



Russia's Red Guards take position outside the Smolny Institute, which was chosen by Vladimir Lenin as Bolshevik headquarters in 1917. *RUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS*

BOLSHEVIKS SEIZE POWER IN RUSSIA

October Revolution led to creation of U.S.S.R.

JOHN MACKIE

On Nov. 7, 1917, Bolshevik revolutionaries seized power in Russia.

"New Government Will Seek Immediate Peace and Hand Land Over to Peasants," read the banner headline in the Nov. 8 Vancouver World. "Petrograd Garrison Assists in Epoch-Making Coup d'Etat Which was Carried Out Without Bloodshed — Some of the Ministers Arrested and Preliminary Parliament Dissolved."

It was the second stage of the Russian Revolution, which marks its 100th anniversary this year. The February Revolution (Feb. 23-27) occurred when revolutionaries in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) overthrew Czar Nicholas II and installed a provisional government made up of various factions.

The October Revolution (Oct. 25-26) installed a Communist government and led to the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.).

Russia was still using the old-style Julian calendar in 1917, so the October Revolution occurred on Nov. 7-8 in Canada, which used the Gregorian calendar.

Moderate socialist Alexandr Kerensky had become prime minister of the provisional government in the summer. But his decision to keep Russia in the First World War was deeply unpopular, and the Bolsheviks decided to seize power by force.

Initially the Bolsheviks were described as the "Maximalists" by the Canadian press, a term that dated

to Russia's unsuccessful 1905 revolution.

"The Maximalist or Bolsheviki element comprises the most extreme class of the Russian revolutionary Socialists," the World noted in a front-page story.

"It first sprang into prominence in the early days of the revolution under the leadership of Nikolai Lenin (Vladimir Lenin), the radical agitator, who later was put under the ban of the provisional government because of his ultraradical preachments and his suspected pro-German leanings.



Vladimir Lenin

"The Maximalists (have been) under the leadership of his chief lieutenant, Leon Trotzky."

The provisional government met in the czar's former Winter Palace on Nov. 7. When a Bolshevik force arrived to take it over, the politicians hid, and a small force loyal to the government held out for several hours before being overwhelmed. Among the defenders was the Women's Battalion of Death, an army unit that had been formed in the early days of

the revolution to inspire demoralized Russian soldiers.

"The Women's Battalion of Death, charged by the old government with defence of the Winter Palace, held out to the last and only surrendered when literally overwhelmed by the Bolsheviki troops and menaced by enough guns to blow up the whole palace," the Province reported.

"For four hours the women, assisted by a few other troops loyal to Kerensky, bitterly fought off all advances. Then the (naval) cruiser Aurora was brought up the Neva (river) and her great guns trained on the defenders, (and) they were forced to give up their struggle."

The Aurora fired a blank shell that signalled the Bolshevik forces to storm the Winter Palace. It became one of the great symbols of Communist Russia; on the third anniversary of the revolution they re-staged it for a celebration that was watched by 100,000 people.

Kerensky escaped the Winter Palace and fled to the front, where he rallied a force to try to retake the Russian capital.

There was deep suspicion of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the west, partly because he wanted to take Russia out of the war in Europe. Canadian Forces were fighting in the Battle of Passchendaele at the time.

Ironically, that week the Colonial Theatre was showing the film *The Fall of The Romanoffs*, based on Rasputin's role in the demise of Russia's royal family.

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The Great War officially ended on Nov. 11, 1918. But not for Lawrence Styles.

The 19-year-old was among 5,000 Canadians who were sent to Siberia to fight the Bolsheviks, after the armistice was signed in Europe.

Styles had signed up for the Canadian Expeditionary Force on July 30, 1917, but never made it to Europe. So on Nov. 9, 1918, he volunteered for Siberia.

He kept a diary of his Siberian adventure, which now belongs to his granddaughter Beth Kemppi, who works at The Vancouver Sun and Province. She recently brought it into the newsroom, along with a satchel of his First World War artifacts.

It's the kind of thing you usually see only in a museum.

Styles was born in Morrisburg, Ont., and was working as a postal clerk in nearby Prescott when he signed up. In October 1917 he was dispatched to a 21-day "bayonet fighting and physical training" course in Kingston, Ont. The cache includes an "attendance certificate" from the course where his "standard of efficiency" was rated "fair."

His archive also includes a couple of tiny booklets of prayers and hymns for use by soldiers "On Active Service for God and King." The booklets were issued by four churches — Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Congregational — and came in a sleeve to protect the contents in the field.

The coolest document is his discharge certificate from the army on June 11, 1919. You'd never know it from reproductions you can find online, but it's written on thin, paper-like canvas that has a lovely patina and feel.

Styles also kept a small mirror he'd taken overseas. He wrote SERGT. L. STYLES in capital letters on its canvas case.

He became a sergeant in Siberia. Before he left Canada he identified himself in his diary as "L/Cpl. L. M. Styles, 'A' coy. 259th Bn., C.R., C.E.F. (S), Victoria B.C."

On the opposite page, he wrote "If anything should happen to me will the person kindly send this book and my identification disc to my father, Mr. Chas. A. Styles, Orillia, Ontario, Canada."

The first page of the diary is filled with the names and addresses of three young women he was apparently keen on: Miss Laura Bird, Miss Florence Wilkins and Miss Vera Blaind.

"I have no idea who they are," says Kemppi. "And my grandmother is not listed among them."

The service part of the diary runs from back to front, and has 55 pages of entries in tiny script, beginning with "Volunteered for Siberia on Sat. Nov. 9/18."

"Nobody writes like that anymore," Kemppi notes with a smile. "It's code, nobody can read it. It's also very small, and some of it is in pencil, which is hard to read. But for the most part, it's pretty good. He got to Victoria, and got drunk before he left. I loved that."

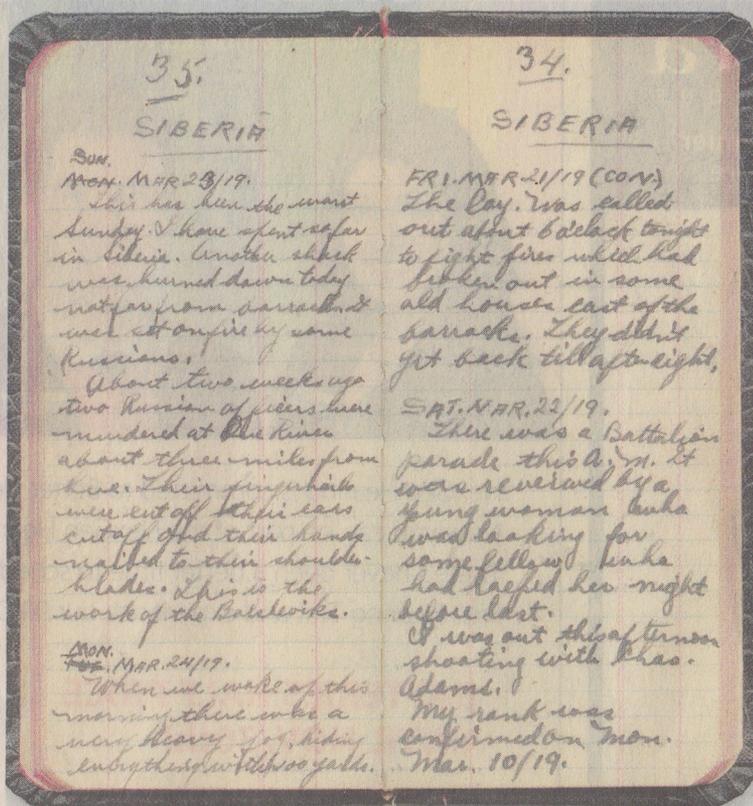
That would be the entry from Nov. 23, 1918, when he spent the night in Vancouver before disembarking for Vancouver Island.

"I had one wild night last night," Styles wrote. "I got drunk as a bat and didn't get into barracks until the wee small hours. This morning I got up with a swelled head and had to carry my kit about half a mile to the boat for Victoria."

In Victoria, the force was assigned to Camp Willows. Many of the troops there were Quebecers who had been drafted, and didn't want to fight in Asia when the war in Europe had ended. Some of the Quebec soldiers mutinied, which led to some being arrested and others being forced onto ships at gunpoint.

But there is no mention of a mutiny in Styles' diary, which portrays camp life in Victoria as mundane. On Boxing Day, he boarded the ocean liner Proteus for Siberia, arriving near Vladivostok on Jan. 15, 1919.

He had a close call on March 25 when the Canadians were prac-



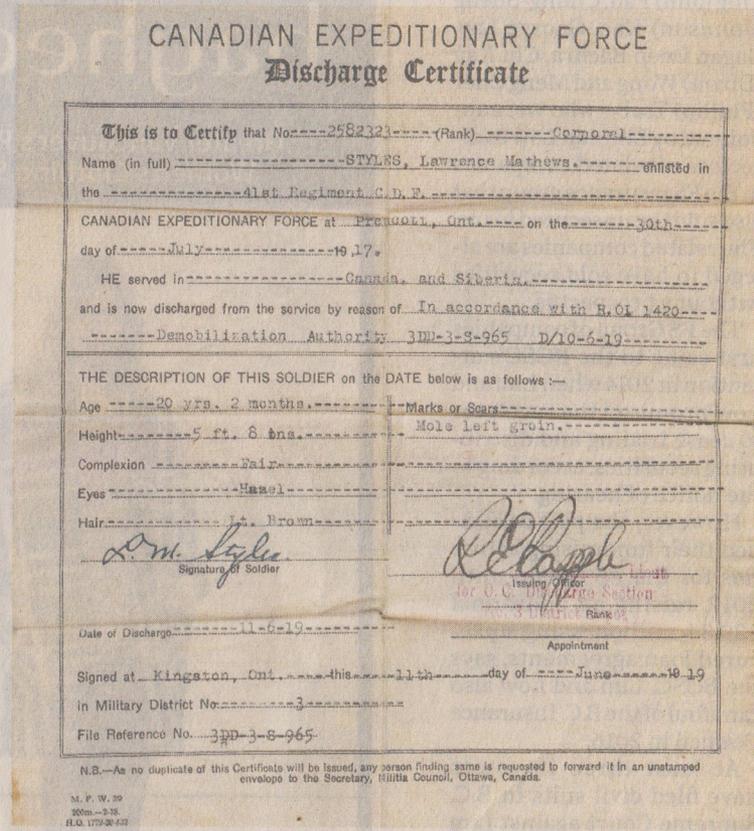
Lawrence Styles' diary about his time with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Siberia in 1919 contains a gruesome story.

tising "throwing bombs" and the shrapnel from a bomb hit him in the helmet. But he doesn't seem to have gone into battle.

Still, there were communist sympathizers nearby. On March 23, he wrote "about two weeks ago two (White) Russian officers were murdered at the river about three miles from here. Their fingernails were cut off, their ears

cut off and their hands nailed to their shoulder blades. This is the work of the Bolsheviks."

Most of his time in Siberia was spent outside Vladivostok, but on April 6 his company marched to a new barracks in the city. Two days later he "was uptown on pass ... had several drinks and felt pretty good. Had a fine time and saw all the sights."



Lawrence Styles' June 11, 1919 discharge certificate from the Canadian Expeditionary Force is written on thin, paper-like canvas.

On May 19, he boarded the Empress of Russia for the return trip home, arriving in Victoria on May 28.

After the war he became a watchmaker and jeweller in Ottawa and Renfrew, Ont.

He married Doris Ellis and had a son, John, and a daughter, Barbara. He died on Oct. 2, 1970 at 71.

"I don't remember him ever talking about (the war)," said his granddaughter Barb Young. "He was a quiet man, very quiet. They lived in an apartment building on Carling Avenue (in Ottawa) and he loved to sit outside on his little balcony. They didn't do very much, never travelled or anything, they were quiet people." jmackie@postmedia.com



Cpl. Lawrence Styles arrived near Vladivostok on Jan. 15, 1919, but did not see battle against the Bolsheviks. PHOTOS: BETH KEMPPY COLLECTION

[REMEMBRANCE]



Memories burn bright in Ottawa

A cadet places a candle, passed to him by a veteran to symbolize the passing of the torch of remembrance, during the Candlelight Tribute for Veterans at the National War Museum in the country's capital on Monday.

JUSTIN TANG/THE CANADIAN PRESS

Military gravestones get a cleaning and a poppy

CHERYL CHAN

Urielle Fabian placed a poppy on the gravestone of a Second World War soldier and recited his name out loud before moving on to the next gravestone.

It was a solemn ritual, and a thoughtful moment, for the 10-year-old New Westminster girl.

"It makes me feel sad. I was thinking about the many people that died, and the sacrifice they made during the war," said Urielle, a St. John Ambulance cadet and one of the many who gathered at the inaugural New Westminster No Stone Left Alone commemoration event on Sunday afternoon.

The initiative was started in 2011 by an Edmonton woman, Maureen Bianchini-Purvis, who wanted to have all Canadian soldiers' headstones marked by a poppy so it resembles Flanders Fields.

Today it has grown to a national program involving close to 8,000 students, 100 cemeteries, and about 51,827 veterans who are honoured and remembered.

Karen Baker-MacGrotty heard about the initiative three weeks ago at a conference in Calgary and was inspired to bring it to New Westminster for the 450 Canadian soldiers buried in the military section at Fraser Cemetery. "I thought 'I got to put this together.' It's too important."

"The simple act of placing a poppy at the headstone of a veteran by a younger generation — it makes a huge impact on the children and their understanding of Remembrance Day," said Baker-MacGrotty. "They tell us they experience a powerful outcome of gratitude and



New Westminster St. John Ambulance cadets prepare to lay poppies on military gravestones at Fraser Cemetery on Sunday. ARLEN REDEKOP

benefit from the event."

Similar to Remembrance Day ceremonies across the nation, a bugler played *The Last Post* and two minutes' silence was observed.

Unlike Remembrance Day, however, there was a more "personal hands-on side" to the event, said Lt.-Col. Dave Vernon of the Royal Westminster Regiment, the oldest regiment in mainland B.C., which participated in the event.

"That part where the child or the next generation kneels respectfully, places the poppy, and speaks the name of the person whose name is on the head stone, that doesn't happen on Remembrance Day."

In a speech, Vernon reminded attendees about the covenant formed between soldiers and civilians. "We'll risk our lives to protect

you as long as you care for our injured and remember our fallen," he said. "This is why Remembrance Day and now this event are so important."

"We owe it to the fallen to never forget their sacrifice. We also need to remember the destructive tragedy of war and never enter into it frivolously."

Louise Lundy, a member of the New Westminster Lions Club, was cleaning a gravestone before the ceremony.

The Lions Club has adopted two military gravestones in the cemetery as part of the Graves Program run by the Society of the Officers of the Honourable Guard, and plan to adopt two more, she said.

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GREG SOUTHAM / POSTMEDIA NEWS

Thousands of positions in Canada's military are vacant due to a lack of applicants and recruiters are struggling to determine what's behind the trend. The military is getting about half the number of applicants it needs per month to meet the goal of adding 5,900 members this year.

MOMENT IN TIME

JAN 18, 1995



TOM HANSON/THE CANADIAN PRESS

VIDEO OF CANADIAN AIRBORNE REGIMENT'S BRUTAL HAZING RITUAL IS MADE PUBLIC

For the Canadian Airborne Regiment, the stomach-turning hazing video was one scandal too many. The combat unit, based in Petawawa, Ont., was already considered a pariah after its violence-filled deployment to Somalia on a United Nations peacekeeping mission. In March, 1993, Airborne soldiers shot two unarmed Somalis suspected of theft. Days later, members of the unit tortured and killed a Somali teenager — and took photos as souvenirs. Nine soldiers were court-martialled — two for torture and second-degree murder. Private Kyle Brown was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison; he served one. Master Corporal

Clayton Matchee tried to hang himself, leaving him unfit to stand trial. The country had spent months watching televised testimony at the Somalia inquiry when a video surfaced on Jan. 15, 1995; shot in Somalia not long before the teen's murder, it showed a soldier using racist language to complain about not having killed enough Somalis. On Jan. 18, another video, of a hazing ritual in Petawawa in 1992, showed drunken troopers eating vomit and feces and dragging a black soldier around on a leash, his back emblazoned with the words, "I [heart] the KKK." Days later, defence minister David Collette disbanded the regiment in disgrace. DAWN CALLEJA



БОРЦЯМ ЗА ВОЛЮ
УКРАЇНИ
TO THOSE WHO DIED
FOR THE FREEDOM OF UKRAINE
MORTS POUR L'UKRAINE

СВІТЛА ПАМ'ЯТЬ
УСІМ ВОЛОНТЕРИМ І ДІТЯМ
І УМЕРЛИМ
ПІД ЧАС
ВІЙНИ

PETER J THOMPSON / NATIONAL POST

The Russian Embassy has been tweeting images of what it labels “Nazi” monuments in Canada like this cenotaph at Oakville’s St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Cemetery.

MARIE-DANIELLE
SMITH
in Ottawa

FOLK HEROES OR WAR CRIMINALS?

RUSSIAN TAUNTS SPARK UKRAINIAN SELF-EXAMINATION

They were played up in October, and continued to trickle out through November: amid tweets about tennis, ambassadorial photo-ops and U.S. politics, Russia's embassy in Canada posted several comments about Canadian monuments to a Ukrainian independence leader and to soldiers from the Galician Division of Nazi Germany's Waffen-SS.

A military division formed in 1943, the Galician was made up of Ukrainians rallying against Soviet occupiers, whom Nazis were battling. Russian tweets about monuments to the Second World War fighters — “Nazi collaborators,” as the Russians describe them, or Ukrainian freedom fighters, as many in Canada's Ukrainian community prefer to think of them — have rekindled a long-standing debate over how Ukrainian-Canadians should commemorate their forebears.

Russia's Embassy to Canada is waging an online campaign even as it stokes conflict in eastern Ukraine and the Canadian government continues denouncing its 2014 annexation of Cri-

atic that Russians are the ones bringing it up.

“It would be refreshing and perhaps a form of self-healing ...” writes University of Alberta professor David Marples in a 2007 book on “heroes and villains” in Ukrainian national history, “if Ukrainians could offer a conception of their recent past that looked at all aspects of these events, recognizing in passing that heroes could be criminals.”

One of the monuments in question is at St. Volodymyr Cemetery in Oakville, Ont. It commemorates a major battle, the Brody, fought by the Ukrainian Galician Division of the German Waffen-SS against the Soviet Red Army, during which more than three-quarters of the Ukrainian soldiers perished.

The division was formed in 1943, after a majority of Ukrainian Jewish victims of the Holocaust had already

against them substantiated and “should not be indicted as a group.” This was, at least legally speaking, the end of the story.

Still, explained Dominique Arel, who holds the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa, individual members of the division had likely served in other German police units before joining the Galician Division, and any previous actions or crimes were not examined by the commission.

A bust of Roman Shukhevych, at the Ukrainian Youth Unity Complex in Edmonton, is the second monument being examined.

A spokesman for the complex, Paras Podilsky, rejected any notion that Shukhevych may have been involved in war crimes. “I have never heard in my life, and

ment. Arel said Shukhevych was involved in setting up another local militia known to have played a central role in the killings, however, and in 1942 he is said to have led a German police battalion in Belarus that was also implicated in civilian killings.

The same year, Shukhevych established the Ukrainian insurgency army, which acted as a “political arm” of the nationalist movement. Even though individual members of the nationalist movement were involved in the killing of Jews and a subsequent ethnic cleansing campaign against Polish people in Ukraine, the broader fight for Ukrainian independence — a fight waged not only against the Soviets but also against the Nazis, once it became clear they would not be allies — is

Shukhevych “symbolize this long and historical attempt by Ukrainians to resist, to defend themselves,” Arel said. “The Russian perspective is because there is a dark side, and the collaboration with the Germans, you reduce the entire insurgency to atrocities. And therefore the very idea that Ukrainians or any other group can resist Russian or Soviet occupation is delegitimized.”

What should Canadians think about the monuments, though?

“I think the question that Canadians really need to ask is, does the presence of these monuments in any way contribute to anti-Semitism, or to other forms of racism or bigotry in Canada today?” said Aidan Fishman, the interim director of the Jewish-Canadian organization B'nai Brith Canada's League for Human Rights.

The answer seems to be

cluding the embassy of trying to create divisions in Canada as part of a broader strategy to subvert Western democracies — or at least trying to discredit Ukraine as conflict continues in the eastern Donbass region, where, although Russia has denied any involvement, reports from the front lines say it is backing anti-government troops. Canada is helping to train government forces on the opposite side.

But still others point out that Canada's support seeks to help preserve Ukrainian democracy, and part of democracy means looking at the past with critical eyes. Arel alluded to Canada's own attempts to grapple with horrors inflicted upon Indigenous people in the past. “Canada should support similar efforts in Ukraine to engage in these difficult questions,” he said.

Some in the community, such as an organization called the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter, are already conducting efforts to reconcile with the past. It brings experts on Ukrainian and Jewish history together for roundtables with the ultimate goal of coming up with a combined narrative on which both scholarly communities agree.

“Unfortunately, the Ukrainian Canadian com-

and the Canadian government continues denouncing its 2014 annexation of Crimea. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has staunchly supported Ukraine.

Many are accusing Russia of intentionally sowing discord and attacking more than 1.3 million Ukrainian-Canadians by highlighting memorials that never intended to glorify Nazism — a distraction from Russians being accused of propping up anti-government fighters in eastern Ukraine.

“We know that our community is being attacked because of our and Canada’s support for Ukraine in the current war that Russia is waging there,” said Ihor Michalchyshyn, executive director and CEO of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. “The Russian government is trying to stir up controversy and sort of obfuscate from the current situation that’s taking place in Europe.”

But others in the community suggest a hard look at the complex history of the Ukrainian independence movement, and its wartime entanglements, is long overdue — even if it’s problem-

in 1943, after a majority of Ukrainian Jewish victims of the Holocaust had already been targeted. The Waffen-SS was the military arm of the Nazi secret police that fought battles at the front lines but did not administer concentration camps.

Oleg Bezpitko, the manager of the cemetery, told the National Post the monument — to “whoever fought in this battle and never returned” — was probably erected sometime during the 1980s, before he himself immigrated to Canada. “Fighting on the German side doesn’t mean to be a Nazi, right,” he said.

“You have to understand, those were the people who were fighting communism.”

Bezpitko also confirmed that some buried at the cemetery were members of the division who had immigrated to Canada. Their presence here was part of a loud public debate that led to the Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals in Canada, named the Deschênes Commission after the justice who led it.

In 1986, it concluded that members of the Galician Division who immigrated to Canada hadn’t had charges

DOES THE PRESENCE OF THESE MONUMENTS CONTRIBUTE TO ANTI-SEMITISM?

I’ve known about Roman Shukhevych since I was little, about him being in any war crimes or anything we should be hiding,” he said.

Here’s what we know. Soviets took control of Western Ukraine in 1939, facilitated by a secret pact with the Germans. A far-right insurgency, the Organization for Ukrainian Nationalists, meanwhile sought German help to oust Soviets. In 1941, as Germany invaded the Soviet Union (and the secret pact dissolved), Shukhevych commanded one of two Ukrainian divisions attached to the German army, called the “Nachtigall.”

A pogrom that caused the deaths of thousands of Jews occurred in Lviv shortly after the battalion’s arrival in 1941. There’s no hard evidence proving its involve-

ment what the community remembers Shukhevych and other patriots for.

“Roman Shukhevych was the leader, very much respected even after the war, to continue this battle against the Soviet regime,” said Podiisky. “He’s completely seen as a hero, and respected to this day as a symbol of the fight for freedom.”

And it was a bloody fight. In taking full control over Western Ukraine around the end of the Second World War and onward, the Soviet Union killed more than 100,000 people and deported more than 200,000, Arel said. There was also the painful memory of the Holodomor, a man-made famine that killed between seven and 10 million people in that part of the Soviet Union in the 1930s.

Leaders such as

Brith Canada’s League for Human Rights.

The answer seems to be “no,” Fishman explained, since “the intent of these monuments is not to stir up hatred or to glorify crimes against Jews.” While B’nai Brith wouldn’t support any new such monuments, he said, it doesn’t see a need to demand for existing ones’ removal.

“I think that the communities that have established these monuments, so namely the Ukrainian-Canadian community, should take a critical look at these facts and should remind themselves that many of these people were engaged in collaboration with the Nazis,” said Fishman.

Michalchyshyn rejects any insinuation that Ukrainians collaborated with the Nazis. “I think that the premise of calling them Nazi collaborators is slanderous,” he said. “I think the real story here is about the Russian Embassy and what they’re trying to do to our community and how they’re trying to create an issue where there isn’t one.”

The Russian motivation merits scrutiny: some are ac-

“Unfortunately, the Ukrainian-Canadian organizations have not shown real readiness to discuss these issues,” Arel said. “On the whole, there’s a great deal of resistance.”

John-Paul Himka, another University of Alberta scholar and the uncle of Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland, reports being banned from most Ukrainian-Canadian publications for trying to bring research about Ukrainian involvement in the Holocaust to light.

“It’s about time that somebody paid attention to it,” he said by phone from Ukraine. “The fact is the Ukrainian government and the diaspora have been honouring Holocaust perpetrators and war criminals for a long time.”

The West should put greater emphasis on confronting the past, Himka added. “I do think they’re neglecting their role if they’re not putting pressure on Ukraine to do an honest confrontation with the events of the Second World War.”



EFREM LUKATSKY / AP PHOTO

Volunteers with the right-wing paramilitary Azov National Corps light flares during a rally at the Ukrainian parliament in Kyiv on Monday, where they brandished yellow-and-blue flags and a banner reading, "Don't back down!"

Canada targets human-rights violators

Under new Magnitsky law, 52 people in Russia, Venezuela and South Sudan face sanctions, including asset freezes and travel bans

MICHELLE ZILIO OTTAWA

Canada issued its first round of Magnitsky-style sanctions on Friday, targeting 52 human-rights violators in Russia, Venezuela and South Sudan.

Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland announced the sanctions in a statement, just more than two weeks after Canada passed a law giving it the power to impose asset freezes and travel bans on human-rights abusers around the world. The law is named after Sergei Magnitsky, a Russian tax lawyer who was beaten to death by Moscow prison staff in 2009 after accusing Russian officials of theft.

"Canada is determined to protect human rights and combat corruption worldwide. Today's announcement sends a clear message that Canada will take action against individuals who have profited from acts of significant corruption or who have been involved in gross violations of human rights," Ms. Freeland said.

Last month, Canada became the fourth country to pass a Magnitsky law. The original Magnitsky Act was passed by the U.S. Congress in 2012, in response to the death of Mr. Magnitsky. Britain and Estonia have also passed legislation.

U.S.-born financier and anti-Putin campaigner Bill Browder has led the international effort to sanction human-rights abusers worldwide, in memory of Mr. Magnitsky. Mr. Browder hired Mr. Magnitsky as the lawyer for his Moscow-based Hermitage Capital Management hedge fund in 2005. Mr. Magnitsky was arrested in 2008 and died in prison in 2009. Investigations by Russia's human-rights council eventually concluded he was beaten to death by prison staff.

Although the law is named after



Presidents Nicolas Maduro of Venezuela and Vladimir Putin of Russia meet in October. YURI KADOBNOV/THE CANADIAN PRESS

Mr. Magnitsky, the Canadian government insists that the sanctions will be used against individuals beyond Russia. Mr. Browder applauded Ottawa's swift effort to globally implement the Magnitsky law within weeks of passing it.

"The fact that the government came out so quickly with this shows how serious they are. This is a demonstration of moral leadership in a world that's sorely needing world leadership right now," Mr. Browder said.

Thirty Russians were sanctioned

on Friday for their involvement in the corruption surrounding the \$230-million (U.S.) tax fraud uncovered by Mr. Magnitsky and the "subsequent gross violations of his legal and human rights" during his investigation and detention, including the abuse that led to his death in jail.

Mr. Browder said the most significant names on the sanctions list include Dmitry Klyuev, the alleged mastermind behind the criminal conspiracy that Mr. Magnitsky uncovered, and Fikret Tagiyev, the head of Moscow's Matrosskaya Tishina

detention centre, where Mr. Magnitsky died.

Russia has vowed retaliation for Canada's passage of the law. Mr. Browder says he was the first target last month, when Russia put him on Interpol's most-wanted list for the fifth time. Interpol later rejected the arrest notice.

Speaking at a conference in Sochi in October, Russian President Vladimir Putin accused Canada of playing "unconstructive political games" in passing the Magnitsky law and accused Mr. Browder of "crime,

deception and theft" while he lived in Russia. Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Maria Zakharova has also warned that Russia will sanction more Canadian officials if Ottawa targets any Russians with Magnitsky sanctions.

The Russian embassy in Ottawa did not respond to a request for comment.

President Nicolas Maduro was among the 19 Venezuelans targeted by Canada on Friday. Global Affairs' statement on the Venezuelan sanctions reiterated Canada's concern about the political and economic crisis in that country. The Magnitsky sanctions come less than two months after Canada targeted 40 Venezuelan government officials and individuals under a different sanctions regime.

In a statement on Friday, Venezuelan Foreign Minister Jorge Arreaza said the sanctions were "illegal" and accused the Canadian government of "absolute and shameful subordination" to U.S. President Donald Trump.

Canada also sanctioned three individuals from South Sudan, the world's youngest country. The country spiralled into civil war in 2013, two years after it gained independence from Sudan. South Sudan does not have an embassy in Ottawa; its embassy in Washington did not immediately respond.

Trade lawyer Cyndee Todgham Cherniak, who advises businesses on how to navigate Canada's sanctions regime, said companies that do business globally will have to check their current and future customers against the new Magnitsky sanctions list. She said banks, investment advisers, and condominium corporations and management companies will have to do the same.

A worker stands next to the Nord Stream pipeline turbine that was repaired in Canada where it remains at the Siemens plant in Germany Thursday.

Status of Canadian deal to buy shells for Ukraine uncertain

Talks underway to buy ammo from S. Korea

DAVID PUGLIESE

Canada is in discussions with arms companies to obtain further equipment for Ukraine but it's unclear whether a critical deal to purchase 100,000 rounds of artillery ammunition for that country will proceed.

Canadian officials have been talking with their counterparts in South Korea to acquire the 155-millimetre artillery ammunition, this newspaper reported in late May. Canada would then provide those 100,000 rounds of ammunition to Ukraine, which has been warning for the last month that it is running out of artillery shells.

The Liberal government has already provided Ukraine with Canadian Forces M777 artillery guns that can use the 155-mm ammunition.

Defence Minister Anita Anand said Thursday that Canada is talking to a number of defence firms about equipment for Ukraine. That nation is fighting off a Russian invasion that started Feb. 24.

But Anand declined to say whether the Canadian government would actually proceed with the South Korean deal, which could cost Canadian taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars. "It would be imprudent for me to announce any transaction before it is finalized," she noted. "It is not my style."

Ukrainian government officials say a continued supply of artillery shells is critical to their war effort. "This is an artillery war now," Vadym Skibitsky, deputy head of Ukraine's military intelli-

gence told the Guardian newspaper June 10. "And we are losing in terms of artillery."

Russia has large stocks of artillery and ammunition for those guns. Ukraine is firing between 5,000 and 6,000 artillery rounds a day at Russian positions, its military officials say.

But Ukrainian officials and defence analysts estimate Russia is firing an estimated 20,000 artillery rounds a day. Some Ukrainian government officials claim that figure is as high as 60,000 rounds but those numbers can't be confirmed.

Canadian taxpayers have already financed the dona-

THIS IS AN
ARTILLERY
WAR NOW ...
AND WE ARE
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ARTILLERY.

tion of \$626-million worth of weapons and other military equipment to Ukraine. That has included anti-tank systems, .50-calibre sniper rifles equipped with silencers, 60-millimetre mortars, grenade launchers, pistols, C6 and C9 machine-guns, thermal-imaging binoculars, cameras, scopes and medical supplies.

In addition, drone cameras have also been sent.

Canada has also funded the purchase of 20,000 artillery rounds from the United States to donate to Ukraine's military. That deal cost \$98 million.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced June 30 that Canada is also pro-

viding Ukraine with 39 light-armoured vehicles. Those vehicles, being built by General Dynamics Land Systems-Canada, were originally for the Canadian Army. But instead, they will be diverted to Ukraine.

Those vehicles are expected to arrive in Europe in the coming weeks.

Anand also announced Thursday that the Canadian military will resume training Ukrainian soldiers. Up to 225 personnel, most from 3rd Battalion Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry based out of Edmonton will be sent to the United Kingdom to instruct Ukrainian military recruits in that country. The deployment will initially be for about four months, according to Canadian defence officials. Training is expected to start Aug. 25 at a location in southeast England.

Anand could not say how many Ukrainian soldiers are expected to be trained.

Canada had previously trained over 33,000 Ukrainian military personnel in a program that was launched in 2015. That training was suspended in February just before the start of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

NATO nations have been sending large amounts of weapons to Ukraine since the Feb. 24 invasion. Some NATO officials view the war as an opportunity to either force regime change in Russia or to seriously weaken that country militarily.

The Ukrainian military has put up a spirited defence of its country since thousands of Russian forces launched their assault. But those early battlefield successes and the ensuing grinding war in the east have not been without a cost.

The Ukrainian government reported in June that 10,000 of its soldiers had been killed since Russian forces invaded, with thousands more wounded and missing.

Officials have also said that between 100 and 200 Ukrainian troops are being killed every day and hundreds more wounded.

Postmedia News, with additional reporting from The Canadian Press

'PUTIN'S DECISION'

TURBINE Continued from NP1

He said "you need to be able to explain to the Germans and the French and the Italians how they're going to survive the winter."

But the return of the turbine hasn't solved the issue. The turbine is now stuck in Germany, with Russia blaming western sanctions for the hold up, while Germany says there is nothing preventing its return. Russia has also cut gas flowing through the Nord Stream 1 pipeline to 20 per cent of capacity.

Joly repeated Thursday that sending the turbine called Russian President Vladimir Putin's "bluff"

"With the issue of turbine maintenance taken off the table, Putin has nothing left to hide behind. When the flow of gas slows down, the world now knows with certainty that it was Putin's decision and his alone," Joly said.

Those statements were echoed by German ambassador Sabine Sparwasser, who told the committee that "we did not want to fall into Putin's trap" after he "pretended" the lacking turbines were to blame.

She said Russia is now finding "more and more pretext not to take the turbines back."

"Now it's clear for all to see Russia is using energy to exert pressure on Europe. It's trying to pit one ally against the other," Sparwasser said.

She said if the turbine hadn't been returned, it would have given Putin a "strong argument in the disinformation war" that "we brought the lack of gas on ourselves."

Wilkinson said the government looked into an alternative proposal for Ukraine for a pipeline route through that country but decided it wasn't feasible.

He said the government consulted with the EU and Germany and "technical experts from the International Energy Agency" and in the

end concluded it wasn't viable, for technical reasons but also because the plan would have been dependent on Russia's willingness to provide gas for the alternate pipeline. "The likelihood of Russia doing this is not high," he said.

Later Thursday, Joly proposed the National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians study allegations that Canada did not heed warnings about the safety of its Ukraine embassy's local staff ahead of the Russian invasion.

The Globe and Mail reported this week that in the lead-up to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Global Affairs Canada received Five Eyes intelligence that said Ukrainians working for western embassies were likely to be on lists of people Moscow intended to hunt down.

Citing three unnamed diplomatic sources described as having direct knowledge of the situation, the newspaper reported that the department instructed embassy leaders in Kyiv to withhold the information from Ukrainian employees — even as the Canadians were recalled to Ottawa.

Joly told MPs on the committee that she, her political staff and the department did not have information about "kill lists" specifically targeting Canadian diplomats and locally engaged staff.

She says she will make herself available to the national security committee if they decide to take up the issue.

National Post, with additional reporting from The Canadian Press



Yulia Kovaliv

Tillerson, Trudeau to plan meeting on North Korea

Secretary of State will also meet with Freeland about international talks coming to B.C.

MICHELLE ZILIO OTTAWA

U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson will travel to Ottawa on Tuesday, where he will meet with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and iron out the details of a major international meeting on North Korea to be held in Vancouver early next year.

Mr. Tillerson will also meet with Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland during his first visit to Canada as Secretary of State. Officials say he and Ms. Freeland will discuss the North Korea meeting. Earlier this month, Reuters reported that Canada and the United States will co-host the meeting in Vancouver in January to seek a non-military solution to the nuclear crisis.

Mr. Tillerson's visit comes amid an apparent rift between him and U.S. President Donald Trump on the U.S. approach to North Korea, and weeks after reports that the White House has a plan to force the top diplomat out.

Days after Mr. Tillerson committed to talk to North Korea "without precondition," he retreated to Mr. Trump's position



Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland and U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson meet at the State Department in Washington on Oct. 11.

YURI GRIPAS/REUTERS

last week, saying the North must "earn its way" to negotiations. The change came after The New York Times reported last month that the White House was planning to replace Mr. Tillerson with CIA director Mike Pompeo.

However, Mr. Tillerson does not appear to be going anywhere or backing away from the North Korean issue.

Speaking on condition of anonymity on Monday, a senior state department official said the coming meeting on North Korea will be a "major topic of conversation" between Mr. Tillerson and Ms. Freeland. The official did not say exactly when in January the Vancouver conference will take place.

"It will include South Korea, Japan and other key affected

countries to discuss how the global community writ large can deal with North Korea's threat to international peace," the official said.

Mr. Tillerson and Ms. Freeland announced the meeting in November after North Korea said it had carried out a missile test that put the U.S. mainland within reach. A Canadian government official told The Globe and Mail the meeting grew out of conversations between Ms. Freeland and Mr. Tillerson about creating a political dialogue that was not just focused on exerting pressure on North Korea, but also trying to find a diplomatic solution.

On the diplomatic front, Mr. Trudeau has said Canada could play a key role in defusing the situation in North Korea by working with Cuba. Mr. Trudeau said he discussed the possible course of action with Cuban President Raul Castro when he travelled to Havana last year. The state department official did not say if Mr. Tillerson will discuss the possibility of Canada forming a back channel to North Korea through Cuba with Mr. Trudeau or Ms. Freeland.

The state department official said Mr. Tillerson will also discuss border security and the continuing crises in Ukraine and Venezuela with Ms. Freeland. Mr. Tillerson will also meet with the cabinet committee on Canada-U.S. relations.

Some White Helmets resettled in Canada, with more on the way

MICHELLE ZILIO OTTAWA
MARK MACKINNON ISTANBUL

Some of the famed White Helmets, a group of volunteer humanitarian workers the Canadian government helped rescue from war-torn Syria, have arrived for resettlement in Canada, and more will be on their way soon.

A senior Canadian government official, who was not authorized to speak publicly, said some of the refugees have resettled in Canada. The government declined to say exactly how many White Helmets have already arrived or the total number Canada plans to welcome, citing security concerns for the Syrian refugees. The White Helmets are a group of unarmed volunteers who have been credited with saving more than 100,000 civilians during Syria's seven-year-old civil war.

Canada sparked a daring overnight mission in July to evacuate 422 people – members of the White Helmets and their families – from Syria, where they faced increasing danger as the Syrian government encircled them. The Israel Defence Forces led the rescue effort, which was done at the request of Canada, Britain and Germany, who all committed to resettling evacuees. The United States also supported the operation.

In a joint statement on Friday, Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland and Immigration Minister Ahmed Hussen said that more White Helmets are going through immigration processing overseas, and security screening will be completed before the refugees are allowed to fly to Canada.

Ms. Freeland told *The Globe* she has been personally engaged in the White Helmets rescue and resettlement.

“What is happening in Syria is



Syrian Civil Defence volunteers, also known as the White Helmets, rescue children from a damaged building in Idlib after an air strike targeted a bus in January, 2018. OMAR HAJ KADOUR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

so tragic that I don't want to emphasize one small positive story. But I do feel the fact that a group of the White Helmets and their families were able to escape from Syria and are now finding refuge around the world is a real example of not cursing the darkness, and lighting a small candle,” Ms. Freeland said in an interview.

For the safety of the refugees and their family members still in Syria, Ms. Freeland said she could not disclose where the White Helmets are and when they are coming to Canada.

In the statement, the ministers thanked all of Canada's international partners supporting the White Helmets initiative, including Jordan, where the refugees are undergoing processing before being resettled in other countries, and Israel. The statement also called on the Syrian regime and its allies, Russia and Iran, to “immediately cease all attacks on civilians in Syria.”

A spokesman from Jordan's

Foreign Ministry, Majed al-Qatarnah, told Reuters on Wednesday that 279 of the 422 people who took sanctuary in the kingdom had left, with 93 others due to leave by Oct. 25. Mr. al-Qatarnah said another group's departure would be delayed until mid-November, as there were newborn babies and people receiving medical treatment among them. The report did not say how many refugees are headed to Canada.

The airlift is the latest chapter in a dramatic saga that began in July, when Canada took the lead in responding to an appeal from the White Helmets to help rescue hundreds of the group's members and their families, who were trapped in southern Syria as forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad closed in.

It was believed that Mr. al-Assad and his Russian allies would show no mercy to any White Helmets they captured. Eyewitness videos posted online by White Helmets rescuers have been piv-

otal in highlighting the use of chemical gas and other illegal weapons by Mr. al-Assad's forces, and Syrian and Russian media have accused the White Helmets of working for Western intelligence services and co-operating with “terrorist” groups opposed to Mr. al-Assad.

Raed Saleh, the head of the White Helmets, said the operation to rescue the trapped volunteers sprang from a July 4 conversation he had with Robin Wetzlauffer, Canada's Istanbul-based special envoy to Syria. Mr. Saleh credits Ms. Wetzlauffer for focusing the Canadian government's attention on the plight of the White Helmets, and says Ms. Freeland – with whom he met ahead of the July 21 operation – played a key role in convincing other countries to join in the rescue.

Initially, there were 2,275 people – a full 1,400 more than previously reported – that Mr. Saleh hoped could be brought across the border to neighbouring Jordan from Syria's southern Daraa and Quneitra provinces. But the number of people that could be saved shrank as Syrian and Russian forces routed rebel forces faster than expected, and took control of the Syria-Jordan border before the Jordanians gave permission for the White Helmets and their loved ones to cross.

Finally, in an operation co-ordinated in part by the Canadian embassy in Amman, 422 people – 106 White Helmets volunteers, as well as their families – crossed from Syria into the Israel-controlled Golan Heights during the night of July 21 and early morning of July 22. They were then put on buses and driven to Jordan, where they have spent the past three months in the Azraq refugee camp, which is home to 40,000 other Syrians.

While concern was high for those White Helmets and their families who didn't make it out in July, Mr. Saleh said the worst fears never materialized. Under an August ceasefire deal, civilians and fighters willing to surrender their weapons were allowed to leave Daraa on buses bound for the northwestern province of Idlib, the last major rebel stronghold in the country.

Mr. Saleh said the remaining White Helmets were also able to board the buses.

“We believe that for them, maybe they're not 100-per-cent safe from the war in Idlib, but they are in a place where the regime and the Russians can't kill them,” Mr. Saleh said in an interview at the White Helmets headquarters in Istanbul. “They are continuing their work, working with the White Helmets centres in Idlib.”

A September ceasefire agreement between Russia and Turkey – which supports the rebels and has its own military “observation posts” in the region – has brought a measure of calm to Idlib in recent weeks. Mr. al-Assad has repeatedly said he intends to reconquer all of Syria. Mr. Saleh said Mr. al-Assad “controls a ruined country,” one that millions of people have fled.

Mr. Saleh said that Canada and other Western countries should not participate in the reconstruction of Syria until there is a political solution that removes Mr. al-Assad from power. “Assad committed war crimes,” Mr. Saleh said. “How can countries like Canada have relations with such a regime?”

More than 400,000 people were killed in the first five years of Syria's civil war, which began in early 2011. There are no reliable estimates of how many people have died in the past two years of fighting.



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

EDITORIAL

Wasted Lessons From Afghanistan

What emerges from a tranche of documents, obtained by The Washington Post, outlining the abject failure of the war in Afghanistan and the decades of lies told about it, is the inescapable notion that the American government refuses to be honest with itself.

For years, military and civilian leaders said that the mission to rebuild Afghanistan was not only possible, but succeeding. Yet in private, the men and women who ran the war acknowledged to the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction what has long been clear to all but the most blinkered observers.

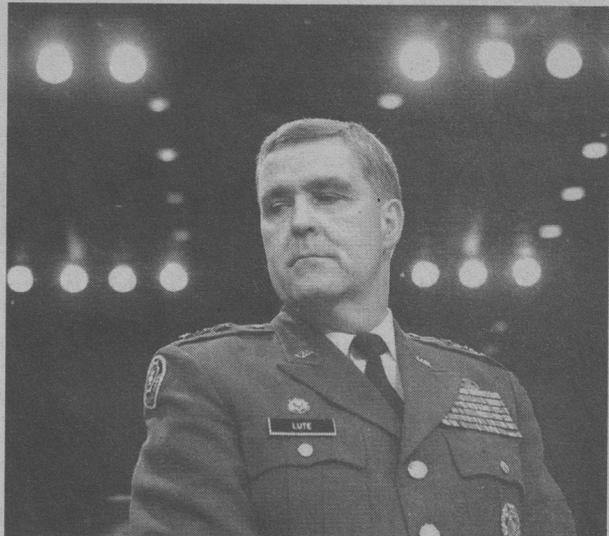
“We were devoid of a fundamental understanding of Afghanistan — we didn’t know what we were doing,” Douglas Lute, an Army general who served in the Obama and Bush administrations, said during a 2015 interview with the inspector general.

The dim prospects of achieving anything that could be called victory were evident almost immediately after the Taliban was toppled from power in 2002. “We are never going to get the U.S. military out of Afghanistan unless we take care to see that there is something going on that will provide the stability that will be necessary for us to leave,” Donald Rumsfeld, the secretary of defense, wrote in a memo in the spring of 2002, which was cited in The Post report. Mr. Rumsfeld ended with a plea: “Help!”

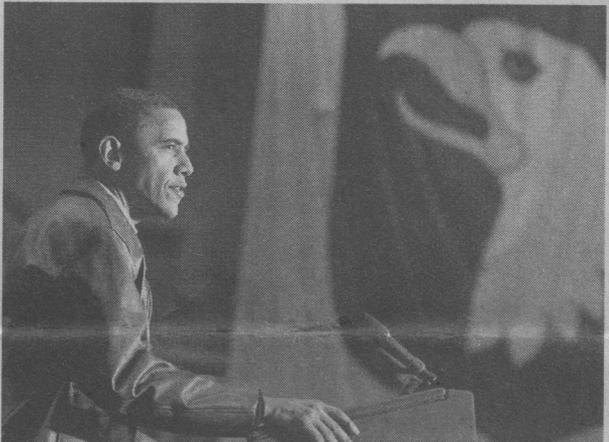
More than a year later, Mr. Rumsfeld, the man in charge of the most well-resourced military on the planet, was blunt: “I have no visibility into who the bad guys are,” he wrote.

After more than \$1 trillion spent and 18 years of fighting the government in Kabul is still not stable enough to function without the backing of American troops. There is little evidence to suggest that it ever will be.

“The time frame for creating a strong central government is 100 years, which we didn’t have,” an unidentified for-



DOUG MILLS/ THE NEW YORK TIMES



DOUG MILLS/ THE NEW YORK TIMES

From top: Armored vehicles and machinery waiting to leave Afghanistan in 2014; General Douglas Lute in 2007; and President Barack Obama speaking to U.S. troops at Bagram Air Force Base in Afghanistan in 2010.

Bagram Air Force Base in Afghanistan in 2010.

“The time frame for creating a strong central government is 100 years, which we didn’t have,” an unidentified former State Department official told investigators in 2015. But to admit that the goal is unattainable is to admit failure.

So the mythmaking continues, institutional inertia persists and the Pentagon keeps issuing deployment orders to maintain a 13,000-person presence in the country. “Victory on the battlefield will always belong to you, the American warrior,” President Trump assured a uniformed crowd at Bagram Air Field last month.

An unidentified former member of the National Security Council staff was more explicit about the real marching orders: “Your job was not to win, it was to not lose,” the staffer told an interviewer in 2014, according to the documents.

It has been a long and bloody stalemate. Since the war began, more than 2,400 Americans have been killed and more than 20,000 wounded. More than 38,000 Afghan civilians have died, with countless more injured. The Taliban now controls much of the country, which is awash with refugees, and opium production has quadrupled.

Mr. Trump’s administration has been in talks with the Taliban to bring the conflict to an end but has little to show for it. In September, the Air Force dropped more bombs and other munitions in Afghanistan than in any other month in nearly a decade. Civilian casualties are appallingly high.

America’s failure in Afghanistan may come as a surprise to some Americans. But the Americans who should not be at all surprised are the members of Congress who voted to launch the war, repeatedly voted to continue funding it and have been absent without leave in their duty to oversee its progress.

“This is truly shocking. Years and years of half-truths and outright falsehoods,” said Josh Hawley, a senator from Missouri, in a tweet about the documents. Mr. Hawley is a member of the Armed Services Committee.

“It is deeply troubling to read a report of interviews with U.S. government officials that appear to contradict the many assurances we have heard at committee hearings that the continuing war in Afghanistan has a coherent strategy and an end in sight,” Kirsten Gillibrand, a senator from New York, wrote in a letter to the head of the Armed Services Committee, of which she is a member.

It is both truly shocking and deeply troubling that members of Congress, who oversee the military and are privy to classified assessments like those published by The Post, were surprised by the revelations in the documents, which took three years and two federal lawsuits to pry loose for public consumption.

The inspector general conducted the interviews between 2014 and 2018 with military and civilian officials who oversaw the war as part of a series of reports called “Lessons Learned.” There have been many lessons to draw from the war in Afghanistan: the corrosive effects of corruption, the lack of strategy and accountability, civilian deference to assurances from military leaders and seductive idea that the United States — and not the Afghans — was in control of what was happening in the country. But there’s little evidence that the American government has learned them.

And as long as the military and civilian leadership overseeing the war in Afghanistan keep insisting that their strategies are working, there’s little hope they ever will.



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A memorial service for two soldiers killed in Kandahar, Afghanistan, in 2012.

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dry to mostly sunny,
with thunderstorms in
and southern Mon-
day. Highs in the 60s to the upper
80s. Weather map is on Page A2E.

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Trump Spends A Royal Day In Petty Feuds

Insult to London Mayor as He Visits Queen

By MARK LANDLER
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

LONDON — Queen Elizabeth II welcomed President Trump to Buckingham Palace on Monday with an honor guard and royal artillery salute, while Mr. Trump carried on an ugly dispute with the mayor of London, whom he called a "stone cold loser" and said was doing a terrible job of running Britain's capital city.

The juxtaposition of high pageantry and low name-calling, on the first day of Mr. Trump's state visit to Britain, captured yet again the odd swath that this president cuts on the world stage: impulsive and erratic, delighted by a lavish welcome but preoccupied by petty feuds or events back home.

It also showcased the deep ambivalence Mr. Trump's visit has elicited. The British public mostly rejects Mr. Trump and his policies, but the governing elite recognizes the need to reinforce the alliance with the United States as it negotiates Britain's exit from the European Union.

Members of Britain's royalty did their part, treating Mr. Trump and the first lady, Melania Trump, to lunch and a lavish state banquet at Buckingham Palace. Mr. and Mrs. Trump had afternoon tea with the Prince of Wales and his wife, Duchess of Cornwall, at their residence, Clarence House. The Trumps also placed a wreath at Westminster Abbey, where England's queens and kings are crowned, married and laid to rest.

But the state narrative carried a more complicated subtext.

Continued on page A10



President Trump and Prince Charles at a reception on Monday. Mr. Trump also had tea with the prince.

'Dumb Things': Disastrous Campaign Still Echoes for Biden

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

Joe Biden was riffing again — an R.F.K. anecdote, a word about "civil wrongs," a meandering joke about the baseball commissioner — and aides knew enough to worry a little.

"When I marched in the civil rights movement, I did not march with a 12-point program," Mr. Biden thundered, testing his presidential message in February 1987 before a New Hampshire audi-

THE LONG RUN

A Veteran's First Attempt

ence. "I marched with tens of thousands of others to change attitudes. And we changed attitudes."

More than once, advisers had gently reminded Mr. Biden of the problem with his formulation: He had not actually marched during the civil rights movement. And more than once, Mr. Biden as-

sured them he understood — and kept telling the story anyway.

By that September, his recklessness as a candidate had caught up with him. He was accused of plagiarizing in campaign speeches. He had inflated his academic record. Reporters began calling out his exaggerated youth activism.

"I've done some dumb things," Mr. Biden conceded at a stop-the-bleeding news conference at the Capitol. "And I'll do dumb things

again."

He vowed that day to fight on. He quit the race within a week.

Thirty-two years later, as Mr. Biden seeks the presidency for a third time, his disastrous campaign for the 1988 Democratic nomination offers a revealing look at the personal tics and political flaws of the front-runner in the 2020 race — traits that, in many ways, continue to color Mr. Biden's public life.

Mr. Biden was, and remains, a "gut politician," as he has long told associates — swaggering, ad-lib-

TECH TITANS FACE TOUGH SCRUTINY FROM ALL SIDES

NEW ANTITRUST REVIEW

Apple, Google, Facebook and Amazon May Face Inquiries

This article is by Cecilia Kang, David Streitfeld and Annie Karni.

WASHINGTON — The federal government is stepping up its scrutiny of the world's biggest tech companies, leaving them vulnerable to new rules and federal lawsuits. Regulators are divvying up antitrust oversight of the Silicon Valley giants, and lawmakers are investigating whether they have stifled competition and hurt consumers.

After a spate of unusual negotiations, the Justice Department has agreed to handle potential antitrust investigations related to Apple and Google, while the Federal Trade Commission will take on Facebook and Amazon.

Lawmakers in the House said on Monday that they were looking into the tech giants' possible anti-competitive behavior. That could lead to the first overhaul of antitrust rules in many decades, an effort to keep up with an industry that didn't exist when antitrust laws were written.

The question of whether tech companies violate antitrust laws has long been the subject of academic debates and industry griping. But now the industry is in the sights of President Trump, Democrats running for president, Congress and consumers. Silicon Valley has faced fierce criticism over disinformation, privacy breaches and political bias.

Investors pummeled technology stocks on Monday. Shares of