



**Ukraine and Sweden: history without myths**

**September 26, 2024**

**Uppsala (Sweden)**

**Round table**

A collection of speeches  
translated by Iryna Pryshlivska

## Program

**Kristian Gerner and Oksana Dudarko are moderators**

**18.00-18.05 - Introduction. Goal. Format. Introduction of moderators and translators**

	<b>time</b>		
<b>1.</b>	18.05-18.20	Ukraine, Sweden and Russia - myths and history	<i><b>Kristian Gerner</b></i> is a Swedish historian, author, expert on Eastern Europe and professor of history at Lund University
<b>2.</b>	18.20-18.30	Sweden - an ally of the Cossacks - the Hetman state in the struggle for independence in the middle of the 17th century	<i><b>Tetyana Podkupko</b></i> , Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor at the Department of Social Sciences, Odesa National Medical University
<b>3.</b>	18.30-18.40	The union of Ivan Mazepa and Charles 12 - historical facts surrounding it and debunking the myth of treason	<i><b>Viktor Borodin</b></i> , PhD student at the Institute of Archeology and Source Studies named after Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi
	18.40-18.50	<b>discussion</b>	
	18.50-19.00	<b>Music pause (Marius Domeyka and Maryna Kholodna)</b>	
<b>4.</b>	19.00-19.10	Crossroads in Blue and Yellow: Entangled Histories of Sweden and Ukraine	<i><b>Roman Horbyk</b></i> , Assistant professor at the Norwegian Defense Academy and affiliated visiting researcher at Uppsala University
<b>5.</b>	19.10-19.20	Freeing oneself through history	<i><b>Maria Hassan</b></i> , Swedish Social Democratic politician, Member of Parliament 2002–2006, historian
<b>6.</b>	19.20-19.30	Luben's Cossack regiment and the 1708 Ukrainian-Swedish agreement. A look through the ages.	<i><b>Serhii Shvetsov</b></i> , local historian. He was a member of the working group for renaming city names in the territorial community of Lubny
<b>7.</b>	19.30-19.40	The lack of - Ukraine in Swedish history teaching	<i><b>Linda Åhgren</b></i> , certified high school teacher in history and Swedish, active at the Celsius school in Uppsala
<b>8.</b>	19.40-19.50	<b>discussion</b>	

**19.50 – Closing remarks**

## **SWEDEN - AN ALLY OF THE COSSACK HETMANATE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN THE MID-17TH TO EARLY 18TH CENTURY**

**Podkupko Tetyana**, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of Social Sciences, Odesa National Medical University

The struggle for Ukraine's independence and sovereignty has been relevant not only today but also in past times. Just as today, foreign allies were crucial for Victory. In the historical tradition of Ukrainian state-building, there were already periods when successful foreign policy agreements determined peace, prosperity, and the security of the population, as well as the very existence of Ukraine.

The issue of allies first became acute during the times of Kievan Rus, and later during the era of the Cossack-Hetmanate state. It is from those ancient times that we trace the allied relations between Ukraine and Sweden (though our countries were named differently back then).

Since 1649, following the Treaty of Zboriv, a second state period began in Ukrainian history. In Bohdan Khmelnytsky's early documents as hetman, the main geopolitical tasks and directions of state policy were clearly outlined. Here, the Swedish vector of foreign policy already became present.

In its activities, Khmelnytsky's government and the hetman himself sought to involve as many countries as possible in the war against Poland. As he launched the war, the hetman could not overlook the need to establish relations with Sweden, which, after the Thirty Years' War, had become one of the most powerful countries in Europe. Controlling the Baltic Sea, Sweden posed a threat to Poland. Moreover, from the very beginning of the Ukrainian people's struggle for liberation, Sweden took a position favorable to the Hetmanate.

The religious factor also played an important role in establishing Ukrainian-Swedish relations. Sweden, which fought against the Catholic League in the Thirty Years' War, was Protestant and sought to weaken the influence of Catholicism in Europe, one of the strongholds of which was the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The first attempts to establish relations between Ukraine and Sweden are reflected in sources from 1650. However, no agreement with Queen Christina was reached at that time. In 1653, Bohdan Khmelnytsky sent a Ukrainian delegation to negotiate with Sweden via the Russian border, but the Russian government refused to allow the diplomats to pass.

In 1654, a Ukrainian diplomatic mission led by Abbot Danylo Ateniezis arrived in Stockholm. Negotiations and certain agreements between Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Swedish King Charles X Gustav were reached in the spring of 1655.

At the end of August 1655, King Charles Gustav's envoy, Julius Torquatus, arrived to meet with Bohdan Khmelnytsky. At that time, the hetman was near Kamianets-Podilskyi. In his reply to Torquatus' embassy, the hetman wrote that the king promised 'trust, protection, and friendship.'

Near Kamianets-Podilskyi, a Ukrainian-Swedish agreement was concluded, which provided for a joint offensive towards Ukraine's western borders and the inclusion of liberated territories into the Hetmanate. Charles X annexed the Belz, Volhynia, and Podolia voivodeships into his domain.

After the Treaty of Vilnius was signed between Poland and Russia, Ukrainians became even closer to the Swedes. In a letter to the king dated November 16, 1656, Bohdan Khmelnytsky expressed his desire to continue maintaining friendship and noted the connection of the Zaporizhian Army with Transylvania. Thus, a new coalition between the Hetmanate, Sweden, and Transylvania

was forming, which was formally established on November 26, 1656, in Radnot (now Iernut, Romania). This was a response by its participants to the Vilnius Treaty signed a month earlier.

The newly formed Radnot system envisioned a joint war by the allies against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Despite the failure of the military campaign against Poland, the war disrupted the ratification by the Polish Sejm of the unfavorable Treaty of Vilnius. Diplomatic negotiations with Sweden and Transylvania helped legitimize Ukraine in Europe. The defeat of the coalition forces did not lead to a rupture in diplomatic relations between the Hetmanate and Sweden. Subsequently, while implementing the Radnot foreign policy course, Bohdan Khmelnytsky closely ensured that all treaties recognized Western Ukraine as part of the Hetmanate.

Relations with the Swedish king allowed military operations to be transferred to the interior of Poland, thereby protecting the national interests of the Hetmanate. Moreover, relations with Sweden contributed to the Europeanization of Ukraine and its legitimization as an independent and sovereign subject of international relations.

In June 1657, a new Swedish embassy led by Gustav Lilliecron arrived in Ukraine. During the negotiations, the transfer of Ukraine's ethnic lands was discussed.

After the death of B. Khmelnytsky on August 6, 1657, not only did the foreign policy course of the Hetmanate change, but also the very nature of its political structure.

However, the new hetman Ivan Vyhovsky continued to develop diplomatic relations with Sweden. On October 6, 1657, the Ukrainian-Swedish Agreement was signed in the city of Korsun.

Another widely known alliance between Ukraine and Sweden occurred in 1708. During the Great Northern War, King Charles XII and Hetman Ivan Mazepa formed an alliance. On March 28, 1709, the Hetman of the Zaporizhian Host, Kost Bondarenko, joined the alliance. After the defeat at Poltava, Ukrainians and Swedes jointly retreated to Bender (then part of the Ottoman Empire). The Ukrainian regalia and flags were not captured by Russia on the battlefield. According to international military ethics, this means that the Hetmanate was not defeated. Our national symbols are still preserved by our allies in Sweden, Stockholm. After Ivan Mazepa's death, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk formed a new alliance with Sweden. In his famous Constitution, Swedish King Charles XII is mentioned as the protector of Ukraine.

Thus, in the mid-17th to early 18th centuries, the security, peace, and independence of Ukraine were inextricably linked to the development of foreign relations with various states, with Sweden playing a significant role. Although Sweden never shared a common border with Ukraine, the destinies of both nations are closely intertwined. Despite changes in the foreign policy priorities of both states over time, our historical paths have been deeply connected. Sweden and Ukraine have always been allies in global international politics, with both striving for neutrality, autonomy, and independence.

We thank you for the allied support back then, and now we move together toward victory!