

Ukrainian issue in diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian People's Republic and Western Ukrainian People's Republic in the Serb, Croats and Slovenes Kingdom

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The article examines the formation and activities of the diplomatic service of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SCS) in the 1920s. The research is based on newly discovered archival documents that have allowed for important conclusions regarding the UPR's international activities.

The author argues that despite the pro-Russian sentiment in official Serbian circles and the lack of official recognition of the UPR, Ukrainian diplomats, particularly H. Myketei, S. Lukianovych, and M. Slavinsky, achieved significant success. They conducted active outreach, spreading the "Ukrainian idea" and providing objective information to the Yugoslav public about the state of the Ukrainian nation, its history, and its aspirations for independence. The diplomats also cared for the Ukrainian community in the Kingdom of SCS, specifically by uniting interned servicemen and providing them with material and moral support. They established strong ties with Ukrainians who had immigrated to Yugoslavia earlier.

A key factor was the Ukrainian diplomats' use of an unconventional situation, namely the willingness of Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian representatives to cooperate. M. Slavinsky expanded the activities of the UPR missions into non-Serbian regions, which helped to foster a positive perception of Ukrainians as a nation striving to create its own independent state. Ultimately, however, the active diplomatic work of the UPR and WUPR missions in the Kingdom of SCS was hindered by the Bolshevik regime that was established in Ukraine.

KEYWORDS

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Introduction

The establishment of Ukrainian statehood after the First World War required titanic diplomatic efforts from the politicians of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) and the West Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR) to ensure that the independence and unity of Ukraine became an accomplished fact. The missed opportunities in the second decade of the 20th century point to a number of factors that led to the failure of the Ukrainians' state-building aspirations. Different aspects of this issue have been covered in historical literature. However, little attention has been paid to the diplomatic activities of the UPR and WUPR in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of SCS, renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929). The Balkan region traditionally held Russophile sentiments, which negatively impacted how the Ukrainian question was interpreted. Therefore, studying the experience of Ukrainian ambassadors in the Kingdom is highly relevant, as even today, attitudes toward Ukraine and the Russian-Ukrainian war in the Balkans are ambivalent. At the same time, official Belgrade expressed a favorable position toward Ukraine. Recent instances of Ukrainian-Serbian cooperation show an understanding of the events in Ukraine, which is not surprising, as Serbia has had similar problems on its own territory. Unfortunately, these culminated in the loss of

the ancient Serbian land of Kosovo, after it declared independence in February 2008.

This raises a number of questions for Ukraine's leadership and media workers, who have in no way covered information about Serbian aid, either in Ukraine or in the Balkans. There are still many gaps in our information policy that prevent Ukraine from becoming a subject of international cooperation. The Balkans represent a strategic region for the whole of Europe, and Ukraine must make every effort to build reliable alliances there, as well as in other regions. International media also provide an ambiguous assessment of Serbia's official position on Russian aggression. This tendency is caused by the fact that Serbia, on the one hand, condemned the Russian aggression against Ukraine, but on the other hand, did not impose sanctions against the aggressor. Serbian Prime Minister Miloš Vučević once again declared his condemnation of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and expressed support for Kyiv following his meeting with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba on May 13, 2024.

Previously, Serbia had repeatedly condemned Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022, but its refusal to join international sanctions strained relations with Kyiv. Consequently, the two-day visit of Dmytro Kuleba and Ukraine's First Lady Olena Zelenska to Belgrade was the first trip by Ukrainian officials of



such a high level to Serbia since the start of the war (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 2024*).

Serbia's political, humanitarian, financial, and military support has been consistent and far from symbolic, which has long outweighed the fact that Serbia did not impose economic sanctions on Russia. However, pro-Russian narratives still hold strong positions among foreign and Ukrainian media. The news that Serbia provided Ukraine with €30.2 million in financial aid in March 2024 did not attract significant interest in either country. A few Ukrainian media outlets reported on it, highlighting that the aid came from a country that maintains economic relations with Russia and has not joined the EU's economic sanctions against Moscow.

It is worth noting that such financial support for Ukraine is not insignificant for Serbia. It is equivalent to the annual budget of a medium-sized city with a population of about 60,000 people (*Tyravskiy, 2024*). Serbia also provided Ukraine with €3 million to help vulnerable children and another €1.5 million for displaced persons just a few months after Russia began its aggression against Ukraine. Therefore, all these facts highlight the relevance of our study.

Research methods

To achieve the objectives of the study, such methods as systemic analysis, historiographical, comparative and others were used. Systemic analysis as the main methodological approach contributes to the disclosure of the essence of the diplomatic activities of the UNR and the ZUNR in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. To analyze documents on the topic of the study, traditional (qualitative) and formalized (content analysis) types of analysis were used, which made it possible to show the activities of Ukrainian diplomats on the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The comparative method is necessary for comparing similar phenomena of life, different variations of foreign policy development, and finding the best ways to solve the problems of the foreign policy of the UNR and the ZUNR in the Balkans.

Research sources. An analysis of recent research and publications has shown that this issue has hardly been the subject of academic study. Our inquiry is primarily based on the memoirs of Ukrainian diplomats from the period of the UPR and WUPR, as well as archival documents that shed light on the activities of these diplomats in the territory of the Kingdom of SCS. Materials from current foreign embassies in Ukraine helped us assess the attitudes of their countries (primarily Serbia) toward current events in Ukraine and draw parallels with the historical past.

Purpose of the study. The proposed study aims to demonstrate the connection between the historical past and present-day challenges in the context of presenting the Ukrainian question to the South Slavs, and to explain why Russian narratives are so prevalent in the world today.

Results and Discussion

The establishment of the Ukrainian statehood after World War I required enormous diplomatic efforts from the UPR and the WUPR to make the independence and unity of Ukraine an accomplished fact. Failed chances in 1920s indicate the number of factors, which have led to the defeat of state-forming intentions of Ukrainians. Various aspects of the problem are reflected in historical literature. However, little attention was paid to the UPR and WUPR diplomatic activity in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS Kingdom, 1929 – Kingdom of Yugoslavia).

Starting to talk about our issue, it is worth to remember about earlier events. During the First World War the Russian

Empire has organized charitable collections, officially interpreting its necessary measures to protect the Orthodox faith. However, taking to consideration the way they were held, we see different conclusion. I.S. Aksakov, the ideologist of "slavophilism" in Russia, noted, that "there would be a hundred times more donations, unless the government opposition, which would prohibit such meetings at any possible chance" (*Nikitin, 1957: 11*). At the same time, the government was not against to take advantage of all the positive aspects of charitable activity. I.S. Aksakov also understood the importance of these events for empire and mentioned:

I believe that the government itself needs the support of public opinion, it is necessary in the sense that it can comfort thrilled heads in front of Europe and demonstrate a "legal public sympathy" and even approve own merits for self-affirmation through it. (*Slavyanskij sbornik, 1958: 146*).

S. Nikitin, the Russian researcher, has the same point of view on the assessment of philanthropic activity in the Russian Empire in favor of the Slavs (*Nikitin, 1957: 78*). However, another scientist T. Snytko believes that the empire was not involved in the liberation events in the Balkans and did not support them either ideologically or materially. N. Snytko mentions, that mostly ordinary people sacrificed in favor of the Balkan peoples in the Russian Empire. In particular, he cites the following data: 80% of donations were obtained from farmers, 15% – from workers, 5% – from nobles and merchants (*Snytko 1957: 96*). We cannot agree with some of T. Snytko conclusions; first of all, with the fact that this phenomenon was typical for the entire empire. Indeed, the reports of Yaroslav Chief Gendarmerie confirmed the given similar figures. The Moscow Gendarmerie reported that Perlov and Ermakov, the most famous Moscow merchants, did give nothing to the Serbian Relief Fund, but also banned to make donations in "theirs" churches, i.e. in that churches which were under their auspices. As to the provinces in Ukraine – Chernihiv, Kherson and Kyiv – the Gendarmerie reports included other details. Primarily, it was all about the nationwide support and participation in charity fundraising for Serbs and other South Slavs. Also, Gendarmerie leaders noted that "this movement proceeds without any participation and support of the authorities and officials". There were no reports, concerning which of the social groups sacrificed during charity events.

These facts are enough to talk about the mutual support of the Ukrainian and Serbian peoples and the new prospects for mutually beneficial cooperation. Interesting fact is the experience of defending Ukrainian interests by diplomats of the UPR and WUPR in the Balkans. At one time they had to make a lot of effort. At the dawn of the birth of foreign Ukrainian missions after the First World War, neither the SCS Kingdom nor the UPR saw each other as a strategic partner. At the same time, the interests of young states sometimes overlapped, which required joint efforts to solve them. These are the work of diplomatic services, the protection of the interests of their compatriots, and so on. The SCS Kingdom has become a refuge for hundreds of Ukrainian refugees who arrived in the Balkans as part of the so-called "white" emigration.

In these circumstances, the UPR leaders started the operations with the establishment of diplomatic representative offices in the Kingdom of SCS. It is clear that the UPR leaders had to work hard to ensure Ukrainian people from abroad with at least minimum protection by the State origin as well as inform the international community about the essence of the Ukrainian issue.

For a long time, major leaders of the SCS Kingdom did

not understand and did not penetrate into the events, unfolded in Ukraine. Like their predecessors, they planned to cooperate with the Russian Empire, and saw Ukraine only as an integral part of it. Bolsheviks as a ruling power in the former Russian empire has suspended full contact of Yugoslavs with the strategic partner. The position of the SCS Kingdom was reasonable and in the spirit of Mos-cowphilism – they wanted to deal with one, albeit an unreliable state (Soviet Russia), rather than with several that arose on the ruins of the Russian Empire. Therefore, the Kingdom did not hurry to establish diplomatic relations with UPR or WUPR.

Ukrainian's presence in the Yugoslav lands demanded attention on the diplomatic structures of UPR and WUPR. Leaders of the Ukrainian emigration believed, that together with the opening of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission, they would improve conditions of Ukrainian refugees in the SCS Kingdom.

As the UPR immediately after its formation did not open diplomatic mission in the SCS Kingdom, the Ukrainians who were there, appealed for help to the Ukrainian representative offices in neighbor countries. Most of these requests submitted to the UPR Ambassador in Austria as the nearest Ukrainian mission. Eventually it was taken to consideration by the UPR leaders and diplomats in Vienna, who were obliged "to worry" about the Ukrainians on the Yugoslav lands. In 1919, Y. Biberovich, the UPR Ambassador in Hungary, was instructed to simultaneously execute the powers of an ambassador in Yugoslavia.¹ However, his work in the development of foreign Ukrainian mission in the Balkans was not effective. In October 1919, the UPR leaders decided to appoint UPR Ambassador in Yugoslavia; by the decree of A. Livytsky, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the UPR, it was Grygoriy Myketiy.

By that time, there already was the WUPR representative in Belgrade – P. Franko, a former school friend of G. Myketey, who took care of Ukrainian prisoners. The WUPR government asked G. Myketey to replace P. Franko and assume his functions. Thus, the newly appointed ambassador received instructions from two Ukrainian governments, who have put the same objectives for him: 1) to convey the essence of the Ukrainian issue to the government and the public of the SCS Kingdom; 2) to protect the interests of the Ukrainians in the Yugoslav lands (*Myketey, 1938: 146*). Before the mission, G. Myketey met P. Franko in Vienna, who reported, that the state of the Ukrainian issue in Belgrade is too complex, as major Serb officials have Russophile sentiments. This information alarmed G. Myketey, he even hesitated for some time whether to go to Yugoslavia, as he was not sure that he would manage to improve the situation. Therefore, being in Vienna, the Ambassador started preparations for the background for the future mission in Yugoslavia.

G. Myketey met with V. Singalevich, the Ukrainian Ambassador in Vienna, and Pogachnik, the Yugoslavia Ambassador in Vienna. They both supported Myketey's idea about the fact that to perform their mission they must rely on immigrants from Ukraine. G. Myketey also decided to start the active cooperation with the Yugoslavian politicians – the former members of the Vienna parliament, with whom he was acquainted since World War I, when he worked in Vienna as a representative of the Red Cross. According to these circumstances, G. Myketey believed in effective diplomatic service in the SCS Kingdom and moved to the

country of destination. His career he started in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, where he had several important meetings. First few days he spent in the estate of Ada Metvetskaya, the Croatian writer, the widow of Ukrainian opera singer Roman Lyubynetsky. The authoress promised to solve the problem of publications of articles about Ukrainian issue in non-party magazine "Obzor" ("Review") (magazine earned fame of Yugoslavian organ, who influenced on public opinion of important issues) (*Myketey, 1938: 147*).

The meeting with Dioniz Nyaradi, the Greek Catholic Bishop, was also very important. The Ambassador had known him since 1917. The Bishop informed G. Myketey about the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. He also organized several important meetings, including the meeting with professor Yank Shimrak, the Yugoslav parliament deputy, a leading activist of the Croatian Catholic party. Shimrak said that has already enlisted Ukrainian issue to the party program. In addition, Nyaradi introduced Myketey to Severovych, the rector of the seminary, and to Kalyay, the director of the Catholic school, who promised to write on Ukrainian topics in Croatian magazines.

After Zagreb G. Myketey launched his program in Ljubljana. There he met the deputy Frank Samodey, who also edited the influential Slovenian magazine "Slovenets" ("Slavonian"). F. Samodey promised to support the Ukrainian issue in the magazine. At that time, Slovenia has already published articles about Ukraine, in the magazine "Vpered" ("Forward"), with the guidance of which Myketey subsequently was acquainted (*Myketey, 1938: 147*).

In the same way, the ambassador studied the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Sarajevo significant number of Ukrainian intelligentsias gathered in groups. For example, the judicial system, was almost fully occupied by immigrants from Ukraine. Vikentiy Yavorskiy was a head of the Regional Court; Myhaylo Zobjkiv served as a president of the Senate, etc. By the way, since B&H has been a part of the SCS Kingdom, all the strangers were fired from state institutions, except the Ukrainians. They worked in the gendarmerie (about 50 people), where after reorganization they kept on serving in various positions (*Myketey, 1938: 149*).

G. Myketey was organized a meeting with Ukrainians in one of the most prestigious hotels in Sarajevo, B&H – "Europe", where the ambassador spoke about political and economic situation in Ukraine. In the capital of B&H M. Zobjkiv introduced G. Myketey to the famous Bosnian lawyer Strykach. He gave to the ambassador a letter of recommendation to the leader of the Serbian Radical Party – Stojan Protich, who twice headed the Government of the SCS Kingdom (December 1918 - July 1919; February-May 1920).

To speak about the Ukrainian issue to Serbian radicals was extremely difficult because it was the largest party of Yugoslavia, which followed the Russophile sentiments. To demonstrate its commitment to Russia, the Party members spoke Russian. Many of them studied in St. Petersburg and had Russian wives.

The meeting of Myketey with Protich was organized by Kalin, the ambassador of Czechoslovakia in Yugoslavia. Czechoslovak diplomat also helped Ukrainian Ambassador with the representative office, providing one room in his embassy. Myketey was allowed to use diplomatic couriers and mail at the Czechoslovak embassy. The meeting of the Ukrainian diplomat with S. Protich was successful

¹ Representatives of the West Ukrainian People's Republic in other countries.

(Myketey, 1938: 152). The Prime Minister praised Ukraine's intention to build an independent state.

G. Myketey made a visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom, where people already knew about the meeting with S. Protych, and later supported the Ukrainian demands about Galicia in the international peace conference. This was one of the successful outcomes of the diplomatic activity of G. Myketey in Yugoslavia. The attempt to open the official representation of Ukraine in the SCS Kingdom failed, although the need for this kept on growing daily.

Number of Ukrainians in the Balkans increased. There have been added two more waves of refugees in 1920 – after the Novorossiysk disaster of Denikin army and after the defeat of Wrangel army. At the same time thousands of people left Crimea, hundreds of Ukrainian families. Emigration process led to rumors of a friendly attitude to the “Russian immigrants” in Yugoslavia. That's why many Ukrainians and representatives of other peoples of the Russian Empire moved there from Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania. Most of the refugees were military. For the diplomatic mission of UPR to distinguish the Ukrainians from the general flow of immigrants seemed too complicated – almost all of them were registered under the title “Russian”.

We must pay tribute to the SCS Kingdom leaders, who did a lot to alleviate the situation of refugees. At first, all people were given state assistance in the amount of 400 dinars per month. Sometimes these funds were added with the help from charities and individuals. One of the refugees wrote: “the financial situation of Ukrainian emigrants in exile is so called “the further, the worse.” (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.624, S.87). “If not the hope of returning to homeland, life here would be impossible,” – the extract from the letter of another Ukrainian immigrant. Refugees themselves and even UPR Foreign Ministry employees believed that all the problems were caused by the lack of organization of Ukrainian emigre life in Yugoslavia (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.624, S.88-89). Russian immigrants had their offices, organizations that helped them quickly find housing, get a job etc.

S. Paleolog, the representative of Russian immigrants and former Poltava landowner, founded in Belgrade “Council of Russian state assistance with the arrangement of Russian emigrants in the SCS Kingdom”. Later, with the help of Shabelskiy, the Russian Guards Captain, S. Paleolog secured the support of the Belgrade higher court circles. The Russians struggled for the material support of Russian refugees would move to the “State Commission”, which was formed out of three Serbian officials. Russian monarchists managed to employ their members, including Pletnev, the lawyer-Colonel, who has become administrator of the Commission. Soon Russian emigrants and later Ukrainian, were in Yugoslavia under the influence of Russian monarchists (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.624, S. 90).

General orientation of Russian emigration, combined with the Ukrainians, has immediately provoked opposition from a significant part of the Yugoslav society. The Croatian magazine “Yutarni List” dated May 19th, 1920 included the article “When the dead come to life”. The main idea of the author was to prove that Wrangel and his associates – is a

handful of political blind men, who were thrown out here to us on the spine of Russian revolution ... and continue in our country the same evil political work, which was mainly the cause of the last unprecedented tragedy of the Russian people

(CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.624, S. 90).

Russian newspapers in Yugoslavia did not lose opportunities to compromise the members of the Ukrainian community, Ukrainian idea in general, in their articles. The “Novoe Vremia” (“New time”) magazine, dated May 9th, 1920 (ch.113) wrote that Ukrainian peasants “are looking for guilty in trouble that befell Russia sees the Jews guilty of the revolution”. Burcevsky, the Russian chauvinist and owner of the “Obshchee Delo” (“General Case”) newspaper, was in charge of provocations against the Ukrainian people. In his articles he lifted the essence of the Ukrainian issue to the Jewish pogroms (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.624, S. 90).

These and similar publications of extremist Russian emigration press have disorganized Ukrainian emigration, distracted its intellectual powers on unnecessary debate about the proper understanding of the Ukrainian issue. Subsequently, pressure and prejudice of the government of the Russian monarchist emigration reflected even on their compatriots – the Russians. Ordinary Russians-refugees were put in such conditions that they had to “dutifully pay a tribute”. In particular, out of obtained 400 dinars from the Yugoslavian Government, the heads of immigrants even managed “to save some money”. Since summer 1920 lonely refugees started receiving 340 dinars, and the families – only 440 dinars. But even these funds were often delayed.

Monarchists have established special supervision for so-called “military” refugees. Despite the election committee, which was appointed by the Government of the SCS Kingdom, monarchists prescribed for each colony (region of compact residence of immigrants) its own “commandant”. Russian military agent in Belgrade gave right to these commandants not only to watch, but also even “to certify” everyone without regard to their rank and status. So, authorized young commandant “certified” even generals. And all had to endure, as without this “certificate” none could apply for the job, get benefits etc.

The Government of the SCS Kingdom, considering the difficult financial situation of immigrants, allowed them to travel freely within the country. The railways even provided free tickets for this category of passengers. However, this privilege appeared inappropriate to monarchists – in summer 1920 they not only limited the free movement of immigrants, but also made travelling abroad more complicated. Emigrants complained: “decent man has to wait for six months to leave, but bounders were able to obtain all necessary papers in two months” (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.624, S. 90).

Monarchists' dishonesty in relation to their compatriots and especially to all other immigrants was observed throughout everything. For example, one of the largest Russian colonies in the Novi Sad city at the end of August 1921 organized the meeting concerning joining the resolution of Reichsangel monarchical Congress. 200-250 people out of 1100 refugees were monarchists; only 88 appeared at the meeting. Despite this, the entire colony unanimously decided, “to join the resolution of Reichsangel Congress” (² Similar decisions were accepted in other Russian emigration circles in Yugoslavia (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.624, S. 91).

It was difficult to survive emigrants, especially to Ukrainians, without cooperation with monarchist organizations. The ideologists of Russian monarchists claimed that

² In May 1921, the All-Russian Congress of Monarchists took place in the Bavarian resort town of Reichenhal, where they decided to direct the activities of monarchists to establish in

Russia the power of “the Romanovs king in accordance with the law of succession. ”

Ukraine did not exist, and the word "Ukrainian" considered shameful and used the word "maloros" ("little Russian"). Such meaning the Russian monarchists imposed to the officials in Yugoslavia, and successfully popularized their "Ukraine-phobic" ideas by themselves: for example, they succeeded that letters written in the Ukrainian language were withdrawn at the post office and were no longer delivered to the recipient (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.624, S. 90). Leaders of the Ukrainian emigration hoped that the authorities of Yugoslavia would not know it, and believed that with the opening of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission would improve the living conditions of Ukrainian refugees in the SCS Kingdom.

In the absence of Ukrainian diplomatic office in the SCS Kingdom, the Ukrainians reluctantly ask for help the UPR and WUPR offices in neighbor countries. Often, as already noted, the queries were regularly received by the Ukrainian Ambassador in Austria. In June 1920, former captain of headquarters of the Russian army applied to the embassy to allow him to form a military unit of the Ukrainian and other Slavic people ("Great Russians and Belarusians"), who "did not support narrowly chauvinistic views of Army of General Wrangel and therefore could no longer fight for the Crimean army, but have a desire to return to Ukraine and keep on fighting against the Bolsheviks" (CSAOV: F.3581, L3, R.40, S.3). The Ukrainians also asked for help with other problems, such as financial support, assistance in setting up housing, job seeking etc. By that time, more than 30 thousand Ukrainians lived on the territory of SCS Kingdom, and every day this number kept on growing due to the military men (over 5 thousand) of Wrangel army (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.521, S.3-4). It was extremely difficult to solve problems of such amount of people remotely. Thus, there again appeared an objective need to activate the UPR diplomatic mission in the SCS Kingdom.

The beginning of this representation office can be considered after the appointment of M. Slavynskyy as a competent in solving issues of UPR citizens in SCS Kingdom in January 1921, and at work "*required for the intercession of the UPR and the defense of rights and interests of its citizens*". M.Slavynskyy was already a head of the diplomatic mission of UPR in Czechoslovakia; in addition, he was assigned to establish diplomatic service in SCS Kingdom and managed its activities, and then it was reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UPR (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.521, S.4).

Due to objective circumstances, it was difficult for the Ukrainians to organize a Ukrainian diplomatic activity here, especially when the official Belgrade did not recognize the existence of the UPR. The pro-Russian atmosphere that dominated in the Serbian political circles prevented the establishment of political cooperation between the Yugoslav state and the UPR. However, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian representatives of the powerful Kingdom were structurally configured to recognize the UPR and cooperation with it. Therefore, using this not quite standard situation, M.Slavynskyy decided to expand the activities of the Ukrainian diplomatic missions in non-Serb areas.

This situation appeared in favor of Croatia. In February 1921, by the recommendation of M. Petrov, the former legal adviser of Foreign Ministry of UPR, S.Lukyanovich was commissioned as new UPR Consul in Croatia (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.520, S.9). According to contemporaries, this "greatest native aborigine of the Ukrainian colony" had a great experience with the local authorities, spoke Croatian and several Western European languages. He was ready to carry out his work for free "for the Ukrainian state, to help

Ukrainian immigrants in Yugoslavia" (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.521, S.3-4).

Before S. Lukyanovich's commission, he has developed the plan of the activity of the UPR General Consulate in Croatia with the location in Zagreb and sent it to UPR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. First of all, S. Lukyanovich has analyzed the state of the Ukrainian issue in Yugoslavia, which at that time was determined as a hostile one by the central government. Speaking in S. Lukyanovich words we suppose that such an attitude to the "Ukrainian question" was formed primarily under the pressure of Russian immigrants-chauvinists. At the same time, S. Lukyanovich expressed the hope that with the assistance of "Croatian element", i.e. Croats entry to the government of the SCS Kingdom, and thanks to the adherence to the "Ukrainian issue" in Yugoslavia, the opinion about the Ukrainian state subsequently changed to the benefit of the UPR.

S. Lukyanovich well understood that prior in his work were the activities aimed at forming a "positive image around Ukrainian issue". With this goal he proposed to intensify cohesion policy of Ukrainian emigrants, create Ukrainian emigration committee in Zagreb and open its subsidiaries in other cities of Croatia. The urgent work was with the Ukrainian academic youth in Zagreb, who could speak on Croatian meetings and objectively inform the public about the "Ukrainian issue", the current state of Ukraine and its history. Philanthropy organization played an important role among Ukrainian emigrants, cultural and educational work of Ukrainian settlers in Vojvodina, Bosnia, Croatia and interned military Wrangel's army who were in the camp in Šabac District (South West Serbia). According to S.Lukyanovich, it was important "to spread Ukrainian literature among the Yugoslavian public in Croatian and Serbian translations, to organize concerts, evenings, excursions about Ukrainian culture, to post articles in local periodicals, etc." (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.520, S.31-33).

As soon as S. Lukyanovich has held the position, he immediately launched an active work in all directions. Already in August 1921, M. Slavynskyy reported the UPR Foreign Minister about the results of its work: intensive information activities in the Yugoslavian press; organization of Ukrainian Information Bureau, which began to publish brochures about Ukrainians in Croatian language; material and moral support of Ukrainian refugees who came to Croatia (economic help, educational work, etc.) (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.520, S.9).

In autumn 1921, to protect Ukrainian soldiers under Yugoslavian consular service, O. Eyhelman, the UPR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, from Zagreb, recommended S.Lukyanovich to improve relations with Chopovsky, the Ukrainian colonel, who was in Petrovogradyn and had extensive business relations in Yugoslavia with the members of General G.Yanushevsky's headquarters. There was the collection of the most complete information about Ukrainian soldiers who were in the SCS Kingdom (CSAOV: F.3696, L2, R.520, S.32).

In June 1921, M. Slavynskyy noted that thanks to the diplomatic efforts of Ukrainian politicians, there have been significant changes in the attitudes of the Serbian government to the "Ukrainian issue". Based on the results of this message, a memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was sent to Belgrade on the need to recognize the UPR.

Conclusion

The diplomatic activity of the UPR and WUPR has managed to significantly change the perception of Ukrainians as a nation, which wants to have an independent state.

Thanks to the hard work of G. Myketey and S. Lukyanovich, M. Slavinsky and their associates, an explanatory work on the subject matter of "the Ukrainian idea" was carried out in the SCS Kingdom. They also managed to maintain the objective information flow for the Yugoslavian public about the state of affairs in the Ukrainian state of the time, its historical past, etc. They thought about the association of interned Ukrainian military men, about providing them material and moral support. There were established relations with the Ukrainians who had moved to Yugoslavian lands back in earlier times. Bolshevik regime as a ruling one in Ukraine prevented further active diplomatic mission for the UPR and WUPR missions in the SCS Kingdom, which was really of Ukrainian nature and essence.

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Українське питання в дипломатичній діяльності Української Народної Республіки та Західноукраїнської Народної Республіки у Королівстві Сербів, Хорватів і Словенців

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У статті досліджено процес формування та діяльність дипломатичної служби Української Народної Республіки (УНР) у Королівстві Сербів, Хорватів і Словенців (СХС) у 1920-х роках. Дослідження ґрунтується на нових архівних документах, які дозволили зробити важливі висновки щодо міжнародної діяльності УНР. Авторка доводить, що, попри проросійські настрої в офіційних сербських колах та відсутність офіційного визнання УНР, українським дипломатам (зокрема, Г. Микитю, С. Лук'яновичу та М. Славинському) вдалося досягти значних успіхів. Вони проводили активну роз'яснювальну роботу, поширюючи «українську ідею» та об'єктивну інформацію про тогочасний стан української держави, її історію та прагнення до незалежності. Дипломати також піклувалися про українську громаду в Королівстві СХС, зокрема про об'єднання інтернованих військовослужбовців та надання їм матеріальної і моральної підтримки. Були налагоджені міцні зв'язки з українцями, які емігрували до Югославії раніше. Ключовим моментом стало використання українськими дипломатами нестандартної ситуації, а саме, налаштованості хорватських, словенських і македонських представників на співпрацю. М. Славинський розширив діяльність місій УНР у несербських регіонах, що сприяло формуванню позитивного сприйняття українців як нації, яка прагне створити власну незалежну державу. Утім, активній дипломатичній роботі місій УНР та ЗУНР у Королівстві СХС зрештою завадив більшовицький режим, який встановився в Україні.

Ключові слова: українське питання, Українська Народна Республіка, Західноукраїнська Народна Республіка, Королівство сербів, хорватів і словенців, дипломатична служба, зовнішня політика.

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