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24 July 1952

MEMORANDUM TO: Chief, SR

FROM

SR/PL

SUBJECT

: Statement on the recognition of Ukrainian Independence

- 1. During his last interview, Cassowary-2 made the following interesting observation which he felt could play an important role in determining the extent to which the Ukrainian emigration would be able to participate in a political center. He proposed that Admiral Kirk make a statement acknowledging that from 1917 to 1920 Ukrainia existed as an independent state expressing the will of the Ukrainian people. He also went on to say that such a statement, supplemented by the reiteration of the present U. S. policy based on the principle of self-determination, could serve as a basis for an agreement between the American Committee and the major Ukrainian groups.
- 2. Although the American Committee may never have to resort to such a statement, it is felt that further analyses of such a statement should be made before proposed action is completely dismissed by us.
  - 3. The facts on this relatively important issue are as follows:
  - a. In December of 1917 France and England accredited to the Ukrainian Republic certain diplomatic representatives.
  - b. On 4 December 1917 the Soviet government formally recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Ukraine.
  - c. On 7 February 1918 at Brest-Litovsk, Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bulgaria and Turkey formally recognized the independence of Ukrainia.
  - d. On 22 January 1952, on the floor of the Senate, the Hon. William Benton commemorated the independence of Ukrainia.
- 4. Although the foregoing are historic facts, there are obviously good reasons why a statement by the American Committee on the subject of Ukrainian independence should or should not be made. The factors favoring such a statement are:

- a. By making such a statement, the American Committee does nothing more than recite an historic fact which is acknowledged by all governments concerned. Moreover, by supplementing such a fact by the statement to the effect that the present U. S. policy is based on the principle of self-determination, the American Committee would be pronouncing a policy which has been so intricately interseven into the present discussions going on with the Bussian emigre groups.
- b. The statement of an historic fact does not necessarily imply that the American Committee accepts this fact in the light of the present conditions. Moreover, such a statement would not serve as an embarrassment to us because the U. S. Government has never been a party to the recognition of the Ukrainian independence.
- c. Although such a statement may appear to be of great importance to the Ukrainians, in itself it is sufficiently immocraus and could never be interpreted as reflecting the present or the future policy of this Government. On the other hand, such a statement would serve as a good-will gesture on the part of the American Committee and would certainly improve our precarious position in the vortex of the Ukrainian emigre activities.
- 5. Factors opposing the making of such a statement are:
- a. Such a pronouncement by the American Committee could possibly be purposefully misinterpreted by the Ukrainian emigres.
- b. Such an announcement may serve to deepen the gulf between the Great Russian groups and the American Committee.
- 6. Although there may be other unfavorable factors supporting the thesis why such a statement should not be made, immediate evaluation of advantages and disadvantages seems to indicate that the American Committee has more to gain by making such a statement rather than continuing to ignore this issue. Of course, the element of timing in making such a statement should be seriously considered.

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