

**TOWARD THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL RELATIONS
OF UKRAINIAN MONARCHIAL EMIGRATION
WITH BRITISH RULING CIRCLES IN 1930s.**

In political sense the interaction between representatives of sovereign Ukrainian institutions and representatives of British Royal institutions – have not existed until the end of 1920s. In this respect, if we want to understand the nature of British-Ukrainian encounter in the interwar period and later, it is more meaningful to talk about cultural attitudes and mutual perceptions and perspectives rather than the history of official relations¹.

The preparation to establish the political relations with British military and political circles was made by exile Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi (1873–1945) in 1926–1931. The general picture of the process of preparation is to be found in the personal diary of Hetman, written in 1919–1945². To the process of preparation were involved some members of the German political and military elite, namely general – lieutenant Grener (1867–1939), the minister of military affairs Gesler and lieutenant – colonel Speer³. In the framework of preparation was indicated the candidate for the future representation of Hetman in Great Britain – Volodymyr Korostovets' (1888–1953).

The Korostovets' family belonged to Ukrainian nobility of the city of Chernihiv. The uncle of Volodymyr Korostovets' secret counselor Ivan Korostovets' was the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Russian Empire to Port-Arthur and Teheran at the beginning of the twentieth century⁴. It was him who helped his nephew with his diplomatic career. In 1918 he met hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyj in Ukraine, as well as P. Miliukov, baron R. Rosen, an ambassador of Russian Empire to the USA, O. Krivoshein, the Minister and future Head of baron Vrangell's govern-

¹ See: Andrew Wilson, *Ukrainians. Unexpected Nation*, New Haven; London, 2002.

² Pavlo Skoropads'kyi, *Dnevnik (Diary) Manuscript*, vol. I. (01.01.1919–06.06.1929), [in:] Personal Archive of the Skoropads'kyi Family. Kusnacht, Switzerland.

³ About the process of preparation see more deeply: V. Potulnytski, *Pidhotovka Het'manom Pavlom Skoropads'kym v 1926–1931 rokach pidgruntia do zapochatkyvannia politychnykh stosunkiv z korolivstvom Velykobrytania (The Preparation by Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi in 1926–1931 the Base for the Establishing the Political Relations with the Kingdom of Great Britain)*, *Krajeznavstvo*, 4 (Kyiv, 2013) 215–223.

⁴ About Ivan Korostovets' and his relations with Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi see: Pavlo Skoropads'kyi, *Spogady. Kinets' 1917 – gruden' 1918 (Recollections. The end of 1917 – December 1918)*, Kyiv; Philadelphia, 1995, p. 167, 171, 301, 310.

ment in Crimea, and others. Skoropads'kyi deeply estimated Ivan Korostovets' and named him as "experienced diplomat"⁵.

The nephew of his old colleague Ivan Korostovets' – Volodymyr, had an experience of diplomatic work in tsarist Russia and in 1928 became the author of publicistic book about the Poland, issued in Germany⁶. In 1930–1931 Hetman twice sent him to Great Britain to gather the information about the attitude of leading British circles to Ukrainian question and to prepare the foundation for the mutual Ukrainian – British political relations in future⁷.

The political activity of Volodymyr Korostovets' in Great Britain in the beginning of 1930s was mainly limited to the propaganda of Ukrainian monarchic (hetman) concept among the English nobiliary circles. He was trying to prove the attraction of this concept in the context of substantiating of the two other concepts: Russian threat and the menace of Bolshevism to England and Europe⁸.

In 1932 in London Korostovets' founded the magazine "Investigator", which had been published until 1934. The magazine was being published in English by the group of Englishmen who aimed at fighting Bolshevism. They considered that the best way of doing that is to support those Ukrainian state formation forces which under the rule of monarch (Hetman) seek to separate Ukraine from the Bolshevist Russia and to create Ukrainian sovereign monarchic state⁹. Some members of Hetmans family, particularly his daughter and personal secretary of Hetman Skoropads'kyj in 1928–1945 Elisaveta (1899–1976), and his son and officially appointed in 1933 successor of Hetman Danylo Skoropads'kyj (1904–1957) took an active part in the process of preparation and bringing the "Investigator" to a successful issue¹⁰.

In this magazine as well as in other English or German conservative magazines, Korostovets' worked at propagandizing the history and theory of Ukrainian monarchism and at anti-Bolshevism propaganda, and spread the information about the development of Ukrainian conservative move-

⁵ Pavlo Skoropads'kyi, *Spogady...*, p. 310.

⁶ Pavlo Skoropads'kyi. *Dnevnik...*, vol. I-D, p. 54.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 174, 203–205.

⁸ See more deeply: V.A. Potulnytski, *Dyplomatiya Pavla Skoropads'koho. Vijs'kovo dyplomatuchni stousunku het'mana z ostrivnumu monarchijamu v 1926–1943 rr. (The Diplomacy of Pavlo Skoropads'kyj. Political and Military Relations of Het'man with Island's Monarchies in 1926–1943)*, Kharkiv, 2014, p. 179–194.

⁹ *Бюлетень Гетьманської Управи (Buletен' Hetmanskoji Upravu)*, Berlin, 1933, October, No.14.

¹⁰ Pavlo Skoropads'kyi, *Dnevnik...*, vol. I-D, p. 212.

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ment, particularly in America and Canada¹¹. But for Investigator in 1932–1934, in 1938 Korostovets' published his articles on the identity of empire plans of tsar and Bolshevik Russia in the German magazine *Geopolitik*. This magazine was being published in Heidelberg and edited by major-general, doctor, professor Karl Haushofer. The latter was well-known person in German political and military circles exactly as the specialist in international relations of Germany with Japan and Great Britain¹².

In the time span of 1930s Korostovets' was holding meetings in nobiliary societies and clubs; he was attending sessions of conservative parties, educational institutions of political elite. In particular, in the year 1936 Korostovets' delivered speeches in seven institutions of English conservative ruling parties: 1. Aschridge Dining Club in London where one hundred members of conservative party were present. There Korostovets' met the Prime-minister of England Sir Stanley Baldwin (Korostovets' conducted a speech "Monarchy and Modern Russia"); 2. At the Political Academy training politicians – Bonar Law College in Aschridge near London on the personal invitation of the principal of the college lord Lorenz Sutton. The students and soldiers of the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs were present there (the speech of Korostovets' was dedicated to the relations of Ukraine and Germany and lasted for three days); 3. At the political and economic debating-society "1933 Club" in Chesterfield, founded by the agents of the Conservative party, chaired by Roger John Edward Conant (the members of national Liberal and National Labour Parties, the landed nobility and entrepreneurs were present); 4. At the Royal Central Asian Society; 5. At Folkestone Conservative Association; 6. Aschridge Circle London – the political school under the patronage of Sir Stanley Baldwin; 7. The Unionist Canvassing Corps – united corps of the Labour Conservative party¹³.

At these sessions Ukrainian monarchists met the leading regional British politicians, in particular the leader of Conservative party in Wales, admiral Walker Heneage Vivian, Scottish conservative leader Lord Denbigh, they took floor at the regional universities, met the leaders of ruling

¹¹ About the Ukrainian conservative movement in USA and Canada in 1920s–1930s see: T. Sydorчук, *Het'manskyj ruch v emigraciji na terytorij CSHA ta Kanady (1918–1939) (Hetman's Movement in Emigration on the Territory of USA and Canada (1918–1939))*, Kyjiv'ska Starovyna, 1 (2002) 72–88.

¹² In 1930 Haushofer published his analytical book about Japan. See.: Karl Haushofer, *Japans Reichserneuerung. Strukturwandlungen von der Meiji-Era bis Heute*, Berlin; Leipzig, 1930.

¹³ *Наш стяг (Nash stiah). Орган Союзу гетьманців-державників в США (Orhan Soiuzu hetmansiv-derzhavnykiv v Amerytsi)*, Chicago, 1936, the 6th of June, p. 1–2; the 14th of November, p. 2.

parties – conservative Sir Stanley Baldwin, liberal David Lloyd George and others, and also representatives of British aristocracy – Lord Walter Runsiman, the Head of the United Royal Dutch Shell Lord Henri Deterding, Oswald Mosley, general Charles Bruce, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Commander Francis Charles Cadogan, captain Guy Mc Caw, Sir Henry Gloster Armstrong¹⁴.

In 1937/1938 Korostovets' took floor at several regional universities, political unions and clubs, in particular in Swansea (Wales), Crowborough (Essex), West Illington (London), Broxbourne (Herts), Darwen (Lancashire), Canterbury (Oxford)¹⁵. The objective of the activity of Ukrainian monarchists was the following: 1) to involve English conservative circles in supporting the Ukrainian monarchic movement; 2) to arouse the interest of English elite to Ukraine, as to an important political factor in fighting Bolshevism in general, and Russian Bolshevism in particular.

To substantiate this objective Korostovets' resorted to several arguments: 1) as the result of the fact that the main threat comes from Russia, Ukraine, being the closest neighbor of the former Empire, assumes an important political role; 2) Bolshevism in Russia is the threat for the civilization, not only for England, Europe, etc., but for the world civilization; 3) After the First World War England, Germany, Italy, France, Spain and Ukraine came to their revival thanks to those forces, which put up their political strategies based mostly on their aristocratic traditions. That is why traditional monarchic nations with the traditional monarchic form of government should unite to counteract all possible dangers, which threaten their nations and their traditional values, and first of all to fight Marxist Communism¹⁶.

The last concept was the most important for Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyj in his long-term policy. Being informed in 1937 about the plans of German government, and willing to unite all monarchic nations after German-Russian war, hetman sent his heir Danylo Skoropads'kyj first to America in 1937, and after his journey to the USA and Canada – for permanent residence to England¹⁷.

¹⁴ *Наш стяз (Nash stiah)*, 1936, the 6th of June, p. 1–2; the 14th of November, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Наш стяз (Nash stiah)*, 1938, the 5th of March, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Український робітник (Ukrainskyi Robitnyk) Орган Союзу Гетьманців в Канаді (Orhan Soiuzu Hetmansiv v Canadi)*, Toronto, the 10th of December, p. 2–3.

¹⁷ About the journey of Danylo Skoropads'kyj to USA and Canada see: V. A. Potulnytski, *Diplomatija Pavla Skoropads'koho. Vijs'kovo diplomatichni stosunki het'mana z ostrivnumu*

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The son of Hetman Skoropads'kyj Danylo Skoropads'kyj joined the activity of Korostovets' in 1939. Danylo Skoropads'kyj was officially appointed a successor hetman with all the rights and duties of the elder of the monarchic family in Vannzee (Germany) in July 1933 and it was legally executed in October 1933. Until the death of Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyj the decision of legal succession hadn't been reconsidered¹⁸. At hetman's order Danylo moved from Germany to England in July 20, 1939 for permanent residence¹⁹. He had lived there until his death in 1957.

Two Ukrainian committees which existed in England at this period counteracted this policy and this vision of hetman in different ways and different times – committee of UPR – Ukrainian People's Republic (Socialists and Social Democrats) and committee of OUN – Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Radical Nationalists). Nationalistic and social magazines in L'viv, such as “Dilo”, “Literaturno-naukovyi Visnyk”, criticized the activity of Volodymyr Korostovets'. They popularized the idea, that “Hetmanists in England propagandize monarchic and hetman's concept, but not a Ukrainian one and join those British circles (conservative party and aristocracy – *V. P.*), which do not want to deal with us and ignore our activity”²⁰. On the contrary, the hetmanists answered, that “the Ukrainians should welcome the fact that such honorable English business and political circles have close connections with Ukrainian monarchists, as it is an advantage for the whole Ukraine, but should not obstruct Ukrainian hetmanists to do what can be done only by them, but never by non-noble ideology”²¹.

The most active opponent of Korostovets' was the director of Ukrainian Republican Committee in London in 1932–1939 Volodymyr Kyselivs'kyi (1896–1983). He came from America to London in 1931, four years after Korostovets' in order to organize Ukrainian Club. The Body of Ukrainian hetmanists in the USA “Наш стяг” (Our Banner) considered Kyselivs'kyi arrival to London and the organizing of the “Ukrainian Club” of Socialists and Social Democrats under his guidance to be a joint move of

monarchijamu v 1926–1943 rr., p. 213–222; *Za Ukrajinu. Opys podorozi het'manycha Danyla Skoropads'koho do Zlychenych Derzhav i Kanady. Osin' 1937 – vesna 1938 rr.*, uklad Ivan Isajiv, Edmonton, 1938 (For Ukraine. The Description of the journey of het'manych Danylo Skoropads'kyj to United States and Canada. Autumn 1937 – Spring 1938, composed by Ivan Isajiv, Edmonton, 1938.

¹⁸ On the issue of appointment consult: *Бюлетень Гетьманської Управи (Buletен' Hetmanskojy Upravy)*, Berlin, 1933, October No. 18.

¹⁹ Pavlo Skoropads'kyi. *Dnevnik...*, vol. II-B, p. 149.

²⁰ *Хліборобський шлях (Khlіborobs'kyi shliakh)*, L'viv, 1933, the 15th of April, p. 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*

pro-Bolshevist circles in Britain and similar circles in the USA²². Expressing his resentment with the fact of hetman coming into political contacts with Britain, Kyseliv'skyi wrote to the leading agent of Ukrainian Social democratic party in L'viv Volodymyr Levyn'skyi in 1938: "I cannot understand how they can (Britons – V. P.) give asylum to Danylo Skoropads'kyi, if his father is cooperating with Nazi Germany. If they even have exiled loyal Jews to the island of Maine, suspecting them of possible pro-German orientation as it was during the previous World War, what can be then said about the Skoropads'kyis. They are the direct supporters of German interests and agents of German intelligence, and they exist only thanks to Germany and are sponsored from the German funds"²³.

The Committee of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists was founded in 1933. With the fact of opening of this committee in London the founder of OUN colonel Yevhen Konoval'skyi (1891–1938) decided to strengthen the activity of OUN in England²⁴. This Committee counteracted the plans of Ukrainian monarchists and Ukrainian monarchic movement right after the Second World War, when it united all three interwar Ukrainian immigration Committees into a Union of Ukrainians in Great Britain (founded in 1946–1948) chaired by Danylo Skoropads'kyi. In fact, the Union had been influenced by OUN since 1950, and aimed at treating all figures (Danylo Skoropads'kyi, the head of Social Democratic Directorate Symon Petliura (1879–1926), the leader of Nationalists Yevhen Konoval'skyi) as equal persons in the context of nation-building perspective and the ideology of Ukrainian Nationalism²⁵.

It is important to stress, that although the Ukrainian issue was not the most important in British foreign policy during the interwar and postwar periods, but it still played rather an essential role in it. From their own side, British official circles were well-informed through their own international sources and due to the verification of their own information with the proceedings of the reports and the conversations with Korostovets' and Danylo Skoropads'kyi about the existence of Ukrainian traditional conservatism and monarchism²⁶. They were also convinced, that its further

²² *Наш стяг (Nash stiah)*, 1936, the 11th of July.

²³ *State Central Historical Archive in L'viv*, Fund 187, Descript. 1, Affair 47, p. 7–8.

²⁴ See: E. Liakhovych, *Activity of OUN in England in 1933–1935* [in.:] *Konoval'skyi and His Era*, Munich, 1974, p. 915–919.

²⁵ V. A. Potulnytski, *Dyplomatiya Pavla Skoropads'koho. Vjys'kovo dyplomatuchni stosunku het'mana z ostrivnumu monarchijamu v 1926–1943 rr.*, p. 188–189.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 203–210.

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existence in interwar immigration in Europe was quite real. This particularly concerns the USA and Canada, where Ukrainian monarchic movement was in its full swing at those times²⁷. The hetmanists managed to establish in USA and Canada the close mutual relations and turned for the support of their movement to the respective representatives of American and Canadian political and financial elite, such as John Buchan, 1st Baron Tweedsmuir, general-gouvernor of Canada, Harold Hitz Burton, the Major of Cleevland, the Head of the Ford Automobile Corporation Henry Ford, and others²⁸.

While offering to the Ukrainian hetmanists in Canada the scope of subjects for their lectures in which the official British circles from the surroundings of Sir Baldwin were particularly interested, and with which he took floor in various aristocratic clubs and societies in Britain, Korostovets' wrote: "Those of my lectures and reports which are in greatest demand here (i.e. in England – V. P.) and which are most often wanted are the following: "Eastern Europe, Soviet Russia and Ukraine", "Russian Policy Before and After the War", "On Soviet Reality", "The Parallels Between the Policies of Red Russia and Imperial Russia", "The Difference Between the Ukrainian and Russian Monarchism", "The Critical Review of Fascism", "Famine in Ukraine"²⁹.

Ukrainian monarchism by the very fact of its existence was also rather attractive for certain circles of British imperial aristocracy, which realized that the position of Ukrainian monarchism was the only different imperial stance as far as Kyivan Rus' heritage is concerned, as viewed by Kyiv, not by Moscow. Thus, the discussions led between the members of British Conservative and Liberal parties touched upon the issues of the Russia's future arrange and of Ukraine's autonomy, the latter was considered convenient by the British. Korostovet's himself, while explaining this view of the British to his supporters in Germany and in L'viv, wrote that "...the English, considering their fascination on the grandeur of a state in general, which has been very traditional with them since the second half of the sixteenth century when England started its way to the world hegemony

²⁷ See: T. Sydorчук, *Het'manskyj ruch y CLLIA ta Kanadi v mizvojenyj period jak istoryko – polityczne ta svitohliadne javyche (Hetman's Movement in USA and Canada in the interwar period as historical, political and philosophical phenomenon)*, Kyjiv's'ka Starovyna, 6 (2001) 101–116.

²⁸ *Za Ukrajinu. Opys podorozi het'manycha Danyla Skoropads'koho do Zlychenych Derzhav i Kanady*, p. 88; 176–177; Pavlo Skoropads'kyi. *Dnevnik...*, vol. II, p. 64.

²⁹ *Ukrains'kyi robitnyk. Orhan Soiuzu het'mantsiv v Kanadi. (The Paper of the Union of hetmanists in Canada)*, Toronto, 1936, January 25, p. 2.

applied the same standards to Russian and Ukrainian realities. I am very often asked whether we (i.e. Ukrainian monarchists – *V. P.*) could be satisfied with the autonomy within the boundaries of Russia. I am always answering for this, that it is vice versa – Moscow can obtain autonomy from Kyiv, and Bolshevism brought to Ukraine by Moscow, can be neutralized only if Ukraine separates from Moscow. As far as autonomy is concerned, we – hetmanists – on the contrary pose the autonomous rights of Ukraine under the rule of Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia as another task of our policy³⁰.

As it was already mentioned about the Ukrainian perspective of the problem, the Ukrainian monarchism on the political scene of Ukrainian emigration in the interwar Britain was not alone. Besides Hetman trend (the monarchists) there were two other Ukrainian immigration committees here: the committee of Ukrainian People's Republic (Socialists and Social Democrats), and the committee of Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) represented Radical Nationalists. The official British circles defined their character and activity nearly the same: as monarchic, moderate and radical respectively³¹. While the moderate circles of Ukrainian Socialists and Social Democrats were supported by the British, the nationalists did not have any active support till the end of the Second World War.

Ukrainian Socialists and Social Democrats were most often invited with the aim to tell about the Ukrainian issue to the salon of Lady Lucy Bronner which was the place for reunions of British society of Near and Middle East. At this very salon during the session presided by a businessman Moshe Linkoln on the 30-th of June, 1935, Ukrainian socialist Roman Small – Stots'kyi delivered the speech in which he emphasized that hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi acquired power from Germans³². The speech also informed about the fact that hetman movement merged with the fascist one in Germany, and the very hetman Skoropads'kyi has neither a party nor supporters, that he has only a limited amount of mass media within his powers and is not favoured by that many Ukrainians³³.

Within the British circles there was an ambivalent attitude towards every Ukrainian immigration political circle, except from a radical one. This attitude is figured out on the basis of reflections of the very hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi and of his closest supporters. It was received by him

³⁰ *Khliborobs'kyi shliakh*, L'viv, 1932, p. 227–231.

³¹ See: V. A. Potulnytski, *Dyplomatiya Pavla Skoropads'koho. Vijs'kovo dyplomatuchni stosunku het'mana z ostrivnumu monarchijamu v 1926–1943 rr.*, p. 206–210.

³² *Khliborobs'kyi shliakh*, L'viv, 1935, June, 25, p. 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

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both from official German sources and from Volodymyr Korostovets' and Danylo Skoropads'kyi from England³⁴. Monarchists were treated by English political figures with certain precautions because the leader of monarchic movement – an exiled hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi was in Nazi Germany at the time.

Along with this there was also certain warm attitude formed on the basis of nobiliary ideology which is close by its spirit to the English, as it is headed by traditional aristocracy. A positive image of Ukrainian monarchists was also due to the position of Russian liberal immigration, namely a newspaper “Vozrozhdeniye”, which was published in Paris by Pavel Miliukov (1859–1943)³⁵. It was writing about Ukrainian monarchists that “Ukrainian monarchism game is at its starting point, but at the same time it is concentrated in the hands of energetic people of rather high level of culture and knowledge, who were among the empire’s elite and are now having ties with the Germans and aim at establishing relations with the English. The work of Ukrainian monarchists should not be condemned as it may have a positive meaning in the course of liberating Russia from the Bolsheviks”³⁶.

Ukrainian Socialists and Social Democrats were treated by British official political circles with regard to both of the above stated items: involvement in German affairs and the Ukrainian character of activity, all of which was opposite to their attitude towards Ukrainian monarchists³⁷. In this case the basis for certain loyalty was the separation of mentioned Ukrainian groups from German authorities, and the sign of being not respectable was a modern moderate Ukrainian nationalism disguised as social democracy. The attitude toward the movement of Ukrainian Nationalists was not serious at all as a result of its radical character, though at the same time it had a right for existence because of the necessity for British circles to have a better understanding of the whole complex of Ukrainian issues and everything concerning them³⁸. Besides, it was historically and geopolitically related.

³⁴ See: Pavlo Skoropads'kyi, *Dnevnik...*, vol. III, 1937–1941.

³⁵ About the attitude of Russian liberals of the nineteenth – first half of the twentieth century (Chicherin, Kavelin, Pypin, Struve, Miliukov and others) toward Ukrainian question see: V. A. Potulnytskyi, *The image of Ukraine and Ukrainians in Russian Political Thought (1860–1945)*, Acta Slavica Iaponica (Sapporo, 1998), tomus XVI, p. 1–29.

³⁶ *Vozrozhdeniye*, Paris, November 13, 1932.

³⁷ V. A. Potulnytski, *Dyplomatiya Pavla Skoropads'koho. Vijs'kovo dyplomatychni stosunku het'mana z ostrivnumu monarchijamu v 1926–1943 rr.*, p. 208–209.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

While describing the perspectives of the loyalty of British conservative circles towards hetman ideas Korostovets' in his article "England and Ukrainian Issue" wrote the following: "the menace to the English world on the part of Bolsheviks favours hetman Ukrainian ideas in England. An English patriot is conservative deep inside. His world outlook is based on tradition and progress. This contradicts the foundations of Bolshevik outlook. The English realize that Bolshevik propaganda should be eased. Nowadays in England the vision of Bolshevism is that of world evil which must be combated and the most efficient ways for this should be found. That is why the Ukrainian question becomes in England a big problem. The Conservatives think that we should be taken into account and be offered constant contacts. The English start to realize that Soviet Moscow and Bolshevism are the antithesis to Ukraine"³⁹.

The facts which were the basis for such ideas of British official political circles were as follows. The return of hetman Skoropads'kyi to power in Ukraine with the support of Germans, which already happened in 1918, can be repeated. Then hetman will turn from a probable force into a real one, as monarchic Ukraine will again become a state, even if it will be a puppet state under the auspices of Germany. When before Hitler's attack to Poland Britain had been thinking of creating out of Western Ukrainian region of Halychyna common English – Polish batterfield against Germany and the USSR (as there existed a common Soviet-German anti-British union), after the Germans captured France when the plans of Germany and the possibility of its future attack of the USSR started to be detected by British intelligence, British official circles increased interest in the figure of hetman's heir Danylo Skoropads'kyi⁴⁰. British conservative leaders reasoned that if Germany won Skoropads'kyi could have been trusted. In case of the victory of the USSR they meant to switch to the Nationalists, which actually took place after the war.

So, the Ukrainian monarchism became valid in Great Britain at the beginning of 1930s, when a Ukrainian nobleman, Russian diplomat to Britain during tsar regency and government official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Russian Empire Volodymr Korostovets' moved from Berlin to London for permanent residence and launched there his political and propaganda activity.

³⁹ *Khliborobs'kyi shliakh*, 1934, November 18, p. 1.

⁴⁰ *Za Ukrajinu. Opy podorozi het'manycha Danyla Skoropads'koho do Zlychenych Derzhav i Kanady*, p. 94.

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The political relations of Ukrainian monarchial emigration with British ruling circles in 1930s. have been developed in the context of two interdependent perspectives. Firstly, these are the views and activity of the Ukrainian monarchists in Great Britain, particularly Hetman's Skoropads'kyjs official representative and spokesman there Volodymyr Korostovets. The perspective of other Ukrainian non-monarchic circles in Great Britain created certain background and discord with the activity of Ukrainian monarchists, which presented Ukraine in general and Ukrainian monarchism in particular to British political circles.

Secondly, this is the attitude of British ruling circles, diplomacy and intelligence to Ukrainian issue and Ukrainian monarchism on one hand, and of certain circles of British aristocracy and officer corps on the other hand. This is also an interpretation of Ukrainian monarchism and its place in the context of traditional tasks of British diplomacy and policy, multiplied by those realias which appeared in the world in the interwar period.

Both types of traditional conservative ideologies – British and Ukrainian – influenced each other in ideological terms and treated each other with regard to their policies. The hetman movement explained Britain and its role in future reconstruction of Europe and in rebirth of the idea of Great Ukraine, supported by the hetman. The British official circles – liberal and conservative, particularly Lloyd-George, who used to meet Korostovets', Baldwin, Churchill and others, have examined their views on European and world politics in the framework of Ukrainian question, and were trying to clarify the situation about the attitude towards hetman Ukrainian movement.

The heritage of historical and political thought of the two traditional conservatisms – English and Ukrainian, which had been collaborating in the time span of twenty seven years (1930–1957), and the contacts between them which were lost after the death of Danylo Skoropads'kyi in 1957, can influence the process of bringing back these contacts under the new historic realias of our days. The common historical contacts in the past can help creating a new dimension of these relations in political and scholarly terms in the future.