

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

A THESIS  
PRESENTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH  
THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA  
IN PARTIAL FULLFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE  
MASTER OF ARTS  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

by  
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September, 1981

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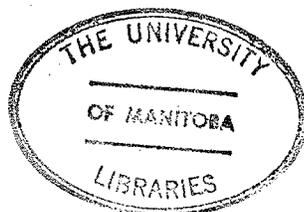
A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
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of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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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.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am dedicating this thesis to Anne and Bohdan Panchuk, and Slawka Cousins, for a lifetime of encouragement and opportunity.

To my committee--Dr. Ray Wiest, Dr. Louise Sweet, and Dr. J. Rozumnyj, I would like to express my sincere appreciation for their interest, suggestions, and assistance throughout the writing of this paper.

I would particularly like to thank Dr. Joan Townsend for providing me with a space to work; and Gary, who provided me with an ear, encouragement, and constant support.

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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.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE SOCIAL SETTING

#### Ethnic Identity: Objective Criteria

A variety of approaches have been adopted in an attempt to deal with the elusive task of defining and describing ethnic groups as social categories with universal characteristics (Robbins 1975:236). Whether ethnic group identity is self-ascribed or ascribed by others, it characteristically differs from other status ascription in that the social definition incorporates evidence of differential cultural origins. The criteria by which such ascriptions are cognitively and symbolically expressed are quite variable (Despres 1975, Epstein 1978, Bennett 1975).

Barth (1969:14) lists the cultural contents of ethnic identity to include "overt signals or signs - the diacritical features that people look for to exhibit and show identity - often such features as dress, language, house-form, or general style of life". Consolidating the many identificational factors presented by the variety of social scientists, Anderson and Frideres (1981) consider an objective definition of ethnic identity within the Canadian social setting to be based primarily on the following four factors:

1. ethnic origin - largely determined by Canadian Census specifications, determined by the language group of the respondents' parents.
2. mother tongue - this criterion varies from the first, in that it

includes the language spoken by members of a particular ethnic group to which the respondent belongs.

3. ethnic oriented religion - this criterion includes participation in a religious affiliation recognized as a traditional religion of the particular group.
4. folkways - this criterion includes the practise of certain customs unique to the group.

Anderson and Frideres (1981) admit that in any individual group, not all these characteristics will be relevant.

The application of these criteria will be applied to Ukrainian Canadians in an overview of their "cultural stuff" (Barth 1969:15).

1. Ethnic origin - The following figures are statistical data published by Census Canada, tabulating Ukrainians in Canada, Manitoba and Winnipeg.

<u>Ukrainians in</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1976</u>
Canada	580,655	309,855
Manitoba	114,410	60,250
Winnipeg	64,305	31,835

Census Canada

The 1971 figures were based on mother tongue spoken by an individual or his patrilinear predecessor upon immigration to North America. In 1976, ethnic groups were not tabulated as such, the criteria used was mother tongue--a language traditionally spoken by members of a particular ethnic group. These figures serve to illustrate the numerical population base from which the Ukrainian community is

drawn. The total numerical Ukrainian population group is much larger than the active structured community. Anderson & Frideres (1981:85) critique the criteria used in Census Canada questions, underlining that an ethnic population should not be equated with an ethnic group.

2. Language/mother tongue - It is obvious that many Canadians take an interest in their ethnic identity without speaking the traditional language (Bociurkiw 1970, Driedger 1978, Pohorecky 1978). It is viewed as problematic, in terms of definition, whether one can claim to be Ukrainian Canadian unless one speaks Ukrainian (Anderson & Frideres 1981:39). Within the Ukrainian Hromada, most activities take place using the Ukrainian language. Officially, at public events, such as concerts, meetings, etc., the focus is within the framework of the Ukrainian language. It is not unusual to participate in a peer group discussion in English or a mix of Ukrainian and English, but it is always viewed as desirable to be able to speak Ukrainian. Higher status is associated with proficiency, the speaker is viewed as 'more Ukrainian' within the social relations of the Hromada. This is particularly true if the speaker was born in Canada or the speaker's parents were born in Canada. Adulteration of the language is tolerated, but it is desirable that if you speak Ukrainian, it should be good Ukrainian. Consequently, speakers who are not proficient often refrain from using Ukrainian, even when they have knowledge of the language. Young people will often express with a great deal of bitterness that they could speak as children, but were not forced to in later life by their Ukrainian-speaking parents. Language is taught, or has been traditionally taught, in the home and at Saturday morning schools within the Hromada. Only in recent years have

bilingual public schools and Ukrainian nursery schools been established. A non-Ukrainian speaker can be a member of the Hromada, but often compensation is made by increased activity, proficiency in the arts/dancing/singing, or status acquired through education or occupation.

3. Ethnic oriented religion - Within this criterion, the Ukrainian Canadians merit attention (Anderson & Frideres 1981:35). Ukrainians have 27 Greek Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic churches in metropolitan Winnipeg (Driedger & Church, 1974:54). The eastern architecture of the churches makes them easily distinguishable from other churches. Identity in the active Hromada includes at least nominal membership in a specifically Ukrainian church. Many of the functions of the religion are oriented toward the preservation of Ukrainian identity. Pohorecky (1978:190) refers to them as more ethnocultural since the church is essential to any meaningful definition of the ethnic group itself. When describing settlement in the prairies, my parents emphasized that every settlement automatically built a church in their area. Pohorecky (1978:180) continues by reiterating that it is only through churches and their ministers that many ethnic communities have managed to survive at all in western Canada by using their own language and preserving their cultural traditions through the celebration of certain religious events in ways that are distinctly cultural, and not strictly religious. He uses Ukrainians to illustrate his point, saying that Ukrainians feel most "Ukrainian" (rather than Christian) when they celebrate Christmas and Easter with traditions that pre-date Christianity. Moreover, Ukrainians celebrate these events very much the same way everywhere, whether they are of the Orthodox or Catholic church, or neither. Significantly, these religious

events are celebrated very differently from Christians of other cultural roots, thereby, emphasizing the cultural and identity aspects of these religious celebrations..

The discussion must also include mention of 'parish' organizations, many of which often quite literally function within a church. Activity within the church facilitated social contacts, meeting potential spouses, as well as the organization of cultural and social activities--i.e., a person is visible.

Religiously, Ukrainians have been fragmented into the two dominant faiths--Ukrainian Greek Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic. Their respective struggles for survival between the influences of Constantinople and Rome, and then between each other, has both strengthened their determination to survive, and set serious conflict between the two religious ideologies (Driedger 1978:159).

Only relatively recently have a number of non-demoninational institutions and organizations been clearly established, encouraging frequent mingling.

Both churches see themselves as the spiritual and therefore cultural churches of Ukrainians. During the last Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the question was raised, that some liturgies be provided in the English language, to serve "mixed marriages" or members who do not speak Ukrainian. This was categorically rejected as a dilution of the faith, responsibility to retain the language, and with the language, Ukrainian uniqueness and ethnic identity. "A valid role of the church has been to reflect and support the most profound cultural values of an ethnic community" (Pohorecky 1978:191).

4. Folkways and ethnic identity - Anderson & Frideres (1981:39) equate folkways to customs, contributing to the uniqueness of each group's identity. A fairly high degree of ethnic identity and consciousness prevails among Ukrainian-Canadians, who exhibit a rich tradition of folk music, dancing, and the arts (1981:239). Foods have always been important in the establishment of identity; Ukrainians have a large range of foods that are distinctive and prepared regularly.

The production of traditional handicrafts includes the art of pysanky (Easter egg decorating), the weaving of kylymy (rugs and tapestries), and vyshyvannia (cross stitch embroidery). These are the most obvious of traditional crafts, but all have seen a popular revival in recent years. The wearing of traditional clothing is related by Anderson & Frideres (1981:40) to home craftsmanship. Unique clothing has always been a means of visibly exhibiting ethnic affiliation, but is rarely worn on a day-to-day basis. The Ukrainian women's embroidered smocks, ribboned headdresses, obhoritky (wool petticoats), embroidered white linen blouses, long skirts, and leather boots or slippers are now only worn on ceremonial occasions. It is still not uncommon to see elderly women wearing babushky. The once typical man's attire is also only worn on ceremonial occasions. Variations of Ukrainian traditional dress have been incorporated more recently into contemporary fashion; it is not uncommon to see an embroidered blouse with jeans, or a stylish dress with embroidery sown onto it.

Home decor was once particularly distinctive for Ukrainian-Canadians on the prairies, where examples of thatched-roofed houses were visible. Now, interiors have become more distinctive, as religious icons,

embroidery runners, china, and pottery are common in Ukrainian households. Artists, producing works of traditional or historic themes, have become popular.

Ceremonial, recreational, and leisure time activity has always been stressed within the life of the Hromada. It includes a whole range of activity, such as festivals, concerts, plays, operettas, and dances, to name a few. Participation begins in childhood, but membership in choirs and dancing troupes can continue into adult life.

The relative necessity of distinctive folkways has long been debated, as "some groups have tended to emphasize folk arts more than others" (Anderson & Frideres 1981:45). McFeat (1970:29) argues that they provide the very visible cultural markers in his 'binary-system' of 'us' and 'them'. It is perhaps important to simply note that these criteria also provide the means of ascription from outside within the same categories, e.g., stereotyping such as 'garlic eaters', accents that declare non-English speaking origins, and ethnic joking, etc. It is the interplay of the positive and negative aspects of the objective criteria that require grouping and setting up of ethnic boundaries, like the Hromada, i.e., ethnic identity may be supposed or imposed.

Ideally, the tradition bound ethnic group member may (a) value his ethnic origin, (b) fluently and primarily speak his traditional mother tongue, (c) attend an ethnic-oriented church, and (d) follow various customs peculiar to his group (Anderson & Frideres, 1981:37). Clearly, ethnic groups have emphasized different criteria at different times for different reasons. It is this relationship of identification and structure of ethnic groups that remains a subject requiring more analysis.

Briefly, the objective criteria are the base; they provide the material around which individuals structure their group.

Provided there continues a hard core of ideas and customs, the group persists as a separate identity, no matter how similar its economic behaviour, or its habit of diet and dress become to that of the host society (Price 1959:286).

This group is an entity and changes over time, and it is the structural unit of ethnically affiliated individuals that then perpetuates certain aspects of the objective criteria. The following discussion of the Ukrainian community will deal with the structural unit of Ukrainians in Canada grouped around the objective criteria of ethnic affiliation.

#### Organizational Boundaries - the Hromada

Ethnic identity criteria offer one among a number of possible forms of social identification. Within the circle of one's ethnic associates, there is a haven that offers respite and security, among kin and friends, there is shared understanding and shared experience (Epstein 1978:xiv). Ethnic identity for individuals provides the starting point for an examination of how individual Ukrainian-Canadians structurally organized themselves in response to the greater community and in order to perpetuate the social boundaries supportive of the persistence of their categorical ethnic identities.

Depres (1975:196) argues that the objective criteria can be operative in reference to individuals, population aggregates, and corporately organized groups. Ethnic identity is reinforced if a wide variety of ethnocultural organizations are available to the individuals

of an ethnic aggregate, and if the members participate as regularly as possible (Sarna:1978, Pohorecky:1978). Breton (1964) provides a model of the levels of institutional completeness, and its bearing on ethnic persistence. Although the model generated much discussion, it is generally accepted that within a population aggregate there arises a need for ethnic group structures and institutions that influence socialization and ethnic group decision making (Vallee 1969:23-24).

It has been proposed that the solidarity of a population is established by means of a strong institutional base (Breton 1964:194). This base consists of organizations involving a number of different voluntary organizations and interest groups. Breton lists these as religious, educational, political, recreational, national, economic, and professional. They may include organized welfare and mutual aid societies, and media outlets, such as newspapers and radio (1964:194).

The rationale for "institutional completeness" is that when a minority can develop a social system of its own, with control of its own institutions, then the pattern of social interaction of the group will take place largely within the system making them totally self-sufficient. Breton (1964) suggests that religious, educational, and welfare institutions are crucial, while Joy (1972) adds the importance of political and economic institutions.

The degree of institutional completeness varies from group to group. A numerical tabulation of the number of groups involved, in comparison to other ethnic groups, is supplied by Driedger (1978:155). The need for organization of group structures and institutions which influence socialization and ethnic community decision-making (Vallee 1969) appears

particularly applicable to the Ukrainian-Canadian experience, whose Hromada supports more voluntary institutions than any other groups. These include:

1. Economic organizations: credit unions, fraternal organizations, insurance/indemnity organizations, stores specializing in Ukrainian commodities--books, etc., restaurants, and pubs.
2. Educational/Religious Institutions: schools, libraries, summer camps, SELO (cultural camp), dancing troupes and schools, bandura workshops, choirs, social clubs.
3. Cultural institutions: theatre, opera companies, orchestra, handi-craft workshops, museums, art galleries.
4. Political Organizations: Within the greater Hromada, there is ingroup political polarization. This is evident particularly in the organizational structure of Ukrainian non-ecclesiastic organizations (Driedger 1978:150). The communist organizations are grouped under the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, while non-communist organizations belong to the nationalistic and anti-communist Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The latter coordinates the activities of all Ukrainian societies which have a national membership; apart from pursuing a mildly nationalistic policy, it is essentially a non-political organization. Within its ranks, however, are organizations that draw their membership along religious lines and a number of ideological bases that range from being extremely nationalistic to groups that have shifted their emphasis almost entirely from Ukraine to an emphasis on Canada. The polarization within the political organizations indicates that within the population aggregate of Ukrainian Canadians, indicated by

ethnic identity criteria (within the total population), Ukrainians have set up into corporately organized groups (Despres 1978:196).

Corporately organized groups disclose another level of boundaries and membership. They differ from population aggregates in that they generally have a common estate, a unitary set of external relations, a relatively exclusive set body of common affairs, and procedures which are more or less adequate to the administration of these affairs (Despres 1978:196). In other words corporately organized groups share an ideology, and are, therefore, political organizational units. The Hromada as defined in this thesis is the corporately organized group under the political auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which at the present includes thirty national organizations.

It should be emphasized that even though the Hromada can be seen to reiterate, enforce, and encourage ethnic solidarity, it by no means reflects a united homogeneous group. Participation within the individual voluntary associations/political organizations that make up the Hromada represents diverse interests. Their common ground is their ethnic Ukrainian identity, but their diversity is expressed in terms of religion, political views, and the period of immigration. This diversity is particularly important, because in very real terms, it fragments the community. It produces responses that range from tolerance to bitter antagonism, and undermines the desirability of collective, united action. Participants in the Hromada recognize these affiliations, and members are pigeon-holed. These divisions are difficult if not impossible to discard, largely because these affiliations are a result of the historical experience of the Hromada.

### Historical Background of Hromada

When discussing an ethnic corporate group and its identity, the assumption is that there exists a definitely recognizable unit. This assumption is often extended, projecting that the group is also homogeneous and united. Such is rarely the case (Severo 1965:71), as becomes particularly clear in an examination of the Hromada, and from the literature about Ukrainian-Canadians. "Any history of Ukrainians in Canada must concern itself first of all with the study of their socio-cultural differentiation and factionalism" (Woycenko, 1967:217). Ethnic group affiliation varies considerably depending on religion, time of arrival, generation, class affiliation, educational background, to name a few. The factionalism within the Hromada is undeniably in existence, but it is also clear that members of the Hromada have recognized the need of unity in order to be an effective minority group. They have continually and historically attempted to consolidate their efforts, with varying and sporadic success. Unity is seen as strength, and the common ground for the survival and preservation of the group's identity and power.

Sarna (1978:371) asserts that the fragmented nature of the immigrant group upon arrival is in sharp contrast with the social and cultural unities found among ethnic groups later. This is too simplistic, as will be demonstrated. The lesson that was learned quickly by each group of immigrants was that unity provides power and defense in the face of adversity, and its relative position to the larger community. Sarna (1978:371) does, however, argue that ethnic groups are created as a response to ascription (from within and without) and adversity.

"An ethnic group must dominate an ecological area demographically in order to gain control of the political decisions in the area" (Driedger 1978:150). Historically, political success has been brief and spotty in Ukraine. In Europe, Ukraine was continually sandwiched between the Austro-Hungarian, Polish, and Russian powers who controlled them politically, economically, and culturally. Their brief state of independence in 1917-1921, is still in the memories of Ukrainians, and tends to spur on many Ukrainians to maintain their identity in Canada. "Ethnic identity is likely to persist if an ethnic minority maintains connections, physical or emotional, with the mother country" (Anderson & Frideres 1981:108). But since Ukrainians have been dominated politically by others, they have historically devised ways and means of working and surviving within a political context where they are not the dominant group. They did not come to Canada with great visions of power and influence (Driedger 1975:153).

Ukrainians came relatively late to Manitoba, when many other groups were already in control of the economic and political structures. In contrast to the French, who hoped to gain dominance in Manitoba in the 1800's, the Ukrainian never had those aspirations. They had been allowed admission as peasant workers and labourers on the bottom of the social scale. The French and British were much more numerous and powerful, and Ukrainians had to compete in the political and economic arena with the other immigrants that were coming into Canada.

They are very much an entrance group (Porter 1965), who have not been influential or powerful economically or politically. They were, from the first immigration, not able to use the state means of power

and force to perpetuate their way of life. The only option for survival has been to build and maintain social structures. The Hromada emerged as one of these structures, promoted by internal socialization and a sense of ethnic identity.

The following presentation of Ukrainian immigration and organizational structure is by no means conclusive or complete. But within this sketchy outline, a historical social framework will be provided, in order to place the Free Moroz movement in a historical perspective of the Hromada.

First Immigration. The shortage of land, especially in Western Ukraine, was a very real cause of immigrations for Ukrainians. The peasants' holdings were limited within the feudal system of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Czarist Russia. Politically, Ukraine was deprived of independence and participation in the state. As a rural population of two classes - peasants and rural intelligentsia, with no possibility of social mobility, Ukrainians began to emigrate. Lack of education and social restrictions have also been seen as reasons for emigration (Woycenko 1967:10). Schooling was severely restricted, and the clergy predominated in the intelligentsia. The social structure has been referred to as 'peasant and priest' (Woycenko 1967:11).

Immigrants are not automatically transformed from "weak, fragmented, and unclassified bundles of immigrants into self-conscious, active, and easily recognizable and identifiable ethnic groups" (Sarna 1978:370). Labeling population groups as ethnic groups assumes that immigrant groups were internally united by preexisting ties, and that the structure actually existed in the mother country. Historical evidence demonstrates that ethnic ties often developed only outside (Sarna 1978:370). The

process called ethnicization (Sarna 1978) appears particularly applicable to Ukrainian immigrants, as Anderson (1979:250-251) points out:

Common identity as Ukrainians should not be over emphasized; there were many examples during the early years of settlement in Canada of rivalry, if not of, at times outright hostility, between these various ethno-religious subgroups within the larger Ukrainian-Polish group. The regions from where most of the immigrants to Canada came - Galicia, Bukovina, Podcarpathian Ruthenia - were within the Austrian Empire; the rest of the Ukraine lay within the Russian Empire. Thus, subjugated emigrants thought of themselves first as Galicians, Bukovinians, or Ruthenians; only secondarily as Austrians or Russians. Ukrainian identity was to emerge gradually after they had emigrated; it was in Canada that they emerged and discovered their common identity.

Gluckman (1963:127), from his anthropological work in Africa, sees conflict as a mode of integrating groups and hostility between groups as a form of social balance. He proposes that lower levels of conflict are resolved in the face of higher levels of conflict. Fishman (1977:177) further argues that most pre-World War I immigrants became conscious of their own ethnicity only after immigration. Group consciousness developed as immigrants attempted to adjust to the new world.

The first wave of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in the period between 1896-1914, just prior to the First World War, and numbered approximately 100,000. They were overwhelmingly of peasant-farmer origin, and they acquired homesteads and farms, establishing conglomerates throughout the prairies. Although predominately farmers, some settled in urban centers as un-skilled labourers, trademen, and small businessmen (largely catering to their own group). Since they came to the West, and since Winnipeg was the main center from which they fanned out into their rural communities,

some stayed in Winnipeg (Marunchak, 1970). From the beginning, Ukrainians have been highly concentrated in the Northend of Winnipeg.

The Ukrainians were latecomers to western Canada when they arrived at the turn of the century. Much of the better land in the southern prairies had been claimed by the British, French, Germans, Scandinavians and others (Driedger 1978:148). They settled in large blocs in the aspen parkland belt of western Canada. This bloc settlement belt extended from the Manitoba Interlake and Dauphin areas, north of Winnipeg, northwest of Yorkton and north of Saskatoon, into the Edmonton area. The land was not as fertile as the southern parts of the prairies, making their economic base for successful farming difficult. The settlement bordered on the urban centers of Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton.

Ethnic ascription from outside was an unescapable reality, and ethnic group affiliation was strengthened (Anderson 1977:188-193). Kurt Lewin (1948) proposes that an individual needs to achieve a firm sense of identification with the heritage and culture of the ingroup in order to find a secure ground for a sense of well-being. It was within these groups that language, social structure, and religious affiliations, and cultural life would be maintained. Anderson & Frideres (1981:303) view the Ukrainian experience as an example of how bloc settlement has tended to promote the development of a strong sense of consciousness of kind.

The majority of these first Ukrainians were familiar with one kind of social institution besides the family--the village church. The problem lay as Ewanchuk (1977:93) points out that "the Ukrainian settlement in the Gimli area--as in other areas of Manitoba--was that hundreds of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada without any spiritual leader-

ship" who had not accompanied the people to Canada. Prayer meetings were held without clergy. Schools were set up as early as 1898 by the settlers themselves (Ewanchuk 1977:77). Cantors who knew the religious ritual but were not highly educated fulfilled some of the requirements of the clergy. Lay services continued for some time and were part of the social activity of the new communities. Reading groups became part of the activity as well. Very quickly, however, official religious congregations were established and church buildings were erected. These congregations were one of the first structured institutions, only later followed by exclusively secular organizations and institutions. No single aspect of the life of Ukrainians has been so absorbing, so time consuming, and so costly as the establishment and maintenance of religious institutions (Woycenko 1967: 13). The early establishment of church affiliation and their lay organizations was associated with either the Ukrainian Orthodox or Ukrainian Catholic Churches. The divisions set up have continued to the present.

Although this kind of group settlement is often seen as voluntary, it is at least equally the result of the outside community, policies of the federal government in land allocation, and also railway companies and colonization companies (Anderson & Frideres 1981:297). Immigrants have had to fit into a social class structure, first as a bloc minority group subordinate to the ruling groups, and within the social stratification of the larger community as individuals. Porter (1970:63) argues that there develops a reciprocal relationship between ethnicity and social class. A given ethnic group appropriates particular roles and designates other ethnic groups for the less preferred ones. Often the

low status accepts its inferior position as given. Godelier (1978:767) in his concept of consent of the dominated proposes that domination or dependence can be seen to be agreed upon and accepted since the ideology is shared by the dominant and the dominated. This relative status position, reinforced by stereotypes and social images, hardens and becomes perpetuated over time. Porter (1970:65) further describes the book written by J. S. Woodsworth, that is important as an account of the difficulties and severe poverty of the settlers, and more important as an indication of how the receiving society was to judge the various groups of immigrants. These attitudes were often reflected in the allocation of marginal land; and

"those who did not settle on the land, took whatever work was available until something better could be secured. Some went to work in mines and factories, and large numbers were hired as construction companies . . . Perhaps the largest proportion went to work on the construction and maintenance of railroads" (Yuzyk 1953:53).

This kind of segregation in the social structure of the larger community can become an important aspect of social control by the ruling group (Porter: 1970:72).

The perpetuation of group affiliation and solidarity was both voluntary--and largely local and small in actual organization --and involuntary through the economic structure, stereotyping, and competition with other immigrants. These factors separated them from other groups, and made it more comfortable to set up and remain within the boundaries of their Hromada.

Second Immigration. Between the two World Wars, there was another substantial influx of Ukrainian immigrants. They numbered about 70,000 in all. Although they shared many of the same reasons for emigrating as the first group--lack of economic and political opportunity (Marunchak 1970:370)--they had, in contrast, the advantage of some kind of schooling. Many were quite highly educated, and largely represented the middle class rather than the peasant class. Both the World War I, and their own War of Independence, had equipped them with more knowledge, experience, and political consciousness. The rises and fall of an independent Ukrainian State (1917-1921) had also developed in them a historical and political awareness not found in the first immigrants. They represented anti-Soviet and nationalistic ideology. Their ethnic identity was clear. They were also largely urban dwellers, and most of them worked on farms only temporarily if at all. They began to set up urban ethnic blocs--in Winnipeg, they settled largely in the Northend..

As Breton (1964) proposes, later immigrants had to respond to the forces of three communities--the community of his ethnic group, the native (receiving) community, and the other ethnic communities. In terms of their relationship to the Ukraine, the second wave of Ukrainian immigrants was strongly nationalistic and kept close contact with developments there.

In their relationship with Ukrainians already settled in Canada, the situation was mixed. The fact that there was already a Hromada was an advantage not shared by the first immigrants. They had received moral as well as material help from the previous immigrants. Churches, schools, voluntary organizations, political organizations, and newspapers, were

already in existence. Some of the newcomers who accepted the Hromada and joined the existing organizations, became affiliated with one of the religious institutions, and also accepted the divisions established in the Hromada. But many, not surprisingly, rejected the organizational life they found (Yuzyk 1970; Woycenko, 1967; Marunchak, 1970). Given the difference in class and urban status, and educational levels, the first immigrants were viewed by some as ignorant peasant farmers. Highly nationalistic politically, and strongly attached to their mother country political organizations, they began forming branches of their parent bodies in Canada (Woycenko 1967:14). To spread their own ideologies they published their own newspapers. They largely rejected the established organizations as too Anglicized.

As Marunchak (1970:352) points out, they themselves were not united, but belonged to a range of organizations, from socialistic organizations to partisan nationalistic ones. Each faction competed in recruiting members and soliciting funds for their individual 'causes'. These new thrusts, in addition to the feuds of the older settlers, produced rivalry and friction within the Hromada, especially visible in the 1930's (Marunchak 1970:352).

The existence of a Ukrainian ethnic group was largely defined by non-Ukrainians and by attempts of the first immigration to present a united front.

Ukrainians, along with other immigrants, were still viewed as a different race, with qualities that were genetically transmitted (Porter 1970:65), and the situation was not allowed to change. Immigrants were not to be allowed to share in the competition for

resources (Despres 1978:193) or the power structure (Porter 1970:66). Both groups of immigrants were identified as Ukrainians and kept in this group ascription to perpetuate their position.

The reaction and situation of the older immigrants was varied. They had established their structural relationships with the outside non-Ukrainian community, and were not prepared to share their established status with the newcomers. At the end of the war, most of their secular organizations had become dominionwide, even before the arrival of the new immigration. Two of these organizations, representing each of the religious factions, had united. Apparently this had not been easily or smoothly accomplished (Woycenko 1967:17); it was designed to bring aid to the Ukrainian struggle for independence, and later to help and welcome the new immigrants. From these two groups, which were made up of delegates of a number of other organizations, the Central Committee was formed. This Committee was active in 1921 and 1922, by staging protests to the Canadian government against the terrorist politics of the Polish government in Western Ukraine (Marunchak 1970:360). On April 22, 1922, over 10,000 Ukrainians took part in a massive demonstration, which according to Woycenko (1967:15) proved to be the largest group manifestation up to that time. The Central Committee disintegrated shortly after, largely because of in fighting between groups or lack of representation by others (Woycenko 1967:15).

Although there still existed ethnic settlement blocs in rural areas, and new ones in urban areas (Driedger 1978:154), as well as structurally organized groups to represent them, upward mobility was taking its toll (Porter 1970:75). Many of the children of the first immigrants were

actually and symbolically leaving the boundaries of the Hromada. It became clear that changing of names would provide better employment opportunities (Anderson & Frideres 1981:121).

The second immigration can be seen as a replenishment of numbers and 'new blood'; but as the Hromada increased in number, so did the divisions within it.

Third Immigration. The last wave of immigration after the Second World War was composed primarily of displaced persons, who consider themselves political emigres (Marunchak 1970:558). Approximately 38,000 Ukrainians arrived largely from displaced persons' camps in Western Europe. They were mostly composed of skilled labourers, professionals, intellectuals, and businessmen. They were almost exclusively urban bourgeoisie, and settled largely in the industrial areas of Ontario (Woycenko 1967:18). Many of the recent immigrants had been in actual armed opposition to the various occupational regimes in Ukraine, and are avowed anti-communist.

This third immigration was politically and ideologically different from the first and second immigrations. For the most part, they did not integrate into the established Ukrainian organizations (Woycenko 1967:18), but reestablished a number of new organizations from the Ukraine, causing considerable ferment within the existing Hromada.

In the 1940's, before their arrival, five of the largest national organizations in the Hromada had come together to form a temporary unit, called the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. It was formed as a temporary united group to represent the entire Hromada to the Canadian government. It worked and supported the efforts of the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau in Europe, by sponsoring the displaced Ukrainians



Both the previous immigrants welcomed the newcomers, hoping they would replenish emotionally and physically the already established social structure in the Hromada. Much of the post World War I experience was repeated, in that only a few of them joined the existing structures (Woycenko 1967:19). A number of the newly founded organizations were branches of the various political factions, with exiled headquarters in Western Europe, mostly Germany. New publications propagated their ideology, just as the older newspapers pursued their own interests.

Some integration did take place, in that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was set up as a permanent coordinating body, and included most of the largest and more vocal of the newest immigration. The increase in numbers of Ukrainians in Canada provided a renewal of identity consciousness (Marunchak 1970) and a stronger and larger population base; but the immigrants viewed the 'older Ukrainians' as culturally, linguistically and politically diluted. They were in response, labelled and called 'D.P.s' (displaced persons).

The structure and composition of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has been much criticized (Woycenko 1967:213). The question is raised as to whether it is truly a representative body of Ukrainians in Canada and a spokesman for the Hromada, when many influential individuals and organizations are outside its framework (Woycenko 1967:213). If not, why is it supported by a comparatively large part of the Hromada?

Two answers have been proposed. Breton (1965:205) argues that organizations are established by entrepreneurs within the community, in this case, the Hromada. These entrepreneurs will maintain themselves as long as a public exists to use their services, or as long as the ethnic

identity of the Hromada is important for the members of the ethnic group. These leaders of the Hromada have a vested interest in the organization, and will attempt in various ways to strengthen the ethnic identity so as to keep their public.

Anderson & Frideres (1981:261) propose that the perpetuation of ethnic groups is a conscious action of the dominant group in order to maintain divisions and firmly establish their power position in society, and to dilute by division any serious opposition to their dominant position in the economic and political power structure.

Ethnic collectives, in this case the Hromada, should not be seen as completely passive acceptors of decisions (Anderson & Frideres, 1981:261), but respond in a number of ways in order to survive. It is in terms of a response that Woycenko (1967:214) sees the perpetuation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. She proposes that the image (her emphasis) of unity and the image of consolidation and solidarity "has been burning in the minds and hearts of Ukrainian Canadians for decades" (Woycenko 1967:214). For the sake of a united front and its image, many issues are overlooked. She expresses a cynical hope that the U.C.C. will become the truly representative coordinating body that the Hromada as a whole requires to survive.

#### Contemporary Hromada and Multiculturalism

The ability of an ethnic minority in Canada to maintain its separate identity may be highly dependent upon replenishment through continued immigration (Anderson & Frideres 1981:107). This aspect of persistence is an interesting facet of the Ukrainian Hromada, in that in the last

twenty years there has been no new immigrants of large numerical significance. Anderson & Frideres (1981:108) make the distinction between relatively recent immigrants, who are more concerned with problems of adjustment, and established/dispersed groups, who tend to be concerned with persistence. W. W. Isajiw (1975) has developed a carefully qualified theory of ethnic persistence:

The phenomena of what is called 'new ethnicity' is widespread enough in Canada to warrant the conclusion that there are some factors within the present state of our society as a whole which contribute to the retention or rediscovery of ethnic identity among the established ethnic groups. The dynamics of ethnic pluralism as a current social phenomena involving the established ethnic groups, regardless of ethnic economic differentiation, have to be sought in the structure and processes of our society as a whole [my emphasis], rather than simply in the structure of the ethnic enclaves themselves . . . To understand the process of ethnic persistence from one generation to another, one should focus on the question of retention of ethnic identity, rather than simply on retention or perpetuation of ethnic culture or institutions . . . That is not to say that cultural patterns are not involved in the persistence of ethnicity across generations. Retention of any identity always requires some symbolic expression [my emphasis]. Yet it would be unrealistic and contrary to the available data to assume that what ethnicity conscious members of the third generation are trying to do is simply contain all ossified traditions of their ancestors. The contrary appears to be true, if they want to retain any traditions, they are those which are meaningful to their own lives in society as a whole; particularly since the consecutive generations are to a high degree culturally assimilated into the total society. They, nevertheless, have the ability to turn to their ancestral past and pick from it, those cultural patterns in which they may find meaning. But the meaning they do find in them is different from that which these patterns had had for their

ancestors. Hence, the continuity between generations is provided not from the patterns themselves, but by the feeling of identity . . .

As Isajiw has pointed out, ethnic identity of the third generation should not be seen to be the same as that of the first generation. The examination of structural factors that emphasize ethnic identity and its impetus to organize along ethnic lines well illustrates the change of focus of the Hromada over time. The Hromada, as an established minority group, is concerned with persistence, and without new immigration for renewal, it enters a new stage in its structural relationships.

By the 1960's, analysis of ethnic persistence and identity retention was not promising. Anderson & Frideres (1981) examine language retention, religious affiliation, and endogamy to reflect the prevailing declining interest in ethnicity defined in that way. Regarding Ukrainians, their data show that:

- by 1961, a large number of Ukrainians no longer recognized Ukrainian as their mother tongue;
- only half of Ukrainian Canadians had ethnic religious affiliation;
- about half of Ukrainian family heads were married to non-Ukrainians.

These figures can be reinterpreted a number of ways, but as standard criteria for ethnic identity, a redefinition of ethnicity was imminent. Petryshyn (1978:91) reviewed the economic position of Ukrainians in relation to their persistence as a group: "To achieve occupational mobility, the majority of Ukrainian Canadians have accepted Anglo-Canadian norms which dominate public society." He presents data to show that Ukrainians have remained in their middle position of power, and

although they have experienced singular mobility, they will not penetrate the Canadian power structure. The power structure and its political ideology, as well as the ideology of disappearing ethnics, was officially expressed by the creation in July 1963 of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism. It was at this point that the position of the dominant group, in its structural relationship to the subordinate group was established (Anderson & Frideres 1981). This action of the dominant group is seen to come out of its position of power and the determination to maintain that power.

Anderson & Frideres (1981) further argue that the minority ethnic collective, in this case the Hromada, is not a passive acceptor of decisions made by the dominant group--"intergroup relations are in fact a two way process." It should be remembered that the minority ethnic group, the Hromada, does react from its traditional and historical role of subordination in its response. The Hromada would not take the response of "separation" that was to be the response of French Canadians. "Revivalism" is proposed by Anderson & Frideres (1981) as a possible response to the dominant group and is seen as a rediscovery or reinforcement of the group's cultural heritage.

The catalytic effect of the B & B Commission compelled Ukrainians and other ethnic groups to rethink their role in Canadian society in response to the Commission's terms of reference, which spoke of two 'founding nations' and 'bilingualism and biculturalism', condemning other ethnic groups to an inferior, 'non-founding' status and their cultures to eventual submersion in one of the two official cultures. (Bociurkiw: 1978:105)

Among the briefs submitted to the B & B Commission by various

organizations, the largest share came from the Hromada, and Ukrainian Canadians. There was a general consensus among the reports that proposed that Canada should be recognized as a multicultural nation and that the government should support the efforts of all ethnic groups to maintain and develop their cultural-linguistic heritage. Ethnic groups reacted throughout Canada with symbolic reestablishment of a strong ethnic identity. Slogans ranging from "it's fun to be Ukrainian" to "Ukrainian power" were gaining popularity, reflecting two things. The first was a changing attitude toward one's own ethnicity; but more importantly, the second was the attitude of survival against the dominant society through the only mechanism the Hromada had known or been allowed traditionally.

These demands eventually crystallized into the policy and ideology of multiculturalism. The Hromada called for the government's official recognition of the multicultural character of Canada and a corresponding reorientation of the media and of public funding of culture and education. October 8, 1971, saw the official unveiling of the policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework':

The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to group and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance . . . . (Commons Debates 1971:col. 1481)

A day later, Prime Minister Trudeau reiterated the new policy personally to the Tenth Congress of U.C.C. in Winnipeg.

The initial reaction of the Hromada, expressed by the Ukrainian

Canadian Committee, was positive and enthusiastic.

Among Ukrainians, there were two groups that criticized the implementation of multiculturalism. One was the pro-communist A.U.U.C. that Bociurkiw quotes as criticizing the government for failing to recognize the two nations concept of Canada and for abandoning bicultural policy (1978:110). The second group produced the strongest discussion of multiculturalism which appeared in the Ukrainian Students' Association newspaper Student. This article (Bociurkiw 1978:110-111) is quite bitter and concerned about the credibility of the policy and its ultimate effects on the Hromada. Yury Boshyk accuses the youth and adult organizations of a 'middle class sellout' and asks the question, "multiculturalism for how long and for whom?"

. . . multiculturalism will remain the official identity of Canada for as long as the ethno-cultural groups involved can 'exhibit a desire for survival and development'. Thus, we, as Ukrainians, as a viable entity, have been relegated to the status of a voluntary organization. Having made no definite commitment to guaranteeing the existence of ethno-cultural groups in Canada, Trudeau has decided to wait patiently until we die out . . .

He expresses doubt in the leadership of the Hromada in "the challenge of our survival" and predicts that the Hromada itself will be further divided by the external financial assistance that it will come to depend on.

Their only vision of Canadian society was one in which every Ukrainian would be given the opportunity to make it in all fields of endeavor without dragging the chains of social prejudice and minority group stigmatization. In itself, this objective can be considered

noble and positive, but when linked to the more essential problems of our society, it begins to sound ethnocentric and static. At the same time, the leadership . . . also wishes the potential careerist to actively maintain his ethnocultural ties, despite the fact that in our present Canadian society upward mobility and minority group status/ allegiance are mutually exclusive variables to the building of one's career . . . Does not multiculturalism, by strengthening ethnic group maintenance, solidify and perpetuate the inequality of opportunity? (Bociurkiw 1978:111)

This article did not and still does not represent the position taken by the general Hromada. Bociurkiw (1978) catalogues the problems of implementation of multiculturalism, and its temperamental funding and administrative problems. There has been much discussion of the value of multiculturalism, but it is within the terms of multiculturalism that the Hromada very quickly began to act and think. It is defended and supported with such eloquence by members of the Hromada as the opportunity for "every Canadian to enjoy and have pride in his cultural roots, recognized, respected, and accepted as a worthwhile contribution to Canadian society." (Anderson & Frideres 1981:101).

Symbolic revivalism occurred in the establishment of gatherings such as Folklorama, and Caravan in Toronto, where the strength and visibility of the Hromada and other ethnic groups could be displayed, often in competition with each other.

For an individual it has become not only desirable, but expedient to be ethnically associated, and the Hromada, in order to be heard must represent a strong group that has firm evidence of persistence. The Hromada must become mobilized in order to politically and rationally

apply pressure in the federal arena, and this is seen as possible only if Ottawa is confronted by a united Ukrainian 'front' (Tarnopolsky 1978:146).

It is within this framework that the Free Moroz movement in Winnipeg and Canada was set. For Ukrainian students, who initiated the activity, a political, human/civil rights issue was in keeping with their contemporary and activist orientations. It was emotionally packed with traditional values of national and cultural identity that all members of the Hromada had been brought up with. With Moroz' release from the Soviet Union and his imminent arrival, the entire Hromada could declare itself by its show of support. The next three chapters are a review of the chronicle of events from 1974-1979.

## CHAPTER 4

VALENTYN MOROZ

### Sources of Information

Since the 1960's, information about any dissident activity has reached Canada through a number of different sources. Most of the details about the life of Valentyn Moroz, reports of his trials and imprisonments, as well as manuscripts of his writings, were originally circulated through non-official channels. In the Ukraine and throughout the Soviet Union, political control of communications channels, publishing facilities, as well as their content, is controlled. In order to circumvent any control, an active underground press has developed. The literature produced in this way is called samvydav, meaning self-publishing. It consists of typed or hand written manuscripts that would not pass the censor, and which are then clandestinely circulated (Farmer, 1978:28). Raissa Moroz, wife of Valentyn, spoke of a circuit or route that samvydav literature travelled in order to reach its audience, and was passed often through the Russian dissident circles out of the Soviet Union and into Europe.

Information about Valentyn Moroz appeared in perhaps the most renowned samvydav literature - Ukrainsky visnyk (Ukrainian Herald). This underground journal was published in Kiev and appeared in eight issues from January 1970-March 1972, when publication was stopped. Its stated

function was to be a source and disseminator of information that had been suppressed, to document violations of "Soviet legality", and all expressions of protest and dissent in Ukraine and other Republics. It also served as a vehicle for many literary works (poems, essays, etc.) that otherwise would not have been published. Issues No. 3 & 4 of the visnyk dealt in detail with the persecution, imprisonment, and trials of Valentyn Moroz.

The visnyk, having found its way into Europe, was translated and published by Amnesty International; it provided Ukrainians outside Soviet Ukraine the first source information of Moroz. After the demise of the visnyk, information continued to be circulated through A Chronicle of Current Events - A Journal of the Soviet Human Rights Movement. It is the Russian counterpart of the visnyk and has been produced bi-monthly since 1968.

In 1974 two books were published in English, translating the samvydav literature. Kolasky (1974) and Bihun (1974) presented Moroz' essays, letters, poems, and trial transcripts. The case of Valentyn Moroz was systematically collected and presented by both writers. Both offered comprehensive biographical notes. Kolasky (1974:xvi) in particular placed Moroz in the historical line of repression and wave of arrests started with the shestydesiatnyky (those of the 60's), a group of modernist poets and writers.

Once material from the Soviet Ukraine is received, it is published and widely circulated by the Ukrainian communities in Europe, Canada, and the U.S.A. through the ethnic press publications. The role of the ethnic press has been extensively analyzed (Kirshbaum, 1970; Malycky, 1970;

Kellner, 1966). Their assertions that ethnic publications play a very important function appear valid. All the informants interviewed said that they had read excerpts of Moroz' works and articles about him in Ukrainian newspapers. Many of them related that their first exposure to dissident literature actually was through Ukrainian publications. Very few had read his essays, even when they were widely circulated both in Ukrainian and English. Constant updates of developments in Ukraine and the latest excerpts of samvydav literature appeared in the various newspapers, were reported on the Ukrainian radio programme and, of course, spread by word of mouth. It is not surprising that community reaction was extremely strong and vocal in the defense of Valentyn Moroz and the other dissidents of this period, as the community is serviced, according to Statistics Canada (1974), by the largest number of ethnic publications in Canada, numbering 22 in all. Breton expressed this idea in these words:

"newspapers have a role in promoting the national ideology and keeping alive the national symbols and values, national heroes and their historical achievements. Moreover, they interpret many of the events occurring in the country of adoption in terms of survival or interests of the ethnic community. It is the very business of the national periodical or newspaper to be concerned with the events and personalities of the ethnic group."  
(1964:201)

#### Biographical Outline

Valentyn Moroz was born April 15, 1936 in the village of Kholonovo, Volyn region of western Ukraine. His family was peasant stock, but he attended secondary school, and entered Lviv University. He graduated

from the department of history, and apparently was both an active and vocal student. He was recorded to have delivered a number of research papers for the History Club. Employment followed graduation in 1958, as director of studies in a secondary school in Volhyn, where he taught history and geography to the "working youth".

He transferred, in 1963, to the Lutske Pedagogical Institute, in 1964, to the Lesya Ukrainka Pedagogical Institute, and later that year to the Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogical Institute. He concentrated his teaching on courses in modern and contemporary history. During this period in his life, he was constantly active in academic circles. Informally, as well, he was a participant in 'after hours' discussions with a wide circle of friends and acquaintances that included journalists, writers, teachers.

Although in the process of acquiring his Ph.D., his dissertation titled The Lutsk Trial of 1934: An Example of Revolutionary Collaboration of the Polish and Ukrainian Peoples in their Joint Struggle against the Fascist Regime in Bourgeois Poland, was never defended. He was arrested on September 1, 1965, in Ivano-Frankivsk. He was charged under Article 62, Section I of the Criminal Code of the USSR - "anti-Soviet propoganda and agitation". This charge related to his involvement with samvyday literature and its dissemination. He was subsequently sentenced in January, 1966 by the Volhyn Regional Court to four years of hard labour. Moroz was initially sent to Camp No. 1 in Mordovia, and later transferred to Camp No. 11 at Yavas. During this period of incarceration, he wrote a number of protests to both his sentence and ultimately about prison conditions. By December, 1966, he was in solitary confinement

for these protest letters.

His major interest in prison became philosophy, and as a result the formulation of his philosophical ideology appeared during this period. The Report from the Beria Reserve was written by 1967, apparently smuggled out of prison. Its circulation by V. Chornovil, another well-known dissident, resulted in Chronovil's arrest. Moroz was brought to testify at Chronovil's trial, but his refusal resulted in his transfer to Vladimir prison, one of the most notorious of Soviet prisons.

Moroz returned to the Ukraine and his wife and son upon his release September 1, 1969. He was reported to have been denied employment, except for construction work, impossible in his state of poor health. It was during this period that he wrote three essays: A Chronicle of Resistance, Amid the Snows, and Moses and Dathan. He was again arrested, June 1, 1970, under the same article, but for the writing and circulating of his own essays. His trial caused quite a stir, as it was conducted behind closed doors. The trial date was November 17-18, 1970. Despite the refusal of a number of witnesses to testify, he received a sentence of six years of strict isolation, three years in a prison camp with a strict regime, and five years of exile.

Reports of the trial and his physical condition reached Canada, and by November 1971, he was said to have been seriously ill. He went on a number of hunger strikes to protest prison conditions. It was reported that he was under constant pressure to renounce his political position, and publically recant the views expressed in his essays. In 1972, Moroz was put into a prison cell with prisoners convicted as criminally insane, and as a result he suffered a number of attacks. The most serious

incident sent him to the prison hospital for stab wounds in July 1972. He was subsequently transferred to Vladimir prison, and later spent 1976-1979 in a strict regime camp in Mordovia.

He was released in 1979, and arrived in New York on April 27, 1979. "Dissident circles in Moscow claim that no other political prisoner in the USSR has been subjected to the degree of inhuman treatment which Moroz suffered" (Kolasky, 1974:xxii).

### Ideology

Analyses of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union is ongoing and beyond the scope of this presentation. It may be useful to review briefly Moroz' place in the movement in the Soviet Ukraine of the 1960's and 1970's, and review the ideological position reflected in his four major essays. This review will relate clearly to the examination of Moroz' appeal to Ukrainian Canadians.

Structurally, the dissent movement in Ukraine in the post-war period has been inchoate, not coordinated as a whole. The most notable instances of opposition have been the acts of individual intellectuals acting often with the support of other dissidents, but rarely as an organized group. There appears to be no clear dividing line between establishment intellectuals who have occasionally voiced disapproval of regime policies in language and culture, and outright dissenters, although arrest and conviction (regime definition of individual in opposition), and appearance in samvydav networks (self-definition of in opposition) are certainly good indicators.

It is also very difficult to clearly delineate between the civil

rights activists and nationalist dissidents in the Soviet Ukraine, since the overlap between these groups is extensive. The principal figures in nationalist intellectual dissidence have been I. Dzyuba and V. Moroz (Pospielsky, 1974:103). Dzyuba, a historian and literary critic, was the author of the celebrated Internationalism or Russification?, a well-documented criticism from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint of Soviet violation of "Leninist nationalities policy" through the Russification of Ukrainian social, cultural and political life. Dzyuba's nationalist ideology calls for the full scale development of Ukraine within the Soviet federation.

His book was controversial but was quickly picked up by Ukrainians around the world. Dzyuba, apparently harassed and ill, partially recanted in 1969, after having been expelled from the Ukrainian Writers' Union. His recantation allowed his continued membership in the Union. However, he was subsequently expelled in March 1972, because of his outspoken defense of a number of intellectuals arrested in 1972. His expulsion was followed by his arrest. He was sentenced to five years but, suffering from incurable tuberculosis, and again agreeing to a total recantation, he was released in 1973. His case was followed closely by Ukrainians everywhere.

Moroz wrote directly concerning Dzyuba's circumstances in the article Amid the Snows. He articulated and defended the necessity of martyrdom and personal sacrifice on the part of nationalist dissidents. Moroz insisted that what was necessary to restore value to the "devalued word" is a "living example of heroic civic conduct". It is not enough to make statements, he argues, but it is necessary to live by them and

to be prepared to perish for them if necessary. A total emotional commitment is necessary, in keeping with what Lesya Ukrainka called "obsession". He continues in this vein and concludes that it is not only immoral to recant, but it is immoral to enter the arena of dissent in the first place if one is not prepared to sacrifice all other values, including family and friends and one's own life. In the absence of armed insurrection, symbolic dissent is the only available weapon.

In his essay, Moses and Dathan, Moroz maintains that only with a "deep consciousness of nationality" can universal human values be built. The national fatherland is the only source of human spiritual values; the national culture is not only the vehicle for spirituality, it is its content as well. Aggressive de-nationalization deprives a people of more than a language and customs, it leads to an erosion of values. There is a romantic element to his ethnic nationalism. He asserts that one's nation should be treasured above everything; and while individuals intellectually know that all people are equal, emotional values are higher, and therefore, people should believe that "their nation has been chosen by God and their people are the highest product of history".

In his essay Chronicle of Resistance, he describes in a moving appeal the village of Kosmach and its very old church that was to be established as a museum. Certain articles, including the iconostasis (the elaborately carved partition separating the altar from the rest of the church), were borrowed to make a movie, but were never returned to the village in spite of numerous inquiries. He extends the situation to make the universal statements and appeals for the defense of national traditions. He attacks the Soviet policy of deliberate obliteration of

Ukrainian cultural monuments and institutions, especially the church. Religion is an instrument and the manifestation of the spirit of the nation. Any destruction of it injures the spiritual structure of Ukraine.

In his first essay, Report from the Beria Reserve, Moroz analyzes the Soviet penal system in great detail, and particularly condemns the KGB, and the suppression of individuality and creativity. He describes the secret police as a power unto itself, operating outside the law and not only administering the penal system but controlling the spiritual life of all Soviet society in an attempt to "merge all individuals into a grey mass", into an "empire of cogs". Moroz describes this total control and standardization as a barrier to progress based on the freedom of the individual. He quite firmly asserts that it is the creative ability of the individual that is the only motivating force of history.

## CHAPTER 5

### MOBILIZATION OF SUPPORT IN WINNIPEG

#### Moroz' Initial Appeal

Members of the Ukrainian Hromada in Winnipeg related to Valentyn Moroz on a number of different levels. The informants being interviewed were asked to specify the reasons that not only initiated their interest, but more extremely their involvement in the mobilization of support for Moroz' defense. The responses have been divided into special interest groups determined by the reasons for participation offered by the informants.

1. Literary Appeal Valentyn Moroz' literary output had been relatively small. Many of the informants had not read his essays directly, but had read excerpts of his writings in the Ukrainian newspapers. Members of the Hromada, however, who did indicate that his works had attracted them, were quite articulate as the following quotations indicate:

"His writings were very patriotic and strong. Marvelous!"

"I loved his writings - they were so powerful."

"Why him? Mostly because of Beria. Even those who now don't like him, will admit that they were taken up by his book. Everyone knows about Beria."

"He was a man standing up for his ideals, but more important he could express it in a literary way - he was our Solzhenitsyn."

It is extremely difficult to distinguish his writings as literary works from the subjects of his works. The themes of his essays or ideas drawn from them by the informants overlap considerably into the appeal of the other interest groups.

2. Political Appeal His attraction, politically, can be categorized into two overlapping points of view. He held the strongly nationalistic members of the Hromada quite firmly - he represented everything it means to be Ukrainian. With his symbolic opposition to the Soviet regime, they could relate to his position of anti-imperialism. Older members of the Hromada had very definite memories and feelings against the Communist government that dated back to wartime experiences. These were clearly expressed:

"He will stand up and fight for a free Ukraine!  
And I'll be with him."

"Chornovil and Moroz were the main dissenters,  
but Chornovil worked his argument in Marxist  
terms, but Moroz - he was a patriot."

"Before he came, he represented Ukrainian  
nationalism."

"It was a fight against oppression. The  
Russians have always tried to keep us down.  
It's more than human rights."

His attraction to some, largely the student informants, although not divorced from his nationalistic views, was that at that time he transcended these barriers. They could relate to him in more universal terms.

"It was very real to me! These were things  
happening in my life. Not just incidents my  
parents talked about."

"I'm not interested in Ukrainian politics, he represented the human rights of all the dissidents."

"All rational people are concerned with their fellow man who is suffering. If someone's being persecuted, people should know and do something. It's freedom that's important."

"It's like South Africa - organized genocide."

"These are issues I can relate to."

3. Religious Appeal For Ukrainian-Canadians, it has traditionally proved difficult to differentiate religion from nationality. They represent to most one and the same phenomenon. Religion, for Moroz, was an instrument and a manifestation of the spirit of the nation. In Chronicle of Resistance, he wrote:

"It is often more convenient to destroy the foundations of a nation in the guise of a struggle with religion. The church has become such an integral part of cultural life that it is not possible to destroy it without harming the spiritual structure of the nation. It is impossible to separate traditional cultural values from the church. It is necessary to understand that a struggle against the church is a struggle against culture. How many times has the church saved the nation?" (Kolasky 1974:65)

By linking religion with culture, Moroz drew support from the Ukrainian Catholic part of the Hromada, most of whom are fellow western Ukrainians, historically more radically nationalistic. The Ukrainian Orthodox were equally supportive, and their support was underlined by the fact that Moroz himself was Orthodox.

In his essay, Chronicle of Resistance, Moroz also advocated an end to religious persecution, and a stop to the desecration of religious

articles and churches in the Ukraine. This advocacy gained the support of Ukrainian Baptists, who make up a larger number of political prisoners in the USSR.

"Moroz rekindled our spiritual needs."

4. Personality Appeal The appeal of his suffering and Moroz' strength to resist persecution was definitely one of the powerful factors. His conditions in prison were well publicized and denounced. He became one of a historical line of Ukrainian martyrs.

"These are people laying down their lives for their beliefs".

"My impression at that time, was that Moroz was idealistic, intelligent and a man of action".

"He put his life on the line and that's something."

Moroz himself wrote in In the Midst of the Snows, the following:

"Every epoch has had heralds who revived the original meaning of words and concepts after their devaluation and infused them with the essence of life." (Kolasky 1974:88)

"The arrests did not terrify but awakened tremendous interest, not only throughout the Ukraine, but throughout the entire world. To use repression against anyone under present conditions meant to create an aureole for him, to make of him a martyr, regardless of whether he had suffered or not." (ibid:91)

The acknowledgement of his strength and suffering is even now accredited to him. His capacity for suffering was even more enhanced by the fact that even with pressure being put upon him to renounce his views, he never did. His image of resistance was unquestionable.

"He was one of many suffering for an important cause and he did not capitulate."

The comparison with I. Dzyuba was inevitable, and was drawn by informants in the Hromada and clearly established in his own writings.

"Dzyuba rescinded his stand, that was a shame. But Moroz didn't - he was our banner of opposition."

The following quotations appeared in his essay In the Midst of the Snow, and clearly reinforce his position:

"The most important document of present-day Ukrainian rebirth, its quintessence, is Dzyuba's book. The world studies present-day Ukraine through Dzyuba. He has become the symbol, an example, the significance of which he himself has explained."

"Dzyuba became a god for people and they believed."

"They need an example . . . . a living example."

"It is necessary to see a real person, waging a war, a real battle . . . ."

"Ukraine today needs apostles . . . No spiritual revolution has occurred without apostles. Nor is Ukraine's rebirth possible without them."

"One's stand is more important than one's word."

"Ukraine thirsts for those who do not renounce anything and do not justify themselves before anyone."

"The Ukrainian rebirth requires people with new qualities, aristocrats of the spirit."

"He made the predicament of others worse, because the fewer the number of people who do not write retractions, the greater the pressure exerted on them." (Kolasky 1974:89-111).

So strong was the sympathy for his fortitude and suffering that members of the Hromada publicly offered to take his place in a Soviet prison.

5. Media Appeal The establishment of Valentyn Moroz as a media event will be further developed in the following sections. The desirability of positive publicity both for group solidarity and political clout is unquestionable. Woycenko (1967:119) quite clearly lists the political concerns of the Ukrainian Hromada in Canada as being two-fold. The first, she claims is the struggle to retain their ethnic identity. In order to accomplish this, strong political mobilization is necessary in order to present a united, vocal, active, and visible ethnic force. Secondly, she asserts that the Ukrainian Hromada is internationally involved with issues in the Ukraine. By accomplishing the first concern, the second will be facilitated. But publicity for events in the Ukraine has been limited, and therefore, even more important.

Moroz' publicity value has been unequalled in terms of both these concerns. As an international figure, he was renowned. His defense was taken up by Amnesty International and a number of other international groups. "In 1965, Moroz was a nobody, an unknown history lecturer. Now he is known." (Kolasky 1974:118). Informants in Winnipeg emphasized how very important his renown was:

"As our Solzheintzyn - he was our representative to the outside world and the English press."

"You always heard about activities in Czechoslovakia and Poland, it appeared so quiet in Ukraine. Now we knew that there was some activity there and Moroz seemed to be a leader in the movement".

As has been established in Chapter 2, the Ukrainian Hromada has

historically responded to the Canadian government. Its very survival has depended on its response. Publicity is perhaps the most effective mechanism in the establishment of a solid and strong ethnic group. In the realm of politics, a vocal solid group has political clout. Only then would the Hromada be courted by Ottawa as a power base. Grants are more easily available to a group established in this way. The possibilities are innumerable, and have never been dismissed lightly. With multi-cultural policies becoming established, the possibility of bilingual schools becoming apparent, the media was important. And Moroz was a media event. It made Hromada members' identity crystal-clear and credible in the eyes of non-Ukrainians. The movement to Free Moroz, being established at this point, was also a human rights issue that mobilized many non-Ukrainians and gained their support.

#### Winnipeg Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz

By 1974, the plight of Valentyn Moroz was common knowledge among members of the Hromada, and his condition was closely monitored. Information was constantly disseminated (see Appendix Part 1). The image of a steadfast, heroic patriot struggling against impossible odds was fueled by the Ukrainian newspapers (ibid). Moroz appeared regularly in publications of Amnesty International. His appeal began to be translated into action; as pamphlets, petitions and newsletters, were being distributed by various Committees for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz. These committees were already in existence by 1974 in Montreal, Toronto, and in most large centers in the USA.

The Committee in Winnipeg came into existence by the spring of 1974.

The following information was collected from the informal interviews, and what is here presented, represents a combination of a number of interviews.

The Committee was initially organized by a core of about ten students. The first meeting was scheduled, and a call was sent out asking interested people to come forward. They enlisted a group of auxiliary members to act as advisors who were made up of active members of the Hromada and professionals, such as professors from the University of Manitoba. One very striking feature of the Committee was that throughout its existence and activity its membership remained extremely fluid. No formal minutes, documentation, statistics about membership, or figures were kept.

Membership was strictly voluntary, and recruitment did not appear to be along the lines of religious or organizational affiliation. Members appear to have been gathered along a network of friends, acquaintances, and fellow students. The core members were between the ages of 18-24; and most of them were already active in the Ukrainian Students' Club at the University of Manitoba or active members in Youth Groups in the Hromada. All core members spoke Ukrainian fluently. The Committees across Canada were in constant communication, and information and ideas were shared. The Ukrainian student newspaper, Student was a active supporter of the defense of Ukrainian dissidents. It was also quite radical in its support of the various Committees, and continually fed information about their activities to its student readership.

The first meeting was held in June, 1974, and their original objectives were:

1. to promote public awareness of political prisoners in the USSR and Ukraine, in particular.
2. to initiate activity within the Hromada.

The Hromada was felt to have become too passive, and even if emotionally outraged, it was seen as not vocal enough, not radical enough, and not mobilized enough. United action was seen as the key to success, and divisions in the Hromada were deplored. It was expressed that, even though the last immigration of Ukrainians to Canada was perhaps more aware of the situation in Ukraine, their awareness was not being capitalized on. Older immigrants and their children, who had grown up in Canada, would become more aware and active as the Committee became more vocal and organized, and activities were publicized.

Commitment was strong, as this quotation expresses:

"You couldn't keep quiet, when atrocities are taking place under your very nose. If people are being persecuted - the world should know! But it was even more important in the Ukraine. This is your tie to your past - your roots. It could be your brother in prison."

Winnipeg was felt to be a natural home for a defense committee, particularly with such a large Ukrainian population base to draw from.

The short term objectives and the composition of the Committee changed over time between 1974-1979. The larger objectives of the defense of political prisoners in the USSR, and particularly Moroz, remained constant. Activity varies in response to the situation in Ukraine. A coordinated national response was the goal of all the Committees across Canada. Pressure on Ottawa was mobilized through

petitions, letters, and appeals (see Appendix Part 1). It was clear that membership changed as students moved or finished their studies, but although the Committee depended on a core of dedicated individuals, their specific identity was not necessarily important.

On July 1, 1974, Moroz began a hunger strike protesting the conditions of his imprisonment. He declared that he would fast to the death, unless he was transferred to a labour camp. Although force-fed, reports were circulated that his health was deteriorating rapidly. The lining of his esophagus was torn and bleeding, and he was coughing blood. His hunger strike received world-wide attention; committees not previously in existence sprang up. Ukrainians everywhere responded, as one informant expressed: "He was a hero on the way to martyrdom".

Committees around North America accelerated their political lobbying, and began to organize sympathy hunger strikes to bring attention to Moroz. All the attention of the Hromada was focused on this one figure, rather than the hundreds of political prisoners that had before been included. Moroz' hunger strike had precipitated a mass campaign on his behalf. The 'Free Moroz' movement had begun.

First Mobilization. On July 16, 1974, five Ukrainian Canadian students started a sympathy hunger strike in front of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. Hundreds of supporters had been bussed in from Toronto area and Montreal area. They demonstrated with placards, handed out petitions to sign, pamphlets and dissident literature.

Two days later, five members of the Winnipeg Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz began their hunger strike in solidarity with the Ottawa strikers. They took their position in front of the

legislature grounds in the downtown area. A sixth member joined the ranks a day later. Additional hunger strikes were scheduled to begin in Washington and New York. In Winnipeg, petitions were circulated at the hunger strike center to be sent to the federal government and the United Nations, in an attempt to bring pressure on the Soviet government. It was reported that on only one day in Winnipeg, over 600 signatures were collected. Press releases were sent out and the media coverage was extensive (see Appendix Part 1). Books and pamphlets were sold or distributed. Telegrams were sent out by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee on the hunger strikers' behalf to Prime Minister Trudeau, other government officials and cabinet ministers, the United States government and "anyone else who was in a position to help Moroz' cause". The World Congress of Free Ukrainians also actively supported the hunger strike.

Response from many of the officials contacted was both enthusiastic and widespread. Mitchell Sharp, then Minister of External Affairs, sent an acknowledgement and expressed his concern on behalf of the government. Stanley Haidasz, 1974 Minister responsible for Multiculturalism, endorsed the action of the students by joining the strikers in Ottawa. Andrei Sakharov was reached by telephone, and publicly called for the general and overwhelming support by the government. Heinrich Boell, Nobel Prize winner and president of the World PEN Club, telegraphed his support; he subsequently brought up the issue of Moroz at the Geneva Conference on European Security. The list of supporters in protest to the USSR government on behalf of Moroz was impressive, and included Solzhenitsyn, Sartre, Arthur Schlesinger, Eric Fromm, Noam Chomsky, and Diefenbaker. Agencies such as the Canadian Jewish Congress,

International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, PEN International, the AFL - CIO, United Auto Workers, the Cardinal's Commission on Human Rights, came forward in defense of Moroz. The British and Australian Parliaments officially responded to their Ukrainian citizens by releasing statements addressed to the Soviet government. Harvard University offered Moroz a place in its Ukrainian Research Institute.

The pressure continued, momentum was great, and in Winnipeg, the press labelled Moroz the 'symbol of the Ukrainian campaign against Russian domination'. It is perhaps difficult to relay the high pitched enthusiasm of the period of mobilization, and indeed of the members of the committee who became extremely animated as they described the period of the hunger strike.

On July 22, a candlelight vigil was held and a Unity Prayer service organized at the base of the Taras Shevchenko Monument on the legislature grounds in Winnipeg. It was jointly conducted by members of the Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant clergy. Members of the Hromada were asked to attend to declare their support for the aims of the hunger strikers. The hunger strike lasted over a week in Winnipeg, and by August 1st hunger strike activity had rotated to Washington, where a group of American Ukrainians took their positions in front of the Soviet Embassy.

Second Mobilization. By early fall of 1974, the momentum gained during the hunger strike was lessening. Even though Moroz' name was by now widely known, the Committee in Winnipeg felt it was necessary to keep him in the public eye. It was expressed that too much had been gained by the previous publicity to allow the issue to die out. A billboard

campaign was initiated in Winnipeg. Approximately 20-30 billboards were rented throughout the city. A large picture of Moroz was illustrated and the caption read WILL TRUTH BE HIS DEATH! A telephone number was provided for all interested parties to call. The Committee labelled that number the 'hotline', and the phone was manned by members of the Committee and other volunteers. Callers were provided with information about Moroz and the Committee. Instructions and suggests were given on how the caller could support the Free Moroz Campaign. These included writing to government officials in Canada and in Moscow, writing directly to Moroz, donating time and/or money, and signing or circulating petitions.

In November 1974, Moroz ended his hunger strike. Soviet authorities had authorized his release from solitary confinement, even though transfer to a labour camp or a reduction of his sentence was refused. With Moroz' release, the Free Moroz campaign subsided. The Committee in Winnipeg was still officially in existence, membership changed, and activity occurred only in small spurts. The Ukrainian Students' Club at the University of Manitoba set up tables periodically, to distribute dissident literature and to sell Moroz' books, that at this point, had been published in English.

There was one major result of the first two mobilizations. A new dimension to the focus of the Hromada was in evidence. Current reports and progress bulletins about the imprisoned dissidents were reported constantly in Ukrainian newspapers and magazines, and on the radio. The issue of dissidents had become a regular part of discussions within the Hromada. Situations and people were talked about that a year before were almost unknown and certainly barely mentioned. Everyone watched for

news of Valentyn Moroz, because everyone knew who he was.

Third Mobilization. Activity in Montreal and Toronto Defense Committees remained relatively high during the period 1975-1979. These Committees were sending out a constant barrage of pamphlets, bumperstickers, etc. The Winnipeg Committee for the Defence of Valentyn Moroz was kept informed of developments, but was not as active. In 1976, the campaign gained some new life. Moroz' prison term was coming to an end, and his sentence demanded that he be transferred to a labour camp where he would finish his prison term. Authorities proposed that he first be sent to Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow for a mental examination. It had been in Serbsky that Leonid Plyushch (another Ukrainian dissident) and hundreds of others had been evaluated and consequently sent to psychiatric prisons and locked hospitals for long, indefinite periods of time. There was a real fear that Moroz would be confined to one of these institutions. Word was sent out of Ukraine, and Committees around the world rallied. They began a new campaign of sending telegrams, and gathering signatures claiming that: 1) Moroz was sane, and 2) any attempt to declare him otherwise would be challenged. Lobbying techniques were so effective that in 1976, a Parliamentary Committee on an economic delegation to the Soviet Union brought up Moroz at a reception in Kiev. The Serbsky Institute subsequently declared Moroz to be sane, and he was sent to the severe regime camp in Mordovia. This transfer was viewed as a definite victory for the Free Moroz campaign.

Fourth Mobilization. In early 1978, two Soviet United Nations employees were arrested in New York and charged with espionage. There was some

speculation in the American press of an exchange for Soviet political prisoners. These speculations led to a mini-campaign to Free Moroz, but were stopped on their conviction to American prison. The object of this mini-campaign, after two years of relative inactivity, was the proposal that Moroz be released after his prison term and sent to the West. The Ukrainian ethnic press began running inserts with a photograph of Valentyn Moroz over a caption that read--YES WE WANT HIM! (See Appendix Part 1).

Just as this new campaign was getting off the ground, Moroz arrived in New York on April 27, 1979. He was part of a celebrated exchange of five Soviet political prisoners in exchange for Soviet spies.

## CHAPTER 6

### ARRIVAL OF MOROZ AND DISILLUSIONMENT OF HROMADA

#### Ceremonial Reception in Winnipeg

With the arrival of Valentyn Moroz in New York, the frenzy within the community began. It was evident that he was in demand. As one informant put it, "Everyone wanted to see him, touch him, hear him!" The Ukrainian churches sent greetings, each of the voluntary organizations wanted to be associated with him and recruit his endorsement, every choir and dance troupe wanted to be the ones to perform for Moroz. Anticipation, excitement, pride--all the extreme emotions were used to express this period. Raissa Moroz commented:

"Eventhough he was sick, and should have been left alone, he wasn't. He was put on a pedestal. People prostrated themselves in front of him. He had been portrayed as a hero-- now he was a god."

He was sported around the USA--making speeches, meeting government officials, greeting the Ukrainian community.

His announced visit to Canada was scheduled for June 7-13, 1979; to Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and Winnipeg. The tour was sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the various Committees for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz. Discussion among Hromada members in Winnipeg was exclusively about Moroz, as preparations for his welcoming were finalized.

Moroz arrived at the Winnipeg International Airport on June 10, 1979 to the cheers of 2,000 Hromada members and the tears of many. He was quickly spirited to the Taras Shevchenko Monument to lay a wreath, and there he met with a number of youth groups. One comment was:

"He looked so frail and so thin - but his strength came through - it was so exciting."

The climax of Moroz' visit was the official welcoming reception at the Convention Center. Over 3,000 people crowded the hall. Moroz was greeted with a standing ovation, cheering, and the singing of the Ukrainian National Anthem 'Ukraine Has Not Yet Died'. He was flanked at the head table by the Metropolitans of both the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches in Canada, a number of Archbishops, Lieutenant-Governor Jobin, Premier Lyon, Mayor Norrie, the president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and a number of other voluntary organizations. Two choirs were set up on either side of the head table.

Ukrainian embroidered blouses and shirts were very much in evidence and dotted the audience. Speeches and greetings from the various representations made up the agenda; they were full of superlatives and were interrupted by clapping. Press coverage from every manner of media was visible (see Appendix, Part 2).

Valentyn Moroz rose to say a few words. It seemed nothing could go wrong. As one informant said, "The Messiah was here among us."

#### Presentation in Winnipeg--Moroz and the Issues

During the first days of Moroz' whirlwind tour, he was honoured by the entire community, speaking of the need for unity and cooperation

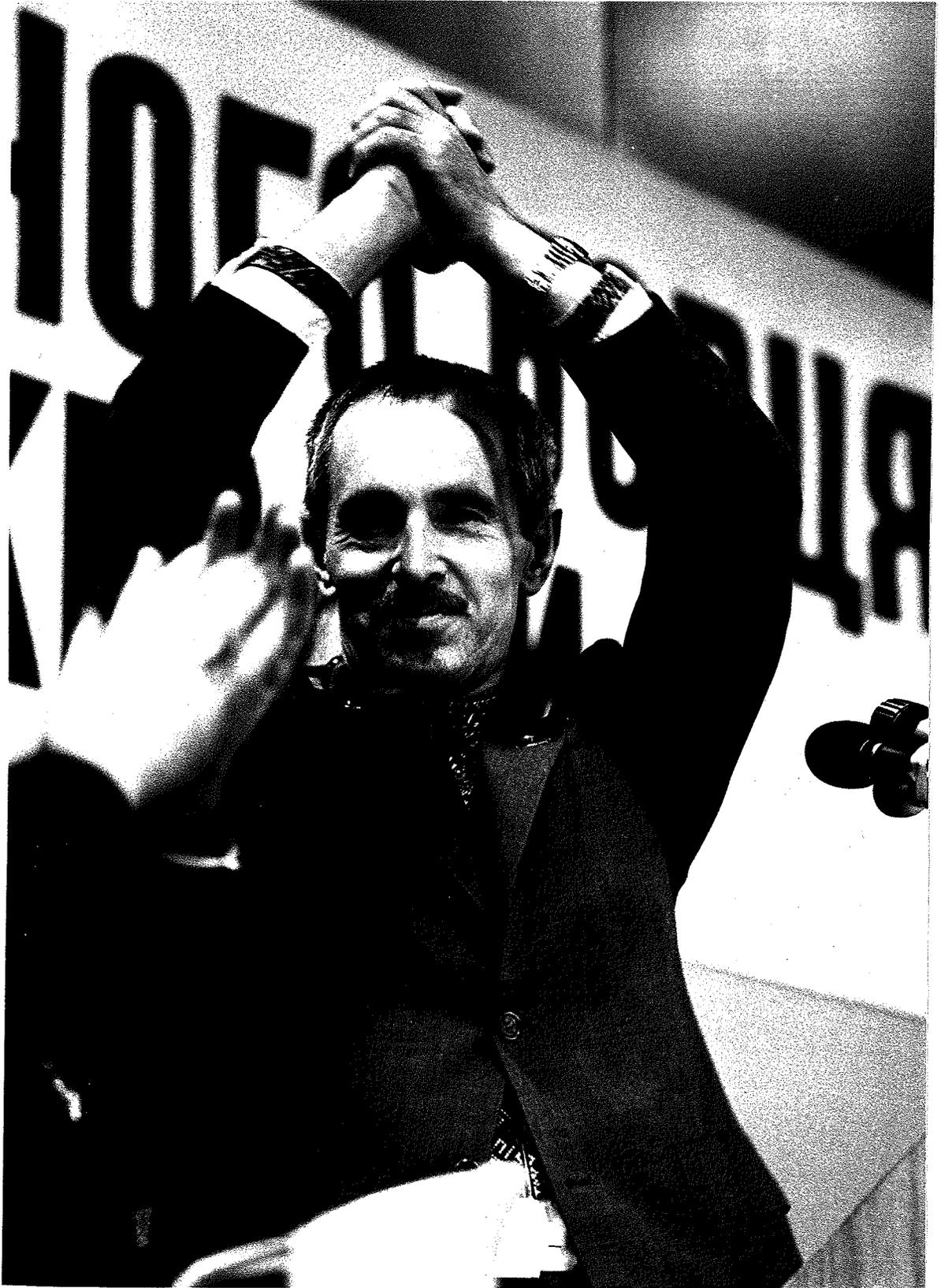
between different groups. The Hromada was anxious to hear of his life in prison and about the condition of other prisoners. They wanted to present him to the greater non-Ukrainian community as a hero.

When Moroz was called to take the floor at his formal reception at the Winnipeg Convention Center amidst cheers and ovations, the audience was not entirely prepared for his speech. Moroz spoke very briefly about conditions in Soviet Ukraine, but centered largely on a commentary of Ukrainian and Canadian life.

Moroz began his speech with an acknowledgement of the efforts of the Hromada on his behalf. He underlined the effectiveness of activity in the West on political prisoners and conditions, and any activity was not to be underestimated in its importance. He stressed what an impossible situation of oppression existed in the Soviet Union that could not be tolerated.

He addressed a number of remarks to the Canadian government. He warned the Canadian government that there was no future in detente, as the concept was impossible in the frame of mind of the Soviet regime and their military base. Canadians were urged to "tackle the Russian bear," and continue active resistance. Moroz predicted great social upheaval to come, and again urged the Canadian government to pressure the Soviets and join in the fight against imperialism. He recommended a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow to force a general amnesty for all political prisoners. He felt that it was inconceivable that Canada should even consider supporting the games, given Russian imperialism and oppressive policy and the fact that they thrive so much on "show."

The Canadian government was not using its full potential, Moroz felt.



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MONDAY JUNE 11, 1979

It should not hesitate to use natural resources and the sale of wheat as its power base in international relations. Food was proposed as powerful a political weapon as oil had proved to be for the Middle East to gain political advantage.

Moroz congratulated Joe Clark on his election as Prime Minister, and commented that he was glad to see his victory over the "hard and fast" politics of Pierre Trudeau. He also expressed his admiration of Clark's stand on the transfer of the Canadian Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Moroz, when speaking about the Hromada, emphasized the importance of lobbying. He congratulated Ukrainians for their perseverance, but expressed the opinion that Ukrainians were generally becoming too passive in international politics. The goal of all Ukrainians should be their homeland's independence. The Hromada had to become politically active and use any means and influence to ensure the survival of Ukrainian culture. Ukrainians could only exist as an ethnic group if they remained loyal to their roots, and to the goals of Ukrainian nationalism.

The independence of Ukraine was inevitable, but it had to remain as the most important ideal for all Ukrainians. It was a goal that allowed the use of any means in order to accomplish it. All manner of resistance was not only justified but an obligation. Moroz proposed Ukrainian nationalism as a "holy cause". In the turbulent times, he said, there were examples of success that could be utilized. Poland and Iran illustrated the effectiveness of a religious/political union in the accomplishment of political gains. The Pope was cited as having effective power and control of the Polish people. The Ayatollah Khomeini was praised for the successful way he called the Iranians to arms.

Moroz at this point paralleled Ukrainian potential effectiveness to gain independence. A union was proposed, or rather joint action, of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, in order to have a monolith and not fragments. He also suggested the Catholic Cardinal Slipyj as the spiritual leader. Cardinal Slipyj was most suitable since he was perhaps the most renowned individual religious personage. His establishment as the Ukrainian Patriarch was imperative. It was emphasized by Moroz that only through these means would "death to the Moscow empire" be accomplished.

Moroz' speech in Winnipeg was similar in content to presentations he made in Toronto and Montreal, which were reported by all Ukrainian newspapers, e.g., Ukrainsky Holos, July 10, 1979; Homin Ukrainy, July 1979; Svoboda, July 13 1979. There were, however, three other issues that were to surface, that should be included in Moroz' stand and were part of the platform that the Hromada associated him with.

In Moroz' first speech in Ellenville, New York on July 8, 1979, he was reported to have criticized the other two dissidents that had been also released (but with none of the same fanfare). These were Leonid Plyushch, because he was an avowed Marxist, and Petro Hrihorenko, who had apparently said "we must take democracy into the Ukraine, not fascism". Moroz increasingly referred to Plyushch as an 'underdeveloped Ukrainian, a Jew" and Hrihorenko as a "Russian" (Student, Feb. 1980).

Soon after his Winnipeg appearance, Moroz publicized the formation of his Association of the Knights of Sviatoslay. The goals and structures of this association were formalized and published in Anabasis, a publication to appear periodically to present its views. In Vol. 2 and

3, 1980, Moroz wrote "something now is required in Ukrainian life". He defined the Knights of Sviatoslay not as a new party, but a new force, whose goal would be to mobilize young Ukrainians to its ranks by appealing to their "hearts not their intellects".

The nation, as a living spiritual organism, is stratified, and among its various levels is that of the elite. The elite always has its mission. Besides the ordinary concerns of daily life . . . ordinary means are for ordinary people . . . the elite, whose concern is the spiritual life of the nation.

Strictly speaking, the goal of the Knights of Sviatoslav, as an elitist association, is to lead the Ukrainian mission through its thousand year history, to ponder the question of how to be an eternal nation. (Anabasis Vol. 2-3:17).

The last issue that provoked much discussion among the Hromada was his personal life. During the first few months after Moroz' arrival, there were rumours rampant about his conduct with a number of young women, and then later about his treatment of his wife, Raissa. These are impossible to catalogue, but shortly after his wife's release in August 1979, they separated. Again there was more gossip. In the fall of 1979, Moroz circulated a short eight page document called To the Ukrainian Community. In it, Moroz accused his wife of being an agent for the KGB and working with them, of wanting all his money as alimony, and justified their separation on political grounds.

I said: Then why don't you go back?  
She didn't reply to this; there was only silence. If Raissa Moroz could speak she would have said: yes, the door to the Soviet Embassy is not closed to me; and the people she has become close friends with know this road better than she does.

The issues surrounding Moroz' ideology and life very quickly became controversial, prickly and emotion charged: "a conspiracy of silence has descended upon the confused and dispirited Ukrainian community. Out of regard for the hardships he had suffered, many felt reluctant to publically confront the Moroz issue". It is up to this day, a subject that is rarely discussed within the Hromada. The following section will present a number of views of some members of the Winnipeg Hromada.

### Disillusionment

It was obvious that reaction was great for the Hromada, and was firmly displayed in the ceremonial reception Moroz received in Winnipeg, and throughout his tour of Canada. It would seem extraordinary that two years later, rarely is he spoken about. He made a second visit to Winnipeg in March 1981, at the invitation of the Political Studies Department of the University of Manitoba and UMSU. At the public lecture, sponsored in the Hromada, there were perhaps two hundred people, and the tone of this meeting, in comparison with 1979, was subdued.

The attitudes have visibly cooled for most members of the Hromada. There have been a number of analytical articles in Ukrainian newspapers; but among Hromada members, there has been little dialogue. It is important to remember that there are segments of the Hromada that are still sympathetic and actively support him. This does, however, represent a minority.

The reasons given by the informants for their reactions to Moroz' arrival and presentation largely correspond with their reasons for the initial appeal of Moroz, before his arrival. Using the same categories,

the reasons for disillusionment will be examined.

Reaction to Literary Appeal. Most of the informants, who had stated categorically that they had been swept away by his writings, still felt that his writings were powerful. Upon a reexamination of his work, it was stated that after hearing his speeches, they read his works differently; for example: Beria was considered patriotic and critical, and open. Later they read this book as being reactionary and an example of right wing traditionalism.

Others expressed the opinion that his speeches were not in keeping with his writings - they reacted in this way:

"It was very different from what I expected him to say."

"He didn't say those things in his books."

"His ideas have certainly changed from Beria."

This opinion was extended by expressing that he should have limited himself to the topics of his works:

"In Beria, he talked about things over there - things he knew about."

"He was the expert, but in some ways those things did not affect us directly. Now he talks about changes that will affect us. Now he's here and everyone is an expert on what's going on--so he should be careful."

Reaction to Political Appeal. Moroz' speech was largely concerned with political action and ideology, it is in keeping with his speech that the most vocal concerns were political. He had in his speech supported

nationalistic and patriotic sentiment. The majority of the Hromada feel that the independence of Ukraine is an important issue. The discussion arose as to the definition of nationalism that Moroz was proposing, and also his proposition of independence by any means. Both these positions were seen as unpalatable to much of the Hromada. Students, initially the backbone of the Free Moroz Movement, completely rejected his proposal. The idea of armed and guerrilla warfare, the praise of the Ayatollah, were seen as examples of right wing tone that was not possible within the frame of reference of most students. They expressed it in these ways:

"we live in a different era."

"he rekindled the battles of our parents, and using the same methods, as well."

"some of his ideas made me think of my history course about the rise of fascism in the 30's."

Equally unpalatable was his proposition of the establishment of the Knights of Sviatoslav as an elitist organization:

This guiding principle of elitism and the nation above all should be more closely examined. His something new is not really that new. In many forms it has been seen before (Student Sept.-Oct. 1979:11)

Asked about their opinion of the Knights of Sviatoslav, informants expressed the fear that he was again dividing the community:

His Knights--that idea doesn't sit well with me, I don't know much about it, but to me it's just another organization. Everyone who comes here starts to set up a new organization. He was supposed to unite us!

"Unity" was the one common ideal expressed by all the informants. After the mobilization that had resulted around Moroz, most of the informants felt that he, above all, symbolized unity for the Hromada. He was perceived, upon initial arrival, to belong to all the organizations that had participated in the activity surrounding his release. His ideology however, became quickly associated with the views of the Banderists. The Banderists are the extreme right-wing faction of a group known as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). An illegal and expressly nationalist underground movement, the OUN rose in the year 1929 through the amalgamation of various Ukrainian nationalist groupings in Western Ukraine and Eastern Europe. It became the most influential group in the 1930's, but in 1940-41, it split into two rival factions, one headed by Stephan Bandera and called the OUN(b) largely under a revolutionary platform, and the OUN(m) under Andrij Melnyk. These factions were imported into North America with the last immigration. Once Moroz became associated with the Banderist faction of the Hromada, either actually or by implication, the ideal of unity in the Hromada was viewed as impossible. Some opinions expressed were:

"Banderists--they think they're the only patriots, everyone else isn't even Ukrainian. They're so dictatorial, they'd just as soon shoot you as disagree. I know, my father is one, but he always says 'you don't understand. You weren't there'."

"Moroz could have made a difference for us - could have accomplished something if he hadn't aligned himself with one group."

"He should have treated everyone equally - we were all there. But no--he choose sides right away and now he has a one track mind."

Moroz was seen as emphasizing the already existing factions in a very real way. With the criticism by Moroz of the other dissidents, it appeared to many members of the Hromada that he was attempting to establish himself as the sole representative of the dissident movement. For members of the Hromada who were part of the Banderists, this was Moroz' main attraction:

"He is nationally minded, that is without question. Plyushch and Hrihorenko, they came and showed their colours pretty fast - but Moroz, he was different. We think of him politically and personally very positively. We support him 110%."

A more reflective tone was shown in this quotation:

It's a paradox that the dissidents have criticized us for not being united. Well, look at them--they're divided and there's only a few of them.

The other common theme of all the informants was that Moroz had taken it upon himself to comment on situations that he knew nothing about. This was evident in his comment on Canadian politics and policy. It was generally felt that he was in absolutely no position to even express an opinion:

"I couldn't believe the comments he made about things that were none of his business."

"He insulted Trudeau and praised Clark who had only been in office a short time. How did he know what was going on? He was a guest in this country and already he was making statements."

Reaction to Religious Appeal. Moroz' proposal of a united action of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches cost him much support, and informants were extremely animated in their reaction to this proposal:

"He criticized the churches for being divided, when all the church officials were sitting right there. It was embarrassing."

"When he started talking about religion he sure mixed everything up; religion is a very personal thing. People believe for all sorts of reasons; they don't change so easily."

Moroz had proposed as well the establishment of the Roman Catholic Cardinal Slipyj as the Patriarch of Ukraine. This proposal was totally unacceptable to the Orthodox adherents. In fact, within the Catholic segment, it is a much disputed issue. These views were expressed in these statements:

"Religion was none of his business. Everyone was there to welcome him - then the Orthodox didn't even attend the banquet after his speech at the Convention Center."

"He says he's Orthodox, and we were glad. Then he says we should all support the Patriarch and join into one church. He said that in front of everyone. How do you think everyone felt. Uncomfortable."

In his article Chronicle of Resistance, Moroz had advocated freedom of religion, and a stop to the desecration of religious articles and churches in Ukraine. This essay gained much support, particularly from Ukrainian Baptists, who also made up a large number of the political prisoners in the USSR. By Moroz' advocacy of the Patriarch and the union of religion and politics, the Protestant supporters found it

difficult to continue their support of Moroz. Their dissident religious movement was precisely arguing for the natural separation of religion and politics, and that the Soviet government should allow them freedom of religion and the right to practise their beliefs.

Reaction to Moroz' Personality and Conduct. The appeal of Moroz' strength to resist persecution was definitely one of the most appealing factors in mobilizing support of Moroz. His suffering was tremendous and is always accredited him. With the symbol of a hero came all the trappings of an image of a man that is idealistic, moral, and irreproachable. Barth emphasizes the basic value orientations associated with ethnic identity that he defines as "the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged" (1969:14). Common values within a group are then in force, and the image of a hero added onto that makes any sort of deviation subject to major reproach. When rumours started about Moroz' personal life and behaviour, and the subsequent separation from his wife, reaction was strong, as these quotations show:

"His behaviour showed just what kind of person he was--he couldn't get away with that. It's not right. I was so upset that he would do that kind of thing."

"You just don't go around handing leaflets out about your wife in front of the church. Whatever the problem, you don't write about it. It's awful."

These rumours were compounded by other stories about the collecting of funds for him. Whether the gossip was true or not, the implication in a scandal initiated disillusionment and a withdrawal of support. His conduct was simply seen as unacceptable. Some of the informants

tempered their disillusionment with statements such as:

"I was expecting a perfect God - but he was just an ordinary person with faults".

"It wasn't his fault--the KGB had let him see everything that was written about him - and he got an inflated ego. Then he thought he could do anything."

Reaction to his Publicity Value. The fact that Moroz was involved in the "biggest exchange of the century," had added to his appeal a hundred fold.

"He went to see the President and he represented us. He was in a position to do things that are beyond the realm of other normal people".

"He opened doors for Ukrainians that were not open before--he was invited to the Oval Office, he was greeted by the Prime Minister, he met the Pope."

Perhaps the most prevalent reaction, when discussing the disillusionment of the Hromada with Moroz came out loud and clear:

"I was so relieved that the English press never got a hold of what happened. What would we have done?"

#### Expectations and Results

Respondents interviewed were specifically asked whether they had, prior to 1979, ever expected that Moroz would be released from the USSR. All quite firmly stated that it had never been within the realm of their expectations. Internal release had been hoped for, but the possibility

of his arrival to Canada or the USA had been non-existent in their minds.

One informant expressed it in this way:

"He was a symbol. Supporting him was being Ukrainian. He rekindled our spirit, we all need strengthening. The young people, they especially found a goal - something they could do to show that they were Ukrainian."

"We hoped he would change the community--give it life."

"He could have been a leader. I remember the P.C.s took a poll in Manitoba around that time, when they were trying to get back in power. They polled the ethnic vote and asked who their leaders were. Most Ukrainians said they didn't have one. Some of the older people said Juba--can you beat that? Anyway we wanted a Moroz so bad, we could taste it."

Mobilization had been precisely successful because Moroz had not been there. His arrival and the subsequent disillusionment has resulted in opinions from extreme bitterness to apathy, as these statements will reflect:

I was extremely upset. I felt weak and sad thinking of what could have been and what happened.

He did more harm than good. The Communists are the ones that gained--maybe they let him out on purpose to embarrass the Hromada.

It could have been very different. He could have been a big man.

It was expressed by the informants that the issues concerning the Hromada after this period of activity have become more contemporary in their involvement with Ukraine, but structurally the Hromada did not change, as these informants said:

People started to revert to their old ways of thinking. Life goes on the way it was.

We don't concern ourselves with things like that. We have a responsibility to everyday life and to keep things running.

Have to build a good place for our children here in Canada.

I'm still active in the Hromada, it's a personal obligation to keep working. I didn't go see him this last time--I was too busy; besides I'm not interested.

Dissidents--they have a contribution to make but they have to fit into what's going on here. That's just the way it is and I think they know it now. People aren't going to give up their organization anymore than their religion--we've built it here and that's what we are.

Ukrainians in Canada have, owing to their distinctive historical experiences, their culture and skills, the times of their arrival and the economic situation they met, developed distinctive economic, political, and cultural patterns and demands; Moroz did not fit into the patterns and demands of the Hromada and disillusionment was inevitable.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the Ukrainian Hromada can be seen to display and be bounded by distinct, visible, and identifiable objective criteria of ethnic identity. These objective criteria are the 'cultural stuff' that makes up the group. But more importantly, the Hromada is structured through a strong institutional and organizational base that has historically developed in response to its relationship to the dominant society in Canada. The Hromada is, therefore a structural unit in which the members actively interact, but it is political in nature. These social boundaries in which the culture is enclosed have varied through time. Even though ethnic loyalties to cultural identity, such as language and religion can be strong, they do not obscure the substantial internal differences of the Hromada that are a result of origin and birth, time of immigration, educational and occupational background, and political affiliation.

Mobilization is a mechanism used in order to revive identity and renew commitment. But it is the structural relationships of the Hromada that determine the reasons of mobilization. Mobilization for the defense of Valentyn Moroz is seen as part of the historical social process of the Hromada, not as an isolated incident. It is the setting up of relationships of the Hromada in Canada, even though its theme involved an issue in Ukraine.

In the face of the strong institutional and organizational arrangements of the modern state, the Hromada has been required to politically organize and to at least nominally present a united front. "Mobilization of any group tends to reduce, at least temporarily, cleavages and distinctions within the ethnic group" (Nagata 1979:180). Within the framework of multiculturalism, as a "recognition of the ethnocultural reality of individuals and groups of today's Canada" (Petryshyn 1978:95), the Hromada has had to shift its aims accordingly. Rather than attempting to exist apart from the rest of society, it mobilized its organization as a mechanism for negotiation with the central power.

The strategy of mobilization occurred in an extremely emotional and high profile 'cause celebre'. The movement for the defense of Valentyn Moroz resulted in the activation of commitments and activity, and the presentation of a visible united and bounded group that would then gain recognition as such. The necessity of the formation of the Hromada in those terms would further its political strength, important in obtaining concessions from the government and ensuring the Hromada's survival. The movement was, in terms of its internal dynamics, "a shot in the arm; it rekindled our spirit," as one informant put it.

The disintegration of this mobilization movement can be seen in a number of related ways. Nagata (1979:181) views disintegration as inevitable--

"mobilization usually occurs in exceptional situations and is rarely sustained beyond immediate short-lived interests, after which the internal segmentary process of subdivision customarily takes over once more."

There was an added dimension to the Free Moroz movement. Because the

mobilization was a product of the aspirations and historical experiences of the contemporary Ukrainian Hromada in Canada, its expectations of Valentyn Moroz movement were very different from the reality produced. Valentyn Moroz, the man, arrived, a product of his own historical experiences and environment, and presented goals, ideology, and expectations that were in keeping with them. One informant expressed it in this way: "He was a symbol. Supporting him was being Ukrainian." The disintegration that followed Valentyn Moroz' arrival was in some way due to the fact that he did not fulfill the requirements of the movement. His proposals and actions, aside from individual disillusionment, did not fulfill the demands of the movement within the present framework of social relationships in contemporary Canada. Ethnic identity mobilization is an emphasis of "ethnic origin, not in the sense of returning to the old culture, but in finding aspects of it meaningful to the present pattern of life" (Breton et al. 1977:198). The predicament, today, is what it has always been for Ukrainians, namely survival (Lupul 1978:449).

In conclusion, although the manifest intention of the policy of multiculturalism has been to encourage and assist the preservation of cultural differences, the important issue remains the legal institutionalization of ethnic identity. Mobilization produces a crystallization of ethnic identity, but as the establishment of strong ethnic boundaries can provide a basis for claiming rights--it may serve as a basis for containing rights as well.

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## Winnipeg Free Press

- 1974a Monday July 22 Prayer Vigil will.
- 1974b Monday July 22 Moroz Protester Taken Ill.
- 1974c Tuesday July 23 Moroz Meeting Rejected.
- 1979a Saturday June 9 Dissident to make two Day Visit.
- 1979b Monday June 11 Fight for Freedom.
- 1979c Tuesday June 12 Moroz urges Boycott of Olympic Games.
- 1979d Tuesday June 12 Dissident and Nationalist.
- 1981 Tuesday March 17 Nationalism on Rise.

## Winnipeg Tribune

- 1979a Monday June 11 Moroz praises Clark's Embassy Stand.
- 1979b Monday June 11 Moroz recalls prison ordeals.
- 1979c Tuesday June 12 Moroz urges West to Boycott Games.

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## APPENDIX

The appendix is a collection of copies of original material. The material includes circulations, flyers, pamphlets, and newspaper articles about Valentyn Moroz. They serve only as examples of material available in order to illustrate the text.

Part I . Period from 1974 to June 1979 -- prior to the release of Valentyn Moroz.

1. Pamphlet--Front  
    --Back
2. Cover letter for petition
3. Petition
4. Bumper sticker
5. Letter to Prime Minister Trudeau  
    re: hunger strike
6. Postcard Petition
7. Flyer for Mass Demonstration
8. Circular - Page 1 and 2
9. Postcard
10. Press Release
11. House of Commons Debate
12. Press Release
13. Newspaper clippings
14. Ad in Ukrainian Press

Part II Period of June - September 1979--arrival of Valentyn Moroz in Canada.

1. Newspaper Photo
2. Amnesty International Newsletter  
    clipping
3. Flyer--Moroz Freed
4. Flyer--Freedom for Ukraine Rally
5. Proclamation--Valentyn Moroz Day
6. Newspaper Photo

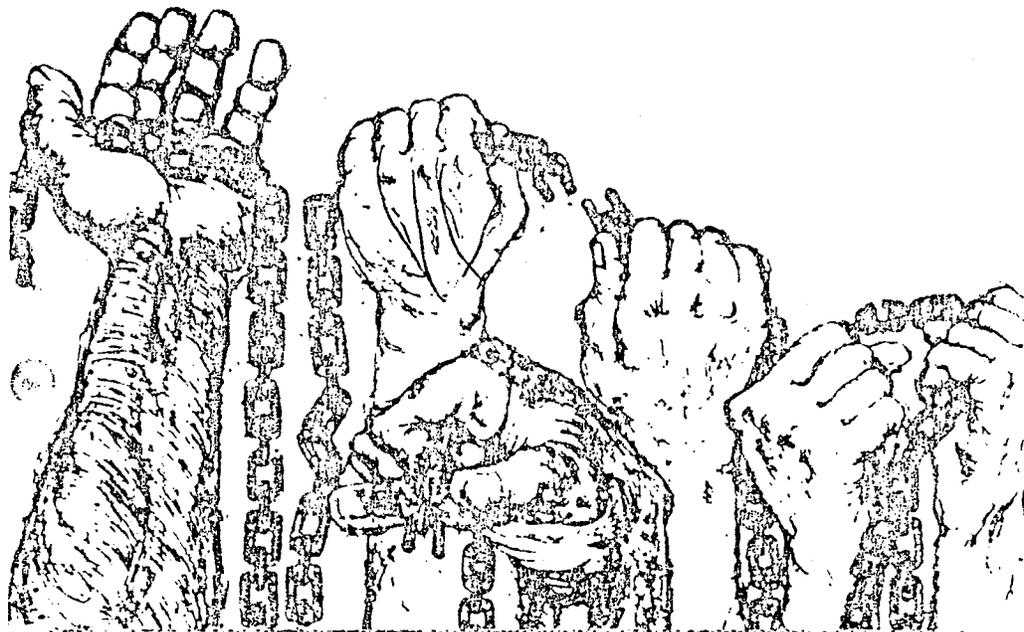
PART I

1. PAMPHLET -- Front

# SAVE VALENTYN MOROZ



Ukrainian historian  
political prisoner,  
inmate of Vladimir prison,  
sentenced in 1970 to 9 years imprisonment and  
5 years exile.



I. PAMPHLET -- Back

HELP TO SAVE MOROZ

Express your concern by signing and mailing this petition to the International Commission of the Red Cross.

I, the undersigned, express my concern for the health and well-being of Valentyn Moroz and hereby request that the ICRC use all means at it's disposal to ameliorate the conditions under which he is presently interned, to investigate the state of health of V. Moroz and to intervene on behalf of V. Moroz in order to ensure his continued survival.

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 (Address)

Please sign, state your address and mail to:  
 Prof. Eric Martin, President,  
 International Commission of the Red Cross,  
 7 Avenue de la Paix  
 Geneva CH1211  
 Switzerland.

For further information and materials concerning V. Moroz, please write to:

**COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF VALENTYN MOROZ**

2200 Yonge St., Suite 1701, Toronto, Ont., Canada,  
 M4S 2C6.

Tel. (416) 487-4611

**КОМИТЕТ ОБОРОНИ ВАЛЕНТИНА  
МОРОЗА**

COMITE DE DEFENSE DE VALENTYN MOROZ

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF VALENTYN MOROZ

P.O. BOX 177

MONTREAL, QUEBEC H8K 3V1

TELEGRAM  
.....



Canadian Ukrainians are deeply concerned over the fate of Valentyn Moroz, Ukrainian political prisoner in USSR. We demand that Canada abide to the inclination of her citizens and intervene for Moroz's immediate release.

Moroz's only crime is to sustain the Ukrainian culture. Because his crime is based on this fundamental sentiment, Canadian Ukrainians are aware that the Ukrainian culture and its source is being apprehended and threatened with liquidation.

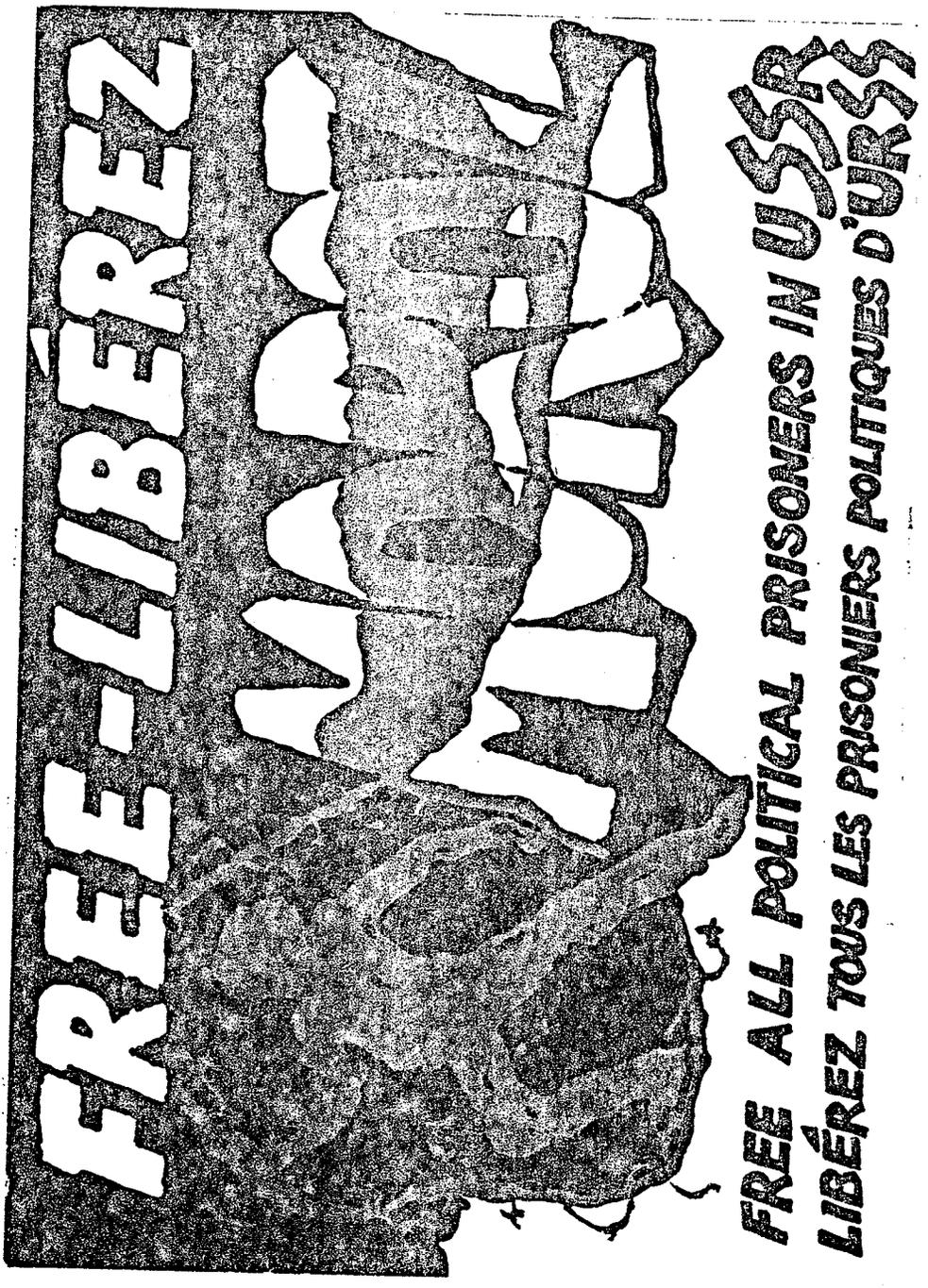
The savage assault on the Ukrainian culture is demonstrated by the inhuman treatment many Ukrainian political prisoners are receiving. Leonid Plyushch, Ihor Kalynets, Iryna Kalynets, Svyatoslav Karavansky, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Nadiya Svitlychna, Ivan Svitlychny, Valya Korniczuk, Yuriy Shukevych, Lyubov Seredniak and many other prominent Ukrainian political prisoners are either undergoing brutal, hard labour sentences in concentration camps or suffering "corrective" torment in psychiatric hospitals.

Canada, as a member of the United Nations should respect and use every means at its disposal to sustain the Declaration of Human Rights. The tyrannical disregard of human rights and human dignity by the soviet government can no longer be dispassionately tolerated.

AS CANADIANS WE CONDEMN THE IMPRISONMENT OF VALENTYN MOROZ AS AN OPEN AND UNJUSTIFIED VIOLATION OF THE USSR'S AGREEMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND DEMAND HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE. WE PETITION YOU TO TAKE THE NECESSARY ACTION IN ORDER TO DEVELOP AN UNPRETENTIOUS, SALUTARY DETENTE!



4. BUMPER STICKER



UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE  
КОМІТЕТ УКРАЇНЦІВ КАНАДИ

OTTAWA BRANCH

ВІДДІЛ В ОТТАВІ

---

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P. O. Box 1276, Station "B"

Ottawa, Ontario

K1P 5R3

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The Rt. Hon. P.E. Trudeau,  
Prime Minister of Canada.

Ottawa, July 18, 1974.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Four days ago several young Ukrainian-Canadians went on a hunger strike in front of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa to register their protest against the mistreatment of Valentin Moroz, a Ukrainian intellectual dissident whose name should be familiar to you. Similar manifestations are apparently taking place in other Canadian cities as well as in some cities of the United States.

Canadians of all ethnic origins have shown respect and understanding for this noble action on the part of Ukrainian-Canadian youth. However, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation chose last night to "honour" this hunger strike by showing a scurrilous anti-Ukrainian film entitled "Another Smith for Paradise" during prime viewing time (9.00 p.m.).

Apart from the fact that the film is insulting to 580,000 Ukrainian-Canadians, it has received exceptionally poor reviews in the Canadian press when shown in Ottawa two years ago. The fact that C.B.C. decided to acquire this film is in itself surprising, since no Canadian theatre chain would show it commercially. We have also strong reasons to believe that the C.B.C. authorities were forewarned on several occasions that showing this film would provoke anger and resentment among Canadians of Ukrainian origin, who are portrayed in this film as crooks and imbeciles. Nevertheless, the C.B.C. management decided to go ahead and show a film that brings no credit to the corporation or to those who made it. We suspect that the timing of the showing was deliberately chosen to counter-act the favourable attention that the young strikers might have received.

... /2 .

- 2 -

As the president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Ottawa Branch, I would like to register my strong objection to the policy practiced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. I am sure that Ukrainians in all parts of Canada will interpret this provocative action by the C.B.C. as a deliberate insult to the group which has manifested its loyalty to Canada on more than one occasion, and which has enthusiastically supported the multicultural policy initiated by your government.

I hope that you will ask the management of the C.B.C. to explain their flagrant disregard of the most elementary principles of good taste and respect for human dignity.

Julia Woychyshyn, President,  
Ukrainian Canadian Committee,  
Ottawa Branch.

Copies to: The Hon. Hugh Faulkner, Secretary of State;  
The Hon. S. Haidasz, Minister Responsible  
for Multiculturalism;  
L. Picard, President, Canadian Broadcasting  
Corporation;  
Dr. P. Kondra, Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

# SAVE VALENTYN MOROZ

PLEASE EXPRESS YOUR CONCERN BY SIGNING AND MAILING THIS PETITION TO ANY OR ALL OF THE FOLLOWING:

P.E. Trudeau,  
Prime Minister of Canada,  
Parliament Hill,  
Ottawa, Ontario.

Alexander N. Yakovlev,  
U.S.S.R. Ambassador to Canada,  
285 Charlotte St.,  
Ottawa, Ontario.

Leonid Brezhnev,  
1st Secretary of the CPSU,  
Kremlin,  
Moscow,  
U.S.S.R.

Kurt Waldheim,  
Secretary General,  
United Nations,  
New York, N.Y.

Prof. Eric Martia,  
President,  
International Red Cross,  
7 Avenue de la Paix,  
Geneva, Switzerland.

International Commission of Jurists  
109 Route de Chêne,  
Geneva, Switzerland.

## APPEAL

*I, the undersigned, express my concern for the health and well-being of Valentyn Moroz. I appeal to you to use all means at your disposal to assure his release and well-being and to accord him those human and civil rights that the world community has prescribed in numerous covenants and declarations of principles.*

*date* \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
*signature*

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
*address.*

КОМІТЕТ ОБОРОНИ ВАЛЕНТИНА МОРОЗА

організує

в неділю,

12-го травня

1974 р.

в Оттаві



# Масову Демонстрацію в обороні Валентина Мороза

Початок демонстрації о годині 2-ій по полудні.

Автобуси з Торонта від'їдуть о год. 8-ій ранку:

- 1) Домівка УНО — вул. Каледж ч. 297,
- 2) Пластова Домівка — вул. Блюр ч. 2199,
- 3) Катедральна Громада Св. Володимира  
— вул. Батирст ч. 404,
- 4) Домівка СУМ — вул. Крісті ч. 83.

В день Матері задемонструймо свою солідарність з українськими матерями, які караються у советських тюрмах і концтаборах!

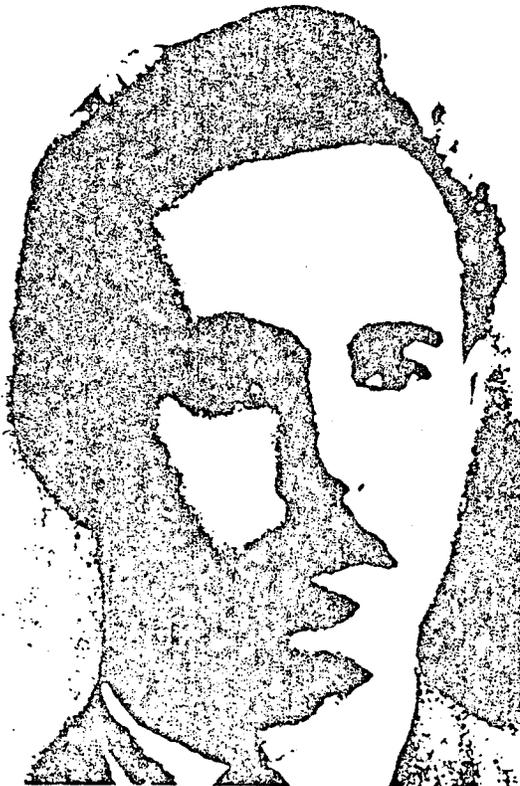
ДО МАСОВОЇ УЧАСТИ В ДЕМОНСТРАЦІЇ  
ЗАКЛИКАЄМО ВСЕ УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ГРОМАДЯНСТВО!

7. FLYER -- Mass Demonstration in Defense of  
Valentyn Moroz June 12, 1974  
Ottawa

# APPEAL ON BEHALF OF VALENTYN MOROZ TO THE AUTHORITIES OF THE U.S.S.R.

Valentyn Moroz has now served his six-year prison sentence and faces an additional term of three years in concentration camp and five years of exile, on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for his writings and for his beliefs. He has suffered

sickness, injury, deprivation of company and isolation. To subject him now to "psychiatric treatment" is beyond belief. Do you not think he has suffered enough? How can you justify putting him through more? In the name of humanity we ask you to release him now.



Valentyn Moroz, 40, is a Ukrainian historian who has spent a quarter of his life in prison for expressing his views and opinions. In November 1970 he was sentenced at a closed trial to 9 years imprisonment and 5 years exile for writing three essays in protest of violations of human, civil and national rights in the Soviet Union. This was Moroz' second sentence—he had already spent a four-year term in the sixties on similar charges. He is married and has a son.

Since his imprisonment Moroz has been beaten, stabbed, kept in isolation and confined with the criminally insane in Vladimir prison No. 2, north-east of Moscow. In protest over his treatment Moroz held a 145-day hunger strike in 1974 and attracted world attention to his plight. Despite protests by the Canadian government, Amnesty International, leading political, literary and academic figures throughout the world, Moroz remained in jail and by January 1975 was again confined to an isolation cell.

On June 1, Valentyn Moroz was due to be transferred to a labour camp for the remainder of his term. However, on May 10, 1976, he was moved to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry on the grounds that his views and behaviour were not "normal." If the Serbsky Institute finds Moroz, as it has diagnosed other dissenters, to be "insane," he will be transferred for an indefinite term to a psychiatric prison-hospital for appropriate "treatment."

Mrs. Raissa Moroz who found her husband in normal health on her last visit, appealed to world public opinion to prevent this ultimate move to break Moroz.

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING VALENTYN MOROZ OR CONTRIBUTIONS, PLEASE WRITE:

**Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz**  
191 Lippincott St., Toronto, Ont. M5S 2P3  
TEL. (416) 961-2607

**Comite pour la Defense de Valentyn Moroz**  
P.O. Box 177, Lachine, Que. H8S 4A8  
TEL. (514) 721-9401

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		L. Dzubik

- J. C. Carris  
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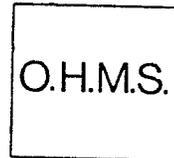
**I ADD MY VOICE TO THIS APPEAL!**

PLEASE SIGN AND SEND TO:  
**ALEXANDER N. YAKOVLEV,**  
**U.S.B.R. AMBASSADOR TO CANADA,**  
**285 CHARLOTTE STREET,**  
**OTTAWA, ONTARIO.**  
**K1N 8L5**

SIGNATURE .....

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TO.  
THE HON. ALLAN J. MacEACHEN,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
LESTER B. PEARSON BLDG.,  
125 SUSSEX DR.,  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO.

I express my concern for the health and well-being of Valentyn Moroz and appeal to you to make representations on humanitarian grounds to assure Moroz' release from prison. Canada is a respected member of the international community for her role in promoting human and social justice. Your action in the case of Moroz will be an affirmation of our determination to secure justice and peace in the world.



VALENTYN MOROZ

Signature .....

Address .....

.....

PRESS RELEASEFurther Developments on Winnipeg Hunger Strike

As of Monday, July 22, 1974 at 12:00 noon, the six young Ukrainian Canadians hunger striking in Winnipeg will have gone without food for 132 hours. Their general state of health is good, although the doctor has prescribed vitamin pills and medication.

A sixth individual joined the original group of five, Saturday night. A similar situation occurred in Ottawa when five women joined the original six hunger strikers.

There are indications that hunger strikes will begin in Edmonton, New York and Washington.

The hunger strikers in Ottawa contacted Andriy Sakharov by telephone. Sakharov morally supported the hunger strike action and suggested contacting Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn for further assistance.

The Winnipeg hunger strikers plan to continue their fast for as long as and in solidarity with Valentyn Moroz and the Ottawa hunger strikers.

THE WINNIPEG STRIKERS INVITE THE GENERAL PUBLIC TO PARTICIPATE IN A UNITY PRAYER SERVICE TO BE HELD AT THE TARAS SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT AT THE LEGISLATIVE GROUNDS, MONDAY EVENING AT 8:00 P.M. THE PRAYER WILL BE CONDUCTED BY CLERGYMEN FROM THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC, UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES. THE PRAYER SERVICE WILL END WITH A CANDLELIGHT VICIL.

# House of Commons Debates

Friday, May 21, 1976

\* \* \*

[English]

## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

SUGGESTED REPRESENTATIONS TO SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO  
PREVENT INCARCERATION OF MR. MOROZ IN PSYCHIATRIC  
INSTITUTION - MOTION UNDER S.O. 43

**Mr. Paul Yewchuk (Athabasca):** Mr. Speaker, I rise under the provisions of Standing Order 43 to raise a matter of urgent and pressing necessity. The Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz who for a number of years has been in a Soviet prison, has recently been transferred to a psychiatric institution for later transfer to a prison psychiatric hospital. His wife has made an appeal to the West to prevent this transfer from occurring, since she believes he is not mentally ill.

I move, seconded by the hon. member for Fundy Royal (Mr. Fairweather):

That the Parliament of Canada, through the office of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, make a representation to the Soviet authorities on humanitarian grounds with a view to preventing Mr. Moroz from being incarcerated in a psychiatric institution.

**Mr. Speaker:** Such a motion pursuant to Standing Order 43 cannot be presented to the House in the absence of unanimous consent. I might add that, in line with the ruling I made last week I have some serious misgivings about the jurisdictional aspect of this proposed motion—

**An hon. Member:** No!

**Mr. Speaker:** In any case, there not being consent, the motion cannot be put.

\* \* \*

Tuesday, May 25, 1976

\* \* \*

**EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

**REQUEST FOR REPRESENTATIONS TO SOVIET UNION ON  
BEHALF OF VALENTYN MOROZ**

**Mr. Stanley Knowles (Winnipeg North Centre):** Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the Secretary of State for External Affairs may I direct a question to the Prime Minister concerning the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz along the lines of a motion that the hon. member for Athabasca sought to move on Friday. As Your Honour knows, those of us who were members of the delegation, of which you were the leader, to the Soviet Union last September tried to make representations on behalf of Valentyn Moroz so we are aware of the difficulty, but even so, in view of the news that he is being transferred to a psychiatric institute, the result of which is likely to be quite ominous, will the government again make representation to the Soviet authorities for the release of Valentyn Moroz?

**Some hon. Members:** Hear, hear!

**Miss Monique Bégin (Parliamentary Secretary to Secretary of State for External Affairs):** Mr. Speaker, in the name of the Secretary of State for External Affairs I recognize that the hon. member expresses the views of many, many Canadians represented by members on both sides of the House.

**Some hon. Members:** Hear, hear!

**Miss Bégin:** The hon. member just said that he knows that the rule of international law is that of not interfering in the domestic affairs of another state. He also knows that we have taken, and will be taking, every chance to put very strongly to the Soviet authorities our concern in the case of Valentyn Moroz, in the context not only of the concerns of Canadians but also of the Helsinki agreement.

\* \* \*

10:30 AM. MAY 18/76. MOSCOW . REUTERS CORRESPONDENT.

DISSIDENT UKRAINIAN HISTORIAN V. MOROZ HAS BEEN MOVED TO THE SOVIET UNION'S LEADING INSTITUTE OF CRIMINAL PSYCHIATRY AFTER SPENDING NEARLY 6 YEARS IN JAIL, HIS WIFE SAID TODAY.

MOROZ, 39, WAS ACCUSED OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM AND SENTENCED IN 1970 TO 6 YEARS IN PRISON, 3 YEARS IN LABOUR CAMP AND 5 YEARS INTERNAL EXILE. HE WAS DUE TO COMPLETE HIS PRESENT TERM IN VLADIMIR PRISON , EAST OF MOSCOW , ON JUNE 6TH.

MRS. RAISSA MOROZ TOLD WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS HERE THAT THE OFFICE OF THE INTERNAL MINISTRY MEDICAL SERVICE INFORMED HER TODAY THAT HER HUSBAND WAS TRANSFERRED TO THE MOSCOW SERBSKY INSTITUTE OF FORENSIC PSYCHIATRY. THE SERBSKY INSTITUTE HAS BEEN FREQUENTLY ACCUSED BY DISSIDENTS OF DECLARING CRITICS OF THE REGIME TO BE INSANE AND SEVERAL PROMINENT DISSENTERS HAVE PASSED THROUGH ITS DOOP AT VARIOUS TIMES.

THE MOVE COULD MEAN THAT MOROZ, WHOSE MENTAL HEALTH WAS PREVIOUSLY NOT QUESTIONED, COULD BE MOVED TO A PSYCHIATRIC PRISON HOSPITAL INSTEAD OF GOING TO A LABOUR CAMP WHICH IS CONSIDERED MORE LENIENT THAN PRISON.

MRS. MOROZ TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE HERE THAT HER HUSBAND LAST WROTE TO HER FROM VLADIMIR IN MARCH. SHE CAME TO MOSCOW YESTERDAY FROM HER HOMETOWN OF IVANO-FRANKIVSK IN UKRAINE TO FIND OUT WHERE HE WAS AFTER BEING TOLD EARLIER THIS MONTH THAT HE WAS IN AN UNSPECIFIED MEDICAL INSTITUTE.

Protest Addresses:

Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry  
Moscow  
Kropotkinsky Pereulok 23                      tel. 246-8692

USSR Minister of Health  
Moscow K-51  
Rakhmanoskii per. 3                      tel. 228-4478

USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Medical Section  
Moscow K-9  
ul. Ogareva 6

A.V. Zhezhnevsky, Director  
Institute of Psychiatry, USSR Academy of Sciences  
Moscow m-152  
Zagorodnoe shosse 2                      tel. 126-4957

# 'Don't put him in asylum' Ukrainian's wife pleads

STABBED IN CELL

But Mrs. Moroz said that when she was allowed to see her husband at Serbsky on Wednesday, he told her he had been informed he required an examination because of his "excessive religiousness" and his "attempts to mutilate himself."

Four years ago, Moroz said he was stabbed in the stomach by his prison cellmate, a petty criminal who was declared to be a "political" prisoner after he tried to escape from the Soviet Union. Now, Soviet authorities insist there had been no such attack, and that Moroz had cut himself in a fit of mental instability.

The Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry has become known in recent years as one of the most sinister KGB (secret police) institutions, with political dissidents subjected there to powerful drug treatment that tended to destroy their mind and will.

The best known of such inmates, the mathematician Leonid Plyusch, was kept at

the KGB's mental hospital at Dnepropetrovsk. On his release and deportation earlier this year — largely at the demand of the French and Italian Communist parties — Plyusch told chilling tales of maltreatment by secret police doctors.

In the House of Commons in Ottawa yesterday, Paul Yewchuk, a Tory MP for Athabasca, attempted to raise the issue of Moroz's transfer to the Serbsky Institute through the device of a priority debate. His intention was to ask the government to intervene in the historian's behalf. Through a misunderstanding, the motion was blocked by J. J. Blais, Liberal MP for North Bay.

This morning, Stanley Knowles, House leader for the New Democratic party, told *The Star*:

"It's certainly my intention to bring up the Moroz matter on Tuesday. We have even more information now than we had when Yewchuk brought up the subject. So we decided we'd better bring it up again."

Moroz was transferred to the Serbsky institute on May 9, and according to his wife, the "psychiatric examination" will last "at a minimum" for 30 to 40 days. In some previous cases, political dissent has been regarded by the secret police doctors as evidence of psychiatric disorder.

Moroz's name has been in the news since 1965, when he was sentenced to four

years of detention in a corrective labor camp in Mordovia. His crime, as he described it in a 15,000-word report smuggled out of the camp, was "propaganda directed at separating the Ukraine from the U.S.S.R." In fact, he had protested against the Russification of the Ukraine.

## SECRET TRIAL

Released in the fall of 1969, he again was put on secret trial in 1970. This time, he was accused of "seditious intention and conspiracy," and sentenced to six years of imprisonment and eight years of detention in a forced labor camp and exile in remote areas.

World protests against his treatment began in 1971. By the summer of 1974, when Moroz went on a 145-day hunger strike, Canadians by the thousands demonstrated before the Soviet embassy in Ottawa.

Moroz was to complete his six-year prison term next month and be transferred to forced labor camp. Instead, Moscow decided to move him to the Serbsky institute to determine if he is "insane."

**The Toronto Star**

Saturday, May 22, 1976

THE TORONTO STAR  
SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1976

## Soviet wife's plea: 'Keep my husband out of asylum'

"Let him be put in a forced labor camp. But please do not let him be put in an insane asylum."

This dramatic plea was made yesterday, in a telephone conversation with The Star, by the wife of Valentin Moroz, the Ukrainian historian who has been transferred from his solitary cell at a prison near Moscow to the notorious Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry for a "psychiatric examination."

In the past two years, thousands of Canadians have marched in demonstrations of support for the Ukrainian dissident who in 1970 was sentenced to a total of 14 years of prison, forced labor camps and exile in remote areas. His crime was the illegal circu-

lation of four of his nationalistic essays.

Mrs. Moroz said: "Let him be moved to a forced labor camp. The labor is hard, but there at least he would be among friends. Let him be sent to a camp. I don't care about that. But he is a healthy person and must not be kept at the Serbsky.

"I fear the insane asylum, and he fears it, too. Every healthy person dreads spending years in a madhouse. Even a healthy person would go mad if kept with the insane for three years."

Mrs. Moroz said a woman doctor at Serbsky told her Moroz would have to undergo a "psychiatric examination" because he had lately "become morose."

ADS -- in Ukrainian Press  
Early 1979

### Yes, we want him!

In September 1975, I.S. Hrushtsky, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, told three Canadian MPs: "After his (Moroz's) second arrest, he refused to recant his views and was sentenced to nine years incarceration instead of five years and will therefore be released in 1979. If the Americans will still want him, then they can have him."

**Yes, we want him.**

Write to your senator, representative and member of parliament, telling them of your concern in the matter.



copied from STUDENT  
February 1980.

PART I I



**They came for him at night  
but now Moroz has his day**

**Montreal Gazette  
June 13, 1979.**



## *USSR and USA exchange prisoners*

On 27 April five prisoners from the Soviet Union were released in exchange for two Soviet citizens who had been convicted of spying and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in the United States.

The five were Alexander GINZBURG, Valentin MOROZ, Georgy VINS, Edward KUZNETSOV and Mark DYMSHITS.

Alexander Ginzburg, a 42-year-old human rights activist and Helsinki monitor, and Valentyn Moroz, a 43-year-old Ukrainian national rights activist, had been serving long terms of imprisonment in a special regime corrective labour colony (the most rigorous category of labour camp) in the Mordovian ASSR. Mr Ginzburg had served almost one year of an 8 year sentence and Mr Moroz had completed 9 years of a sentence totalling 14 years.

Fifty-one-year-old religious rights activist Georgy Vins had recently begun a 5 year term of internal exile after completing 5 years' imprisonment in corrective labour colonies.

All three were adopted by AI as prisoners of conscience.

Edward Kuznetsov and Mark Dymshits were among a group consisting mainly of Soviet Jews who were arrested in 1970 and subsequently convicted of attempting to steal an aircraft to enable them to leave the country. Both men received death sentences which were subsequently commuted to 15 years' imprisonment in the Mordovian special regime colony.

A week before the exchanges, five of their co-defendants were released from other camps but three of those convicted in the same case -- Yury FYODOROV, Alexei MURZHENKO and Iosif MENDELEVICH -- are still serving long sentences in Soviet penal institutions.

AI works for the unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience throughout the world and does not take part in the exchange of prisoners. □

JUNE 1979 Volume IX Number 6

**newsletter**

## КОМІТЕТ ОБОРОНИ ВАЛЕНТИНА МОРОЗА

COMITE DE DEFENSE DE VALENTYN MOROZ

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF VALENTYN MOROZ  
P.O. BOX 177  
LACHINE, QUEBEC H8S 4A6

RELEASED



## МОРОЗ ЗВІЛЬНЕНИЙ

- КОМІТЕТ ОБОРОНИ ВАЛЕНТИНА МОРОЗА В МОНТРЕАЛІ ПРОДОВЖУВАТИМЕ СВОЮ ПРАЦЮ В ОБОРОНІ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ В'ЯЗНІВ ПІД НОВОВИБРАНОЮ НАЗВОЮ КОМІТЕТУ ЯКА В КОРОТКОМУ ЧАСІ БУДЕ ПРОГОЛОШЕНА.
- НЕЗАДОВГО СПОДІЄМОСЬ ВІТАТИ ВАЛЕНТИНА МОРОЗА В МОНТРЕАЛІ, ЯК ТАКОЖ НА БУДУЧЕ СПОДІЄМОСЬ ВІТАТИ Й ІНШИХ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ В'ЯЗНІВ.

## MOROZ FREED

- MONTREAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF VALENTYN MOROZ TO CHANGE TITLE AND CONTINUE DEFENSE WORK UNDER NEW NAME WHICH WILL BE ANNOUNCED SHORTLY.
- VALENTYN MOROZ TO VISIT MONTREAL.

LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING HIM AND OTHER DISSIDENTS  
IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

## MOROZ EST LIBERE

- LE COMITE POUR LA DEFENSE DE VALENTIN MOROZ CHANGERA DE NOM, ET SOUS CETTE NOUVELLE APPELLATION CONTINUERA SON TRAVAIL.
- VALENTIN MOROZ VISITERA MONTREAL.

ATTENDEZ-VOUS A LE RENCONTRER, LUI, ET D'AUTRES DISSIDENTS,  
DANS UN FUTUR BIEN RAPPROCHE.



.....Я ВВАЖАЮ СЕБЕ,  
ПЕРШ ЗА ВСЕ,  
УКРАЇНСЬКИМ  
НАЦІОНАЛІСТОМ...

БУДЕ СУД, ЩО Ж, БУ -  
ДЕМО ВІТІСЬ!..

ЯКЩО ОКУПАНТ НЕ  
ОПУСТИТЬ УКРАЇНИ,  
ВИН БУДЕ ВИНЕСЕНИИ  
НА БАЧЕТАХ!..

Валентин Мороз

## УКРАЇНЦІ!

В днях 10 і 11 червня  
1979 року у Вінніпегу  
будемо тріумфально  
вітати  
НЕЗЛАМНОГО ГЕРОЯ  
БОРЦЯ ЗА ВОЛЮ  
УКРАЇНИ

FLYER in Winnipeg -- bottom

# Валентина Мороза

**НЕДІЛЯ, 10-го ЧЕРВНЯ**

- ПРИВІТАННЯ НА ЛЕТОВИЦІ -- година 11:15 рано: Представники КВК, Складових Організацій та всі Молодіжні й Ветеранські Організації з прапорами і в одностроях вітатимуть Валентина Мороза.
- ПІД ПАМ'ЯТНИКОМ ТАРАСА ШЕВЧЕНКА --- в полудне: Зложення вінка та зустріч Валентина Мороза з молоддю
- ВСЕУКРАЇНСЬКА МАНІФЕСТАЦІЯ -- година 7:30 ввечорі у „Вінніпег Конвеншен Центрі”. Тут головним промовцем буде Найдостойніший Гість з України, Незламний Герой Валентин Мороз. Прийдіть всі!

**ПОНЕДІЛОК, 11-го ЧЕРВНЯ**

- ПРИВІТАЛЬНИЙ БЕНКЕТ У ПІАНИ ВАЛЕНТИНА МОРОЗА -- година 6:30 ввечорі в готелі „Holiday Inn”. Квитки вступу на Бенкет треба набувати заздалегідь до п'ятниці, 9-го червня в Українських Кредитівках і в Комітеті Українців Канади.

**УВАГА!** Щедрі жертові на Фонд Валентина Мороза можна складати в Українських Кредитівках, як теж у часі Маніфестації та Бенкету.

## FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE RALLY

7:30 p. m., June 10, 1979 — Winnipeg Convention Centre  
TO WELCOME THE UKRAINIAN DISSIDENT

## VALENTYN MOROZ

Banquet in honour of Valentyn Moroz  
at 6:30 p. m., June 11, 1979 — Holiday Inn.

Українці! Масовою участю гідно звеличаймо Великого Сина України

**ГЕРОЯ - БОРЦЯ ЗА ВОЛЮ УКРАЇНИ  
ВАЛЕНТИНА МОРОЗА**

КОМІТЕТ УКРАЇНЦІВ КАНАДИ  
ЦЕНТРАЛІЯ І ВІДДІЛ У ВІННІПЕГУ



# Proclamation

WHEREAS Valentyn Moroz is known throughout the World as a Ukrainian who has fought for the human rights and basic liberties of Ukrainian people;

AND WHEREAS Valentyn Moroz, having spent 13 years in prison, was recently released by the Soviet Union on intervention of American, Canadian, and other democratic governments;

AND WHEREAS Valentyn Moroz will visit Winnipeg on June 10th and 11th, as the guest of honour of the Ukrainian community of our city;

AND WHEREAS thousands of Ukrainian Canadians have worked with all of Canada's people to preserve our unity and thereby make Canada a symbol of freedom and liberty;

AND WHEREAS the Ukrainians who came to this city bringing with them a proud heritage, continue to contribute to the richness and benefit of all the people of Winnipeg and Manitoba;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM NORRIE, Deputy Mayor of the City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba do hereby proclaim the day of June 11th, 1979, as:

## VALENTYN MOROZ DAY

as a tribute to a brave people whose high ideals in preserving unity and freedom have done much to ensure the progressive development of our City, Province and Nation.

DATED at Winnipeg this 11th day of June, 1979.



"GOD SAVE THE QUEEN"

DEPUTY MAYOR



Former prime minister John Diefenbaker and Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz sit together at Toronto rally.