

VALENTYN MOROZ AND
MOBILIZATION OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY:
A WINNIPEG PROFILE, 1974 - 1979

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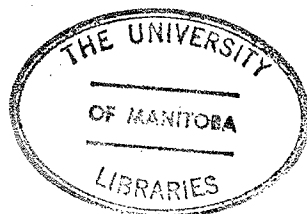
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ABSTRACT

Valentyn Moroz and Mobilization of the Ukrainian Community: A Winnipeg Profile, 1974-1979

Ukrainians in Canada, during the years 1974-1979, were visibly active and articulate in the defense of political dissidents in Soviet Ukraine, and particularly Valentyn Moroz. His incarceration in a Soviet prison provided the most contemporary impetus for mobilization of action within the Winnipeg Ukrainian community.

As an ethnic minority group in Canada, Ukrainians are numerically strong and present an institutionally organized base. They have historically organized in response to the greater society and their position in it, but have been internally fragmented along religious and political lines. Ethnic groups are visible through their objective cultural and linguistic criteria, but are structurally not static entities that are defined once and for all. They are products of their historical experience and are constantly changing. Ukrainians have historically strived at cohesive action in order to survive as individuals and as a unit. Mobilization is a mechanism used to revive and renew commitment.

Multiculturalism -- the policy and ideology of the federal government--has contributed to the most recent struggle for cohesive action in the Ukrainian community. A historical account of the structural formation of the Ukrainian community is provided. It is with

this frame of reference that the mobilization of the community in support of Valentyn Moroz will be viewed. Moroz and his writings are described. The mobilization movement of the community in Winnipeg is catalogued. Information about the movement is based on interviews with members of the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg.

Disintegration of the movement occurred upon the arrival of Moroz in 1979. The ethnic-based strategy of mobilization for Moroz and the subsequent disillusionment of the Ukrainian community is analyzed through the internal structural dynamics of that community and its efforts to establish relationships with the contemporary dominant Canadian society.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to examine the links between one man, Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian dissident released from Soviet Ukraine in 1979, and the mobilization of the Ukrainian community in Canada, but particularly in Winnipeg, that occurred in his name prior to his release. The mobilization of the Ukrainian community and its subsequent disillusionment will be shown to have occurred within the frame of reference of Winnipeg and Canada even though its focus was an issue in Ukraine. This mobilization process represents part of the dynamic social structural change of an ethnic minority group in Canada.

Previous research about Ukrainians in Canada has demonstrated that a strong sense of ethnic identity is characteristic of many Ukrainians (Woycenko 1967; Yuzyk 1967; Marunchak 1970). An ethnic community has been seen as a sub-population of people grouped around actual, or assumed, social and cultural criteria such as nationality, language, religion and a sense of common ancestry. The importance of ethnic identity as a human motivation is well known. Today, as in the past, there is ample evidence of its power in contemporary politics; all over the world groups of people attempt to preserve their cultural identity from the dominant society around them. The most prominent example for Canadians has been the tendency towards separation in Quebec: indeed, the movement in Quebec undoubtedly was a part of general ethnic identity assertion among

many groups in Canada and its radical nature influenced the tone of ethnic group action.

These movements have not been solely concerned with the preservation of identity. They also represent policies adopted in response to the minority group's historical underprivileged position with regard to the society around them. This has been the case for Ukrainians, who have grouped together for mutual survival. It has been traditionally necessary for Ukrainians to establish their own ethno-cultural enclaves before their cultural and linguistic aspirations, as well as their political and economic ones, have been recognized (Lupul 1978:160).

The convention of speaking about ethnic groups tends to create an illusion of solidarity and common consciousness which in reality rarely exists. Familiarity with the composition of many ethnic groups, both in Canada and elsewhere, reveals a startling degree of internal diversity, differences, and sometimes even conflict (Nagata 1979:173). These diversities can be based on a number of factors, including origin and birth, period of immigration, class, occupational and educational background, and settlement in either rural or urban environments.

It is frequently in the interests of members or leaders of a particular ethnic population to attempt to create and present a structurally unified community image. This has been particularly true in Canada, with the implementation of multiculturalism, as the most contemporary ideology of the Canadian government.

Barth describes three choices open to members of ethnic groups attempting to participate in the dominant society: (1) they may attempt to pass and become incorporated into the dominant group; (2) they may

adopt a 'minority' status, participate in the larger system and limit all cultural differences to areas of non-articulation; (3) they may choose to emphasize their ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns in the society (1969:33).

Individual Ukrainians in Canada have tried all three of these alternatives; but in the light of contemporary policy of multiculturalism, the third alternative has become the most obvious possibility. The choice of emphasizing their ethnic identity and the subsequent need for effective cohesive action implies a certain level of awareness and involvement, which is increased by mobilization. This mobilization requires a common and visible goal strong enough to unite any factions or sub-groups of the ethnic population, by underlining their common identity. Valentyn Moroz will be shown to have provided at least temporarily that goal for Ukrainian Canadians during the years 1974-1979.

Setting the Scene

Within the Soviet Union, dissent from among some small groups (ethnic, religious, intellectual/literary, etc.) has become increasingly visible through dissent literature that has recently made its way out of the Soviet Union. Although this literature has taken many forms and positions, depending on the group, a frequently expressed position of Ukrainian dissidents has become clear. I. Dzyuba, Y. Chornovil, and S. Karavansky, to name a few, have first advanced their advocacy on the stand of national civil and human liberties, shared by Soviet Jews and Russian language literary dissidents.

During the 1960's, a large number of works surfaced in North America

that reflected an attitude of opposition to the 'Russification' of Ukraine as an extension of Moscow's nationalities policy. This process was seen in the literature to be a threat to Ukrainian cultural life and language-- a policy aimed at the national and ethnic extinction of Ukrainians.

These perceived threats became very real in the minds of some Ukrainians both in Ukraine and outside Soviet Ukraine. In August 1965, Valentyn Moroz was arrested for the first time, and charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." Moroz had come from a peasant family, was an acknowledged Christian in the Orthodox Church, and had been originally trained as a historian at the University of Lviv. In January 1966, he was tried and convicted to four years of hard labour. He was sent to a camp for political prisoners in Mordovia A.S.S.R. It was during this first period of incarceration that he wrote his controversial and famous essay--A Report from the Beria Reserve.

After having served his term, Moroz was arrested for the second time in June, 1970, and convicted in November to fourteen years imprisonment. It was during this period of incarceration that he wrote a number of other essays, poems, and chronicles. The 1960's and 1970's have been viewed as a time of resurgence of intellectual activity in Ukraine and opposition to the Soviet government (Naulko 1978:430). Moroz was only one of the many arrested and imprisoned during this period, but his case became renown, and he became one of the most important dissident figures within Ukraine (Pospelovsky 1975:103).

Moroz was released, however, from the Soviet Union, on April 27, 1979. He was one of five Soviet dissidents involved in the 'Big Trade' between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Included in the trade were also Alexander Ginzburg, George Vins, Edward Kuznetsov, and Mark Dymshits.

This prisoner exchange for two Soviet Embassy employees, convicted of espionage, was a much publicized event.

The activity surrounding Valentyn Moroz was an issue not only for Ukraine, but for the Ukrainian community known as Hromada. In Ukrainian, the word Hromada means community; but it implies a structure, organization, and participation in organized activity. It has been hypothesized that community boundaries are established by, and composed of, several interdependent elements (Breton 1964). These include (1) economic organization, (2) educational organizations, (3) kinship based on endogamy, (4) religious organizations, and (5) voluntary organizations. It is necessary for ethnic groups to develop their own institutional base and activities, if they are to maintain themselves as separate entities (Breton 1964). The specific parameters and composition of the Hromada in Winnipeg will be discussed in Chapter 3, but at this point, it is the participation in an organized institutional base that defines a member of the Hromada, not just nominal ascription.

During these fifteen years, Ukrainian news, documents, and essays had begun to reach outside the borders of the Soviet Union with some regularity. These were distributed widely, particularly by the Ukrainian Hromada in Europe, the United States, and Canada. The Hromada in turn began to be quite vocal in the defense of writers of dissident literature. During this period of arrests and imprisonments, the Hromada also began to organize its protests against the harsh and repressive treatment of the Ukrainian dissidents. They began to work in cooperation with efforts by Amnesty International and other international agencies to secure their release.

Valentyn Moroz' literary output was relatively small, in comparison with other dissident writers, but his prison sentences were seen, both within and outside Ukraine, as unusually harsh. Although under pressure, he had also adopted a position of refusal to renounce the views expressed in his essays. By 1973, these two factors made him perhaps the most well-known dissident, and he became labelled the 'symbol of resistance' (Kolasky 1978:xi).

The dissident movement is certainly important in the social history of Soviet Ukraine; it has been, and will continue to be, a subject of interest and analysis. But on another level, this dissident movement produced for Ukrainians outside Ukraine one of the most active and controversial periods. By 1974, Committees for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz existed in Philadelphia, Rochester, Detroit, New York, Washington, Toronto, Montreal, and Winnipeg. His name began to be used as the flagship for committees for all Ukrainian political prisoners. Why Moroz? Gersper, in the preface to Boomerang: The Works of Valentyn Moroz (Bihun, 1974) wrote that "perhaps Moroz' greatest work is his life". It became obvious that the expectations of the Hromada to this personified symbol were great. These expectations were brought to the fore upon his release from the Soviet Union, and were reflected in the ceremonial receptions he received in his subsequent tour of American and Canadian cities during the summer of 1979.

William Norrie, deputy mayor of the City of Winnipeg, had declared officially June 11, 1979 to be Valentyn Moroz Day. (See Appendix Part II). Manitoba Premier Sterling Lyon declared in his speech at the official reception to honour Moroz, that Moroz was 'the embodiment of an

international fight for freedom' (Winnipeg Tribune: June 12, 1979). That type of eloquence was representative of the many reports covered by the media at that time. Moroz was greeted at the Winnipeg airport by over 2,000 people. He was welcomed officially by the president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the sponsor of Moroz' Canadian tour.

It was at the Winnipeg Convention Centre that the Hromada came out on mass. The heads of both the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches, officials and delegates of the many Ukrainian voluntary organizations, cultural groups, and individual members of the Hromada attended the FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE RALLY in honour of Valentyn Moroz - Hero and Fighter for Ukrainian Freedom (See Appendix - Part II).

The atmosphere of the rally was one of its most striking features-- it was an emotion-packed event. Tension, and excitement were high. On Moroz' entrance, the crowd responded with cheers, ovations, and songs. The magnitude of the reception for Moroz has rarely been equalled in Hromada life. It is infrequently that such a number of Hromada members, representing diverse religious and organizational factions, had been involved at one time. The Hromada was out in force. Clearly it was an important event.

It is therefore interesting and surprising to note that two years after his release relatively little has been heard about Valentyn Moroz. The attitude of the Hromada has cooled drastically and visibly. Many of the Moroz Committees that were active have disintegrated, as in Winnipeg, or have changed their name and focus, as in Montreal.

It is precisely on the developments within the Hromada in Winnipeg that this thesis will focus. The chain of events between the years

1974-1979 will be catalogued, and subjective opinions by informants from the Hromada will be examined to further our understanding of the historical events of this particular case as well as the processes surrounding ethnic-based action in the context of complex societies. The disillusionment of the Hromada members can be understood within the structural relationships of the larger Canadian society. The activity, culminating in the release of Valentyn Moroz, will be shown to have had particular significance for the Ukrainian Hromada. Even though the activity was centered around an issue in Ukraine and for Ukraine, it will be shown to have been important in the historical social process of an ethnic community adjusting, changing, and living in its Canadian milieu. The mobilization surrounding this Soviet Ukrainian dissident will be viewed within the theoretical framework of ethnicity, as a contemporary example of a dynamic community setting up new relationships and solidifying old ones, in order to survive within the total Canadian community.

Research Techniques

The main source of data concerning the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz, and individual mobilization was obtained through the use of informant interviewing and discussion. A structured interview schedule was prepared and was used as a guideline in eliciting responses. Informants were encouraged to add their own recollections of events and to offer their own opinions.

Information was obtained through personal interviews over the period of March 1981 to June 1981. Thirty people were interviewed; notes were made during the interview and then transcribed the same day. The

informants were selected in two ways: (1) by their known and acknowledged participation in the Hromada, often by holding executive positions; (2) by references from other informants, who recommended the name of a Hromada member known to be active within the mobilization during the period 1974-1979.

The informants were contacted, and appropriate times for interviews were arranged. At the interview, the nature and purpose of the study were outlined. Informants were told that the individual responses would remain anonymous and confidential. Interviews were conducted in Ukrainian, Ukrainian/English, or English, depending on the preference of the informant. Information gathered outside the interview group from other Hromada members was not quoted or used directly, but serves to substantiate certain information.

The gathering of information and the contacting of informants was facilitated by previous participation in the Hromada, albeit in Montreal. Making contacts and soliciting their participation was facilitated by my parents' activity and position in the Hromada in Canada. Knowledge of Ukrainian was indispensable in both the interviewing and in the examination of original resource material, such as newspapers, print-outs, and other publications.

The interviews were designed solely to supply opinions, reactions, expectations - i.e., to elicit subjective responses. The factual and chronological sequence of events was gathered by the examination of press clippings (both in Ukrainian and English), press releases, personal and organizational correspondence, and written reports.

In general, informants' responses were found to be informative and

well thought out. Response was voluntary, but no one whom I approached refused to be interviewed or declined to answer questions.

In conclusion, the aims of this thesis are: (1) to describe the mobilization of the Hromada for the defense of Valentyn Moroz and the subsequent disillusionment of the Hromada; (2) to illustrate that this action occurred within the frame of reference of Winnipeg and Canada, even though its focus was an issue in Ukraine; (3) to place the Free Moroz movement into the historical perspective of social internal structural change of the Hromada; (4) to relate this contemporary process of ethnic-based action in a complex society to the general body of ethnicity literature that has developed.

The existing social science literature will be examined in the following chapter in order to provide the analytical tools and theories in the understanding of the structural process of the Free Moroz movement and the motivations of the Hromada as a social unit in Canada.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Background Literature on Ethnicity

Social anthropology and sociology have adopted a variety of approaches in an attempt at greater understanding of the concept of ethnicity. Especially after World War II, ethnic and racial phenomena became a subject of much discussion among social scientists in response to rapid social, political, and economic changes in Third World countries. North America was seeing an influx of non-English speaking immigrants after the War. American sociology particularly reflected this period; ethnic groups were defined as cultural groups whose behaviour could be analyzed within the context of assimilation. The melting pot theory was widely circulated (Glazer & Moynihan 1975; Gordon, 1964; Handlin, 1952). In conceptualizing ethnicity, sociologists, although very active in their research, have drawn heavily upon anthropological studies of culture, drawing from the long tradition of ethnographic and ethnological work.

Reflecting more specifically upon the literature of anthropology, Bennett (1973:85) stresses that in spite of that long standing tradition, relatively few anthropologists have inquired into the role of racial and ethnic phenomena in relationship to the organization of groups. Depres (1975:189) quite aptly proposes considering anthropological literature

on ethnic studies B.B. and A.B. (i.e., Before and After Barth, editor 1969). He indicates that before Barth, ethnic phenomena did not receive a great deal of theoretical attention. The emphasis was on the organization of plural societies, largely centered around M. G. Smith (1965) and his classic concept of pluralism. Smith defines ethnicity as "common provenience and distinctiveness as a unit of social and biological reproduction; it accordingly connotes internal uniformities and external distinctiveness of biological stock, perhaps of language, kinship, culture, cult, and other institutions" (1969:104-109). Despres (1975:189) suggests that Smith's biocultural concept of ethnicity is unapplicable to analysis and collection of data. He argues that plural theorists have given emphasis to cultural differentiation of population units within an overall system of such units, and the concept of ethnicity has not assumed strategic significance.

Ethnic phenomena did not receive a great deal of theoretical attention by anthropologists until the publication of Barth's investigation of the populations of Northwest province of Pakistan and the adjoining area of Afghanistan, which changed the entire focus of anthropological research. Greatly influenced by the ethnographic complexity of the area, he defines ethnicity in the following:

By concentrating on what is socially (his emphasis) effective, ethnic groups are seen as a form of social organization. The critical feature then becomes the characteristic of self-ascription and ascription by others. A categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background. To the extent that the actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for the purpose of interaction,

they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense. (1969:13-14)

His emphasis on ascription leads Barth (1969) to the following assumptions:

1. When defined as an ascriptive and exclusive group the nature of continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of a boundary.
2. Socially relevant factors alone become diagnostic for membership, not the overt 'objective' differences which are generated by other factors.

Naroll (1964) originally had proposed the use of the term "cultunit" to indicate the general concept of the culture-bearing unit, based on the criteria of language, political organization and territorial contiguity. His main emphasis was on creating a taxonomy for cross-cultural comparison (1964:288). His cultunit concept was utilized by anthropologists such as Zenner (1975:327-338) in a discussion of Jewish communities, and by Sawchuk (1973:11) in a discussion of the Metis. Barth then criticized Naroll's type of analysis, as enlisting a prejudicial view of which traits were actual determinants, and providing a congruence between the ethnic group and a culture that he felt was not necessarily borne out (Barth 1969:11).

The utility of Barth's concept of ethnicity became even more evident in the fact that his definition has been the starting point for almost all other anthropological discussion about ethnicity. Van den Berghe (1970:74), however, is particularly critical of Barth's concept of ethnicity and sees it as too subjective. He maintains that ethnicity may subsume a

variety of exclusive or overlapping ascriptive loyalties.

The 1973 American Ethnological Society meetings focused on problems relating to the investigation and comparative analysis of ethnicity and ethnic group relations. A number of publications resulted from these meetings (Bennett, ed., 1975, Despres ed. 1975, Holloman & Artutiunov 1978). A review of the highlights will indicate the trend of contemporary anthropological work on ethnicity.

Bennett (1975) titled his volume The New Ethnicity, implying that the 'newness' (or newly noticed) indicates a new manifestation--the inclination of people to seize on traditional cultural symbols as a definition of their identity. This is done either to assert the self over the impersonal state, or to obtain the resources needed to survive and consume. Bennett further feels that ethnicity needs to be viewed as a component of social participation, as an extension of Barth's boundaries.

All the papers presented in the Despres (1975) volume begin with Barth's work. They indicate that Barth's subjectivist conception of ethnicity is too pronounced. They see ethnicity as both objective and subjective and that the degree of relativity varies according to the referent populations. They stress the multidimensional aspects of ethnicity. The papers "which comprise this volume suggest that prevailing conceptions of ethnicity are perhaps too ambiguous in their overall structure to significantly advance the comparative study of ethnic phenomena beyond the work of Barth" (Despres 1975:194). One theme does emerge: ethnicity is indicated as one of several possible forms of status achievement through the use of stratification theory or perhaps

even more general theories of power. All social statuses enjoin imperative relationships in reference to persons and groups as well as material resources. Despres (1975:197) offers an elaborate diagram for a framework for the comparative study of ethnic phenomena.

Besides these social science studies, ethnicity has also been approached from various other angles, including psychological (DeVos, 1972, Erikson 1968), economic (Nikolinakos, 1973), and political and economic (Cohen, 1974) aspects of ethnicity. One point bears mentioning in relation to the psychological aspects of ethnicity, that is often omitted in an attempt to build an anthropological ethnicity theory. This aspect is the powerful emotional charge that appears to surround or to underlie so much of ethnic behaviour. Epstein (1978) deals with the psychological aspects of identity formation and emphasizes their applicability to social science. He argues that anthropologists should not forget the individual actor as the point of departure for discussion.

The approaches used in the anthropological literature, although useful, each reveal certain inadequacies. Many questions arise from the presentations. How does a group, once defined, manage to survive as a group at all? The dynamics of a group should be examined, i.e., its emergence and historical process, the relations between ethnic categories, and the forces that keep it in existence. The group must be viewed within its social context, and its maintenance and changes over time should be examined. Ethnic studies that view ethnicity as a social phenomenon assumed to be the aggregate of individual behaviour or cognitive patterns, as determined by Barth (1969) and his enthusiasts, do not attempt to explain social change, both within and between ethnic groups.

Ethnicity and Class

The development of a vertical and structural approach has, in recent years, been more often applied in the discussion of ethnic minority groups. This line of analyses has led many social scientists to question traditional social and ethnic theory, and is seen as being more directly related to the social world and changes occurring in it.

Robbins' article in the Bennett volume (1975:285) stands alone in comparison to the other articles in its approach. It is concerned with ethnicity in relationship to class, and it contains a view of ethnicity which eliminates the distinction between ethnicity as a cultural or group phenomena, and as an identity phenomenon. Robbins holds that in either case, ethnicity is a cultural construct--as behaviour pattern, value, or ideology, and therefore it cannot explain itself. He proposes the concept of class, since it defines "structural" relations between people, can provide much of the explanation of social relations in complex societies.

Teal & Bai (1981) comprehensively review the development of class analysis in the social sciences and its more radical posture in dealing with the relationship of ethnicity and class. Hechter (1975, 1978) is positioned in the forefront of this trend with a model of inter-ethnic relations. He proposes this model as an example of imperialism, with the opposition of a national core to a group of national peripheries. In his article Group Formation and the Cultural Division of Labour (1978), he attempts to discover the basis for group formation and social stratification in the United States. Hechter uses the Weberian notion of status group, adding that a class analysis of ethnicity is only meaningful if all members of the group occupy the same class position. He later does not

develop the theme of ethnicity as a status group phenomenon, but returns to the traditional concept of behavioural interaction and shared sentiments.

Edna Bonacich (1979) reviews 'communalistic' forms of social affiliation as a special bond between people of like origins and the rejection of people with dissimilar origins. She presents competing principles, in ethnicity and class, each calling on people to join together along one or two axes. She supports the view that in advanced capitalist society ethnicity is a predominant organizing principle, and that among ethnic minorities concentrated in particular spheres in the labour market, ethnicity overrides class relations. Teal & Bai (1981) have taken this approach one step further by emphasizing that contemporary ethnicity and ethnic relations, while perhaps resulting partially from numerous cultural and historical factors, are largely by-products of exploitation, and the economic and political forces behind exploitation.

Anderson & Frideres (1981) review many of the theoretical applications of ethnic studies within the Canadian context. They stress that ethnic minorities are subordinate collectivities within the social structure controlled by a dominant society. This relationship is seen as dynamic and constantly changing within the historical social context.

The analysis of the Free Moroz movement in this thesis will be included in a profile of Ukrainian Canadian social transitions within the framework of a class and ethnically stratified Canadian society. The social transition of the Ukrainian Canadians will be seen as taking place in a Canadian context in which, as in the past, Anglo-Canadian elites continue to dominate the major institutions of Canadian society.

Large immigrations and emigrations to and from Canada are a response to economic conditions. Petryshyn (1978:75) applied economic 'push' and 'pull' factors to the immigration of Ukrainians. Immigration took place in three waves which differed from each other in social composition (Petryshyn 1978:75). The waves of immigration will be further discussed in the next chapter; briefly, pre-World War I immigrants of about 140,000 were mainly peasant farmers and small craftsmen. The second wave (1925-1930) of about 68,000 Ukrainians settled largely in urban centers during the period that Canada itself was transformed from a country of small scale production to large-scale machine production, requiring a surplus of cheap, low skilled, urban labour (Petryshyn 1978:76). The third wave of immigrants consisted of 38,000 Ukrainians, who at the end of World War II lived in Displaced Persons camps in Western Europe. They settled largely in urban centers in eastern Canada, and found themselves in an economy which the war had helped transform into a well-developed industrial one. Ukrainians moved into work disliked by Canadians or into professions that had insufficient numbers of trained Canadians (Porter 1969:171). Petryshyn (1978:77) produces data that clearly illustrates that Ukrainians entered the economy in lower middle class positions. Further, in each period of emigration, selection processes were applied which gave Ukrainians a class and status position "above that of the Canadian Indian, Inuit, and Metis peoples, yet below that occupied by established Anglo-Canadian elites." Ukrainians found themselves in a social structure and economic structure that is characterized by a system of ethnic stratification that has continued up to the present period of multiculturalism.

Inevitably the class and ethnic structures of Canadian society and the historical middle class position of Ukrainian Canadians have defined the manner in which Ukrainians have behaved politically in Canadian society (Petryshyn 1978:95).

It is with this frame of reference that the formation of the Hromada will be viewed as the social setting of Free Moroz movement.