of Applied Sciences, Potsdam, 2007, 55. Thanks to Christian Rousseau for help with translation.
- 116 Bundesarchiv, NSDAP-Mitgliederkartei, BArch R 9361-VIII Kartei/I3070310. Hahnemann contends that Gustav Ibing joined the Nazi party in July 1932, even before they took pow-

- er. (Hahnemann, “Prof. Ing. Sigmund Israel Huppert,” 55.) But the date of Gustav Ibing’s becoming a party member is clearly shown on his membership record at the Bundesarchiv.
- 117 Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 14–15.
- 118 Hahnemann, “Prof. Ing. Sigmund Israel Huppert,” 55.
- 119 Evans, *Third Reich in Power*, 33–40.
- 120 *The Trial of German Major War Criminals: Proceedings of the International Military Tribunal Sitting at Nuremberg, Germany, Part 22* (Aug. 22, 1946, to Oct. 1, 1946), 481–82.
- 121 Hahnemann, “Prof. Ing. Sigmund Israel Huppert.” Hahnemann also suggests that Gustav Ibing published a number of anti-Semitic articles in the local Nazi-controlled press. However, Hahnemann admits this is a supposition based on Gustav Ibing’s previous experience in journalism; he does not have clear evidence that Ibing was the author. He concludes that the identity of the author of the articles remains uncertain.
- 122 Hahnemann’s thesis covers the period up to 1931 and only mentioned Gustav Ibing’s record up to 1946 in a footnote.
- 123 Ibing, personal note to his family.
- 124 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 125 Judt, *Postwar*, 176–77.
- 126 Ibing, personal communications with the author.
- 127 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 128 Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), ch. 6, 129–54.

6: *Rarely Looking Back*

- 1 Ibing, interview with the author; Ibing, personal communications with the author.
- 2 True to form, the RCMP monitored the trip and kept press clippings of the tour. See LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 6.
- 3 The RCMP also reprinted many of these newsletters. See LAC RG 146 Vol. 1880, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Part 6.
- 4 LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 2, File 9.
- 5 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 86.
- 6 Ibing, interview with Petrou.
- 7 Carroll, *Odyssey of the Abraham-Lincoln Brigade*, 201.
- 8 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 9 He expressed similar regrets in his interview with the author.
- 10 Ibing, “Reminiscences,” LAC MG 30 E173 Vol. 4, 86.
- 11 Irma and Clifford Orchard returned to Toronto in 1981 – after living in Waterloo (for Cliff’s university education) and Montreal (for his work) – and bought a house in Don Mills. The Ibings delighted in seeing their grandchildren Lisa (born 1971) and Mark (born 1975) grow up.
- 12 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 13 Ibing, interview with Grenke, LAC R11667-0-6-E.
- 14 Parks Canada, “Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion Recognized as Being of National and Historical Significance,” press release, June 4, 1995, www.pc.gc.ca.
- 15 The group had by then been renamed the Association of Veterans and Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion. Ibing also became an honorary citizen of Spain in 1996.
- 16 “Canadian Vets of Spanish Civil War Get Ottawa Monument,” CBC Digital Archives, Oct. 20, 2001, www.cbc.ca/archives.

17 “Mac Paps Honoured in Ottawa,” [workingtv.com](#).

18 He was elated when his first great-granddaughter, Madeleine, was born in 2007, but unfortunately he died before the birth of his great-grandson, Max, in 2011, and his grandson Mark’s wedding to Jordan-na Belle-Isle in 2012.

19 Ibing, interview with the author.

20 Karl Marx, “Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon,” 1852.