

ER 61-7196

8 September 1961

Hon. Edward R. Murrow *and*  
Director, United States Information Agency  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Just before his departure on a brief holiday, Mr. Dulles asked me to look into the matter of unrest in the Ukraine which I understand you raised in a meeting with him on 31 August.

I hope you will find the attached memorandum of some use.

Sincerely,

Walter Elder  
Assistant to the Director

O/DCI/Welder/bd (8 Sept 61)  
Orig - Addressee 1 - DCI  
**Attachment** ✓ 1 - ER  
1 - DDP  
1 - SR  
1 - Mr. Elder

(EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT U.S.I.A.)

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**MEMORANDUM**

**SUBJECT: Unrest in the Soviet Ukraine**

Ukrainian nationalism since World War II has taken different forms, and the question of its existence has been a subject of some controversy among Western observers. It is a fact, however, that the Soviet regime has gained from the West's disinterest in Ukrainian political aspirations. Moscow has sought to prove to the Ukrainians that they can maintain their national existence (note that the Ukraine has representation in the United Nations) only in partnership with the USSR. The Soviets have waged a vigorous campaign to this end not only among Soviet Ukrainians but among the Ukrainian emigration abroad as well.

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Ukrainian nationalism indeed exists. This is especially so in the western (formerly Polish) Ukraine, among both the intelligentsia and the rural communities. The Ukrainians protest the lack of Ukrainian language textbooks, restricted admissions of western Ukrainians into Soviet institutions of higher learning, and difficulties encountered by Ukrainians in gaining employment in the Ukraine. The Soviets have preferred to employ Ukrainians in Soviet Asia and in the Russian Republic itself. Soviet troops in the Ukraine are not of Ukrainian nationality, and Ukrainian military personnel must do their service elsewhere in the USSR.

The Ukraine also contributes heavily to the Soviet Union's industrial and technological production, but gets back less than its share in consumer goods. 

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STAT [redacted] that the Ukrainians are complaining that rural economic conditions have not been worse since World War II, that even wages are often not paid. To live many steal, and others live on packages sent from the United States, the contents of which they consume or sell.

STAT There is further evidence of the Ukrainian thorn in the Soviet side. Several Ukrainian nationalist leaders living abroad have been assassinated, the most recent being the well known Stefan Bandera [redacted]

STAT Resistance by Ukrainians goes on in other forms. [redacted] active collusion between highly placed Ukrainian intellectuals of the Communist Party in Lvov (USSR) and high-level Polish Communists working together to minimize Moscow control over both the Ukraine and Poland.