



## Diplomatic archives: the Polish segment (1918–1991) in the Ukrainian archives

Iryna Matyash

Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine / Instytut Historii  
Narodowej Akademii Nauk Ukrainy (Ukraina)  
imatyash18@gmail.com, ORCID 0000-0002-7565-1866

### ABSTRACT

The purpose of the article is to comprehend the essence of the concept of “diplomatic archive” and to review documents, which were created in the activities of Polish diplomatic and consular institutions and/or are related to the development of Polish-Ukrainian interstate relations, preserved in state archives in Ukraine. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, determinism, and special scientific methods of scientific heuristics, information analysis, and source criticism. The scientific novelty of the study is determined by a comprehensive analysis of the composition and content of the Polish segment in “the Ukrainian diplomatic archive” – documents generated in the activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates in UNR/UkrSSR and materials on surveillance of Polish diplomats in the UkrSSR during 1918–1991. Conclusions. The Polish segment in the Ukrainian diplomatic archive is not a complete set. These are documents related to contacts of the Polish mission with the authorities and institutions of the host country: drafts and texts of treaties and conventions; authorization documents of the heads of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates; official correspondence of the highest state level; documents generated in the course of activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates in the host country; documents related to the implementation of consular functions; audiovisual documents; materials of special services’ supervision and materials of party control over the activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates. It seems important to create a common archival and information base on the composition and content of Polish and Ukrainian diplomatic archives.

### KEYWORDS

Ukrainian diplomatic  
archives, Polish  
diplomatic  
documents, history  
of Ukrainian-Polish  
diplomatic relations

## Archiwum dyplomatyczne: dokumenty polskie (1918–1991) w archiwach ukraińskich

### STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie najważniejszych założeń idei „archiwum dyplomatycznego” oraz dokonanie przeglądu dokumentów, przechowywanych w archiwach państwowych Ukrainy, które pochodzą z polskich placówek dyplomatycznych i konsularnych i dotyczą polsko-ukraińskich relacji międzypaństwowych. W badaniu zastosowano podejście historyczne oraz metody heurystyki naukowej, analizy informacji i krytyki źródłowej. W artykule po raz pierwszy podjęto wszechstronną ocenę zawartości i treści dokumentów wchodzących w skład Archiwum Dyplomacji Ukrainy,

### SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

Archiwum  
Dyplomacji Ukrainy,  
polskie dokumenty  
dyplomatyczne,  
historia stosunków  
polsko-ukraińskich

wytworzonych przez polskie placówki działające w URL i USRR, a także materiały służb USRR z lat 1918–1991, dotyczące polskich dyplomatów. W podsumowaniu zwrócono uwagę, że polska część Archiwum Dyplomacji Ukrainy nie jest kompletna. Stanowią ją dokumenty dotyczące kontaktów placówek polskich z władzami i instytucjami kraju gospodarza: projekty i teksty traktatów i konwencji; dokumentacja listów uwierzytelniających, składanych przez kierowników polskich placówek dyplomatycznych i konsulatów, oficjalna korespondencja na szczeblu naczelnych władz obu państw, dokumentacja wytworzona przez polskie placówki dyplomatyczne i konsulaty w kraju gospodarza, materiały związane z wykonywaniem funkcji konsularnych, dokumentacja audiowizualna, materiały służb specjalnych i organów partyjnych dotyczące działalności polskich placówek dyplomatycznych i konsularnych. Autorka zwraca uwagę na potrzebę opracowania wspólnych pomocy informacyjnych, obejmujących polskie i ukraińskie archiwa dyplomatyczne.

## Introduction

Cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian archivists has a long history<sup>1</sup>. With the restoration of Ukraine's state independence on August 24, 1991, recognized by Poland as the first country in the world on December 2, 1991, it gained legal ground. Already in the Treaty between Ukraine and Poland on Good Neighborliness, Friendly Relations and Cooperation signed on May 18, 1992 in Warsaw (Article 13, paragraph 4) and the Preliminary Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Poland on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation (Article 5)<sup>2</sup> emphasized mutual respect for cultural values, taking measures for proper legal and material protection of archival documents and library materials, as well as their assistance in “identifying, inventorying, restoring collections, preserving, restoration, reconstructing and opening access to them”<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in the field of archival affairs developed in various directions: mutual exchange of information on relevant legislation and archival literature, instructions and rules; mutual participation in professional trainings, seminars, scientific conferences (in particular, Ukrainian archivists became regular participants in the International Conferences of Archives

<sup>1</sup> I. Матяш, *Біля витоків українсько-польського архівного співробітництва*, “Пам’ятки. Археографічний щорічник” 2005, v. 5, pp. 5–12.

<sup>2</sup> Договір між Україною і Республікою Польщею про добросусідство, дружні відносини і співробітництво, [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616\\_172#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_172#Text), accessed 25 August 2023.

<sup>3</sup> Попередня Угода між Урядом України і Урядом Республіки Польщі з питань культурного і наукового співробітництва, [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616\\_182#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_182#Text), accessed 25 August 2023.

of Central and Eastern Europe, launched by the Polish side in 1995); expanding access to open archival documents and reference apparatus of archives; preparing for publication of joint collections of documents on the history of relations between Ukraine and Poland, organizing joint exhibitions of documents on the subject, searching, recording and researching Ukrainica (documents related to the historical past of Ukraine) in Polish archives and Polonica (documents related to the historical past of Poland) in Ukrainian archives. For Ukrainian archivists in this field, the activities of Polish colleagues, who launched the first measures for centralized search, registration, and preservation of Polonica in 1989, and in 1997 introduced a state program to identify, organize, and prepare for the return of Polish archives from abroad, were exemplary<sup>4</sup>.

Expanding access to documents of mutual interest to Ukrainian and Polish researchers, in turn, contributed to the intensification of scientific research based on archival findings. The first attempt at a periodical archival publication summarizing the research of scholars and archivists was a special issue of the scientific and practical journal “Archives of Ukraine” № 4 (257) of 2005 with the subtitle “Ukraine – Poland: Common Fate of Two Nations”. The publication contained, in particular, an annotated register of documents of the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine “Ukrainian-Polish Cultural Relations”<sup>5</sup> and a review of film and photographic documents<sup>6</sup> on Ukrainian-Polish scientific and cultural relations in the Central State Film and Photo Archive of Ukraine named after Hordiy Semenovyv Pshenychnyi<sup>7</sup>. Within the framework of the UNESCO Participation Program in 2008–2009, the project “Documentary Heritage of the Commonwealth of Poland” was implemented, which provided for the creation of an integrated register and manuscript collections of the Commonwealth of Poland (1569–1795) from the archives and libraries of Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Polskie instytucje za granicą. Przewodnik po zbiorach archiwalnych*, ed. A. Krochmal, Warszawa 2004; А. Крохмаль, *Документи з історії України і польсько-українських відносин у зібраннях полоністичних інституцій*, “Архіви України” 2005, № 4, pp. 60–75.

<sup>5</sup> В. Шепелюк, *Анотований реєстр документів ЦДАМЛМ України «Українсько-польські культурні зв'язки»*, “Архіви України” 2005, № 4(257), pp. 180–191.

<sup>6</sup> Т. Ємельянова, *Кінофотодокументи ЦДКФФА України ім. Г.С. Пищеничного про українсько-польські наукові та культурні зв'язки*, “Архіви України” 2005, № 4 (257), pp. 227–236.

<sup>7</sup> From 2022 – the Central State Archives of Audiovisual and Electronic Documents.

<sup>8</sup> *Документальное наследие Речи Посполитой*, [https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza\\_rech\\_pol/intro.html](https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza_rech_pol/intro.html), accessed 27 August 2023.

On October 17, 2008, the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation of archivists was enshrined in the specialized Agreement on cooperation between the State Committee on Archives of Ukraine and the General Directorate of State Archives of Poland<sup>9</sup>. In particular, Art. 7 defined the principles of cooperation between the parties on the project “Joint Polish-Ukrainian Archival Heritage” and declared mutual exchange of information about archival documents and other materials discovered within the project; ensuring maintenance of joint records of such documents; the right to take free pictures of discovered archival documents with their digital equipment for research and cultural purposes and provide a backup copy of the footage; the possibility of creating indexes and other search tools, as well as access to them through public access networks, subject to a written agreement between the parties, permission from the other contracting party that keeps the originals of these documents. As a result of the project, creation of a database “Joint Polish-Ukrainian Archival Heritage” was planned.

One important component of this database should be information on documents related to the activities of Polish diplomatic and consular institutions in the Ukrainian State/Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and the diplomatic missions and consulates of the UNR in Poland, the history of the preparation and signing of the Treaty of Warsaw (the Polish-Ukrainian or Petliura-Piłsudski Agreement) 1920, contacts between the leaders Symon Petliura (Симон Петлюра) and Yuzef Pilsudski (Józef Klemens Piłsudski), Polish-Ukrainian military diplomacy, Polish diplomatic presence in the UkrSSR, and the personalities of Polish and Ukrainian diplomats. However, at first, information about sources for researching the history of Ukrainian-Polish contacts at the state level began to appear in the scholarly works of Jan Jacek Bruski<sup>10</sup>, Robert Kuśnierz<sup>11</sup>,

<sup>9</sup> Угода про співробітництво між Державним комітетом архівів України і Генеральною Дирекцією державних архівів Республіки Польща в галузі архівної справи, [https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza\\_rech\\_pol/intro.html](https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza_rech_pol/intro.html), accessed 24 August 2023.

<sup>10</sup> J.J. Bruski, *Między prometeizmem a Realpolitik. II Rzeczpospolita wobec Ukrainy Sowieckiej 1921–1926*, Kraków 2010, s. 126–130; idem, *Na Ukrainie Rakowskiego. Polskie placówki dyplomatyczne i konsularne na terenie USRR 1921–1924*, [in:] *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie w XX – początkach XXI wieku*, ed. H. Stroński i G. Seroczyński, Olsztyn–Charków 2010, pp. 148–149; idem, *Hołodomor 1932–1933. Wielki Głód na Ukrainie w dokumentach polskiej dyplomacji i wywiadu*, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>11</sup> R. Kuśnierz, *Obraz głodującej wsi ukraińskiej w latach trzydziestych XX w. w dokumentach polskich przedstawicielstw dyplomatycznych w ZSRR i polskiego wywiadu*, [in:] *Polska i jej Wschodni Sąsiedzi*, Rzeszów 2009, s. 64–75; idem, *Голод в Україні 1932–1933 (за документами польських дипломатів)*, “Архіви України” 2008, № 3–4, pp. 46–52.

Oleksandr and Natalia Rublevy<sup>12</sup>, Stanisław Stępień<sup>13</sup>, Tomasz Ciesielski<sup>14</sup>, Mirosław Szumilo<sup>15</sup>, other researchers, and in collective monographs on Ukrainian-Polish relations<sup>16</sup>, the authors of which studied documents stored in Polish and Ukrainian archives as part of their research. Analysis of completeness of coverage of the availability of documents of Polish origin on this topic in Ukrainian archives in scientific works is not the subject of this publication, but rather the emphasis on the important role of Polish and Ukrainian scholars in developing the source base of the history of Ukrainian-Polish diplomatic relations in 1918–1991.

The purpose of this article is to comprehend the essence of the concept of “diplomatic archive” and its derivative concept of “Ukrainian diplomatic archive” and to review documents of Polish origin, which were created as part of activities of Polish diplomatic and consular institutions and/or are related to the development of Polish-Ukrainian interstate relations, stored in state archives in Ukraine, and to outline, taking into account international experience, the possibilities of expanding researchers’ access to such documents.

The subject of the study is the composition and content of a set of documents created in the course of activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates on the territory of Ukraine (UNR/Ukrainian State, UkrSSR) and materials on surveillance over Polish diplomats in the UkrSSR, in terms of their source value for the study of Polish-Ukrainian diplomatic relations in 1918–1921 and Polish diplomatic presence in Ukraine during its time as part of the Soviet Union. The study is based on the principles of objectivity, historicism, determinism, and a systematic approach<sup>17</sup>, relevant general scientific methods as well as special

<sup>12</sup> *Україна і Польща 1920–1939 рр. З історії дипломатичних відносин УССР з Другою Річчю Посполитою. Документи і матеріали, упоряд., коментарі, вступна стаття: Н. Рубльова, О. Рубльов, Київ 2012.*

<sup>13</sup> St. Stępień, *Józef Piłsudski i Symon Petlura. Umowa Symona Petlury z Towarzystwem Naukowym im. Szewczenki we Lwowie*, “Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze” 2004, № 17–18, pp. 294–313.

<sup>14</sup> T. Ciesielski, *Konsulat polski w Odessie 1919–1920*, [in:] *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie...*, pp. 81–101; idem, *Консульство Польщі в Одесі в 1918–1920 рр. та його архів*, “Зовнішні справи” 2017, № 12, pp. 18–21.

<sup>15</sup> M. Szumilo, *Polsko-ukraińska współpraca wojskowa w roku 1920 jako praktyczny wyraz polityki wschodniej Józefa Piłsudskiego*, [in:] *Żar niepodległości. Międzynarodowe aspekty życia i działalności Józefa Piłsudskiego*, ed. L. Maliszewski, Lublin 2004, pp. 123–134.

<sup>16</sup> *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie...*; *Українсько-польські відносини. Новітня доба*, [відп. ред. Микола Литвин], Львів 2017.

<sup>17</sup> B. Ryszewski, *Problemy i metody badawcze archiwistyki*, Toruń 1985.

scientific methods of scientific heuristics, information analysis, and source criticism, taking into account territorial and chronological principles.

## The essence of the concept of a “diplomatic archive”

Scholars do not have a unanimous opinion on the essence of the concept of a “diplomatic archive”. In particular, the question of its nature and composition is debatable. Meredith B. Colket, Jr., an archivist and genealogy specialist at the National Archives of the United States, the first director of the National Institute for Genealogical Research in Washington, called the diplomatic archive a “written evidence of negotiations”, including other documents that were deposited in the activities of diplomatic representatives and are under the protection of diplomatic officials<sup>18</sup>. He emphasized the official nature of diplomatic archives as a collection of originals and copies of diplomatic documents (reports and requests to the government, instructions, notes to the foreign ministry of the host state, letters and notes received, and copies of correspondence sent)<sup>19</sup>, not including the concept of “personal documents of a diplomat, such as family letters, which differ from his official file”<sup>20</sup>. According to M.B. Colket, the important characteristics of a diplomatic archive are its value for a diplomat as a repository of information about historical development of the policy of his government with regard to the government of the host country and the obligations of this government, a source of reference to his country, citizens and business interests in a foreign country; the presence of documents of a strictly confidential nature (for example, instructions defining the powers of a diplomat when concluding a contract); evidentiary value in international relations and absolute inviolability<sup>21</sup>.

Yevhen Slabchenko (Eugène Deslaw), a French filmmaker of Ukrainian descent, former attaché of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR to the United States, and collector of Ukrainian archival collections, had a broader understanding of the diplomatic archive. According to him, the diplomatic archives

---

<sup>18</sup> M. Colket, *The Inviolability of Diplomatic Archives*, “The American Archivist” 1945, January, v. 8, № 1, p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

also included personal documents of diplomats, their documentary collections, maps, printed materials, publications, photographs, and photo collections on the topics of international relations and diplomacy<sup>22</sup>. Forced into exile due to the Bolshevik takeover of his homeland, Ye. Slabchenko attached fundamental importance to the historical value of the diplomatic archives. It was important for him to collect various documents that attested to the existence of Ukrainian diplomatic and consular service in 1918–1921, as a sign of statehood. This idea was not new. From 1925 to 1948, the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine existed in Prague, preserving documents of Ukrainian diplomatic missions that ceased to exist and had no prospects of returning to their native land, where the Bolsheviks were establishing their power in all spheres<sup>23</sup>. In his theoretical reflections, Ye. Slabchenko deepened his understanding of the concept of a “diplomatic archive”, and in practice, he was the first to establish a private “Diplomatic Archive” in Nice (20 and 20 bis Avenue Mont-Rabeau)<sup>24</sup>.

In diplomatic activities, the concept of “diplomatic archive” was regulated by the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of April 18, 1961, ratified in Kyiv on March 21, 1964, and in Warsaw on February 26, 1965<sup>25</sup>. According to this act, in international practice, diplomatic archives are understood as a set of documented information generated in the course of activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its foreign missions<sup>26</sup>. The Convention also defines the legal status of diplomatic archives, which are “inviolable at all times, regardless of their location” (Article 24), as well as official diplomatic correspondence related to carrying out diplomatic missions (paragraph 2, Article 27), and documents and correspondence of diplomatic agents (paragraph 2, Article 30) in the field of their activities.

<sup>22</sup> І. Матяш, *Доля «Дипломатичної історії України» французького українця Євгена Слабченка, «Міжнародні зв'язки України: наукові пошуки та знахідки»* 2015, в. 24, pp. 391–410.

<sup>23</sup> М. Мушинка, *Музей визвольної боротьби України в Празі та доля його фондів. Історико-архівні нариси*, Київ 2005; Т. Боряк, *Документальна спадщина української еміграції в Європі. Празький архів (1945–2010)*, Ніжин 2011; М. Палієнко, *Архівні центри української еміграції (створення, функціонування, доля документальних колекцій)*, Київ 2008.

<sup>24</sup> І. Матяш, *Доля дипломатичного архіву Євгена Слабченка, «Україна дипломатична»* 2015, в. 16, pp. 715–731.

<sup>25</sup> Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, [https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9\\_1\\_1961.pdf](https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf), accessed 25 August 2023.

<sup>26</sup> See: <https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzu-dziennik-ustaw/konwencja-wiedenska-o-stosunkach-dyplomatycznych-wieden-1961-04-18-16786459>, accessed 25 August 2023.



According to these requirements, diplomatic archives as integral sets of documents should be stored in their country of origin. Foreign diplomatic missions organize their documents, arrange them in accordance with the requirements adopted in their country, and transfer them for further storage to specialized units of foreign ministries or specialized archival institutions. It is known that the first special units for storing diplomatic documents were created in France at the end of the XVII century. Such units/institutions are also called diplomatic archives. Archives in foreign ministries keep historical and modern collections or only modern ones (including those from the second half of the XX century), publish (or participate in publication projects) diplomatic documents, and conduct specialized research. Thus, we can distinguish two meanings of the term “diplomatic archive” (subdivisions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its foreign missions; or a set of materials that have been accumulated as a result of their activities). Both meanings are listed in the *Ukrainian Diplomatic Encyclopedia* <sup>27</sup>. At the same time, the personal files of diplomats are mentioned as part of the diplomatic archive.

The source value of diplomatic documents is emphasized in the series “Polish Diplomatic Documents” (PDD) of the Polish International Institute: “written sources pertaining to Poland’s relations with foreign countries, created by the Polish authorities, state institutions, the press, political parties, and other public organizations, as well as documents stored in the archives of these institutions”<sup>28</sup>. An important aspect of this definition is that it includes diplomatic documents of the press, political parties, and public organizations in the field of international contacts, which broadens the understanding of the composition of the diplomatic archive.

Thus, from the point of view of the importance of the diplomatic archive as a source for studying the development of the diplomatic and consular service, there are grounds to take a wider view of the composition of the diplomatic archive than in its understanding in the context of international law. Given the value of documents of personal origin for the institutional history of diplomacy, a diplomatic archive can be considered a collection of documents of official origin created in the course of activities of the main body in the system of central

<sup>27</sup> В. Матвієнко, Л. Гайдуків, *Архіви дипломатичні*, [in:] *Українська дипломатична енциклопедія*, в. 1, Київ 2004, pp. 81–82.

<sup>28</sup> *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne*, [https://www.pism.pl/publikacje/Polskie\\_Dokumenty\\_Dyplomatyczne](https://www.pism.pl/publikacje/Polskie_Dokumenty_Dyplomatyczne), accessed 25 August 2023.



executive authorities for the formation and implementation of state policy in the field of foreign relations, which exercises its powers directly and through other bodies of the diplomatic service (foreign diplomatic missions, consular offices, permanent missions to international organizations) and other state bodies engaged in the formation and implementation of state policy in the field of foreign relations, political parties and public organizations, as well as personal documents of diplomatic and consular service employees, spouses of diplomats who represented the state at different times in foreign countries, and foreign representatives who worked in this state.

## Peculiarities of the composition of the Ukrainian Diplomatic Archive

The term “Ukrainian diplomatic archive” is understood as a collective term derived from the concept of “diplomatic archive” in its two meanings: resource (documents created in the activities of state entities related to the implementation of diplomatic functions) and institutional (special institutions for storing such documents). The first mentions of Ukrainian diplomatic archives date back to the period of Ukraine-Rus. It is believed that the Grand Ducal Archive and Library, founded by Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kyiv, preserved kept diplomatic acts in St. Sophia Cathedral along with important state documents. Many works have been devoted to the reconstruction of the Grand Ducal Archives<sup>29</sup>. Formation of the diplomatic archive as a place of storage for specialized documents took real shape during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921 when the Ukrainian diplomatic and consular service was created in the forms closest to the modern one. In March 1918, the archival and literary department was established within the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR)<sup>30</sup>, during the era of the Ukrainian State (April 29 – December 14, 1918) and with the restoration of the UNR, the archives department

<sup>29</sup> М. Брайчевський, *Київський великокнязівський архів Х–ХІІІ ст.*, [in:] *Українська археографія. Сучасний стан та перспективи розвитку. Тези доповідей республіканської наради, грудень 1988*, Київ 1988, р. 104; Н. Солонська, *Літописні джерела до історії формування бібліотеки Ярослава Мудрого*, “Архівознавство. Археографія. Джерелознавство. Міжвідомчий збірник наукових праць” 2001, в. 3, pp. 211–212.

<sup>30</sup> *Історія української дипломатії. Перші кроки на міжнародній арені (1917–1924 рр.). Документи і матеріали*, [авт. передм., упоряд.: І. Б. Матяш et al.], Київ 2010, р. 107.

functioned as part of the general department, with the historical committee as a separate structural segment<sup>31</sup>. When Ukraine was a part of the USSR, with the restoration of the UkrSSR's powers in the field of foreign relations on February 1, 1944, the diplomatic archive within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR first operated as part of the political department, and since 1951 – as the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>32</sup>. Diplomatic documents created after February 1, 1944, were accumulated there.

The Ukrainian diplomatic archive is represented by state acts in the sphere of international relations and functioning of diplomatic and consular service, drafts and original texts of international treaties, statutes, and conventions; official documents on the establishment of diplomatic missions, staff lists, minutes of meetings, diplomatic correspondence, internal documents, financial documents of diplomatic institutions; lists of employees of Ukrainian missions and foreign missions, their passports and certificates, security certificates; documents on official activities and correspondence of persons who were officially in the diplomatic service, diplomatic staff, photographic documents, newsletters, reports, certificates prepared by diplomatic mission staff regarding the host country.

The Ukrainian diplomatic archive as an information resource can be divided into Ukrainian and foreign fonds. The existence of the “foreign fond” is connected with the forced emigration of statesmen and diplomats of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921 due to the seizure of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks. These figures often took with them the archives of state bodies as their most valuable treasure to ensure their preservation and kept archives of diplomatic missions or minutes of diplomatic meetings and correspondence in their collections. Subsequently, the documents generated by the Ukrainian diplomatic service and foreign missions in the early stages of its formation, as well as some private collections of diplomats, were transferred to the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine in Prague (“taking over the archives of the UNR foreign missions and preserving these archives” by the motion initiated by Foreign Minister Andriy Nikovsky (Андрій Ніковський) on May 23, 1924.

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>32</sup> І. Матяш, *Галузевий державний архів МЗС України як осередок інституційної пам'яті дипломатичної та консульської служби*, [in:] *Історико-культурна спадщина. Збереження, доступ, використання. Збірник наукових праць*, ед. І. Тюрменко, Тернопіль 2017, pp. 135–138.

The Council of People's Ministers of the UNR entrusted to Oleksandr Shulgин (Олександр Шульгин)<sup>33</sup>, or ended up in the archives of countries where the owners of the archives ended their earthly journey.

Access to the source base of the history of Ukrainian diplomacy and the activities of foreign diplomatic missions in Ukraine during the Soviet era was severely limited. The documents of the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR were intended primarily for official use. Researchers did not have access to the archives of the diplomatic missions of the UNR and the Ukrainian State, which were partially returned from Prague at the request of the Soviet government in August 1945 as part of the Ukrainian part of the so-called "Prague Russian Archive", due to a long time of "technical processing" and complete classification. According to the Czechoslovakian government's "gift deed" of August 30, 1945, with a condition, the returned documentary fond was to be «stored in Kyiv in the Ukrainian central archive as an independent department called the "Prague Ukrainian Archive"<sup>34</sup>. The difficulty of access to the "foreign fond" for researchers and archivists was caused by the difficulty of traveling outside the Soviet Union, insufficient knowledge of foreign languages, and lack of funds for research trips.

After the restoration of Ukraine's state independence, the fonds of the Prague Ukrainian Archives were among the first documents to be declassified. They are stored at the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Governments of Ukraine and the Central State Archives of Public Associations and Ukrainica and were transferred to general storage and opened for research in 1992. At that time, the study of the history of the Ukrainian diplomatic service and foreign diplomatic missions in Ukraine began based on declassified documents<sup>35</sup>, but no systematic identification and publication of diplomatic documents was initiated. Specialized documents were published in separate thematic editions (*History of Ukrainian Diplomacy. First Steps in the International Arena (1917–1924)*)<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (ЦДАВО України), ф. 3696, оп. 2, spr. 171, ark. 84.

<sup>34</sup> Л. Лозенко, *Празький український архів. Історія і сьогодення*, "Архіви України" 1996, № 1–6, р. 24.

<sup>35</sup> Д. Веденєєв, *На захисті прав українства. З історії консульської служби України*, "Розбудови держави", 1994. № 4, pp. 33–38; Л. Гайдуков, Д. Веденєєв, *Служба повного профілю. Розбудова зовнішньополітичної служби Української Держави гетьмана Павла Скоропадського*, "Політика і час", 1998, № 6, pp. 71–78.

<sup>36</sup> *Історія української дипломатії...*

or corpus editions (*Ukrainian Central Rada*<sup>37</sup>, *Ukrainian State (April – December 1918)*<sup>38</sup>, *Directorate, Council of People's Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic, November 1919 – November 1920*<sup>39</sup>). A comprehensive study of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive began in 2016 with the creation of the Scientific Society for the History of Diplomacy and International Relations<sup>40</sup>.

## Polish segment in the Ukrainian Diplomatic Archive

Ukrainian archives preserve documents that contain information on development of Ukrainian-Polish relations and the activities of Polish consular offices in Kyiv, Odesa, and Kharkiv in 1917–1921; the preparation and implementation of the Treaty of Warsaw of 1920; and the diplomatic presence of the Polish Republic/Polish National Republic in the UkrSSR in 1921–1937 and 1947–1991. They can be considered the Polish segment of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive. Taking into account the regularity of formation and established practice of keeping diplomatic documents created in the course of activities of diplomatic and consular institutions, the Polish segment of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive does not constitute integral archives of diplomatic missions or consulates. Such fonds are stored mainly in the Archives of New Records, the National Digital Archives, the National Library (since 1918), and those created after the end of World War II – in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland<sup>41</sup>.

The Ukrainian archives contain materials sent by the Polish side to the Ukrainian diplomatic mission or other state bodies (authorization documents of official representatives, lists of mission members, submissions on the

<sup>37</sup> *Українська Центральна Рада. Документи і матеріали*, упоряд. В. Верстюк et al., v. 1, Київ 1996, v. 2, Київ 1997.

<sup>38</sup> *Українська Держава (квітень – грудень 1918). Документи і матеріали*, упоряд.: Р. Пиріг (керівник) et al., Київ 2015.

<sup>39</sup> *Директорія, Рада Народних Міністрів Української Народної Республіки, листопад 1919 – листопад 1920 р. Документи і матеріали*, упоряд. В. Верстюк et al., Київ 2006.

<sup>40</sup> Наукове товариство історії дипломатії та міжнародних відносин, <https://sshdir.org.ua/>, accessed 25 August 2023.

<sup>41</sup> Wykaz zespołów opracowanych w archiwum MSZ (AMSZ), <https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Farchiwum.msz.gov.pl%2Fwyszukiwarka%2FData%2FHtmEditor%2FLink%2Fdb23c880-8a21-4570-868d-61fccfef09cd.doc&wdOrigin=BROWSE-LINK>, accessed 25 August 2023.

location of the institution or provision of housing for employees; diplomatic correspondence, including verbal notes, notes of protest, consular requests), party documents and materials of surveillance cases against Polish diplomats by agents of the security agencies of the UkrSSR and USSR, materials of consular support for the departure of Polish citizens to Poland. These are originals in Polish and Russian; documents from the period 1918–1921 often have Ukrainian translations.

Such documents are kept in the central state archives: The Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ukrainian Studies, The Central State Audiovisual and Electronic Archive; regional state archives: State Archives of Kyiv, state archives of Vinnytsia, Kyiv, Odesa regions; state sectoral archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Security Service of Ukraine.

### **The Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine**

The documents of the “Polish segment” of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive for 1918–1921 and 1922–1924 are preserved in the Central State Archive of Higher Bodies of Power and Administration of Ukraine. In fond 3766 “Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian State, 1918”, fond 3696 “Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; Tarnów (Poland)” and fond 4 “Office of the Plenipotentiary of the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR in Ukraine, Kharkiv” contain originals and copies of authorization documents of Polish representatives, official correspondence on the appointment of consular officers, staff lists, minutes of meetings, lists of employees of embassies, representative offices, consulates, security certificates, etc.

In particular, fond 3766 contains information about the appointment of Stanisław Wańkowicz (1860–1937), Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Council of the Regency of the Kingdom of Poland to the Ukrainian State<sup>42</sup>. Credentials documents and documents with information about

---

<sup>42</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3766, оп. 1, spr. 284, ark. 6.

his arrival in Kyiv on October 12, 1918, and his first visits have been preserved<sup>43</sup>. According to the documents of this fond, S. Wańkowicz was delegated to deal with the issues of guardianship over Polish citizens (including refugees) and the settlement of the problem of Polish military formations on Ukrainian territories<sup>44</sup>. There is information that the Ukrainian government provided S. Wańkowicz with an interest-free loan of 1 million karb to help Polish refugees<sup>45</sup>.

A message from the Polish government to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry dated October 18, 1918, regarding the appointment of representatives of the Council of the Regency of the Kingdom of Poland to the Ukrainian State to diplomatic posts gives grounds for identifying the composition of the first mission: Bohdan Kutylowski – counselor, Edmund Sobolewski – first secretary, count Czesław Pruszyński – second secretary, Piotr Ziemowit Marian Choynowski – consular counselor<sup>46</sup>. The latter was responsible for issuing national passports to Polish citizens, which was expected by the Polish community in Kyiv in connection with the adoption of the Law of the Ukrainian State “On Citizenship” of July 2, 1918. According to this act, all residents who were on the territory of the Ukrainian state at the time of the promulgation of the law and did not submit a statement that they did not wish to accept citizenship within the time limit specified in the law were considered Ukrainian citizens. Therefore, the Polish Executive Committee of Kyiv requested an extension of the deadline for Poles to become Ukrainian citizens and the appointment of a consul<sup>47</sup>.

The documents show that S. Wańkowicz presented his credentials to Hetman of the Ukrainian State Pavlo Skoropadskyi (Павло Скоропадський) on November 5, 1918, and received confirmation of his authority on a very symbolic day – November 11, 1918<sup>48</sup>. For the world, it was the day the First World War ended, and for Poland, it was the day of the restoration of its statehood. Files 137 and 138 contain documents on changes in the structure and personnel of the mission and identity cards: in early December 1918, the registration department at the consular section of the embassy was headed by Roman Bniński, Major Klesberg became the military attaché, and Captain Zykhowski was his deputy<sup>49</sup>. The fonds

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, ark. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, ark. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, f. 3766, op. 3, spr. 8, ark. 60 v.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, f. 3766, op. 1, spr. 137, ark. 2, 10.

<sup>47</sup> *Прием у гетьмана*, “Киевская Мысль” 1918, 4 октября, № 176, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> ЦДАВО України, f. 3766, op. 1, spr. 138, ark. 4–5.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem, ark. 15.

contain diplomatic correspondence, which demonstrates the willingness of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine to recognize the powers of the Polish consulates general in Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv, and Yelisavetgrad<sup>50</sup> and the refusal of the Polish side's request to open a Kyiv branch of the Polish Ministry of the Interior, which the Ukrainian side saw as a threat to the sovereignty of the Ukrainian state<sup>51</sup>.

Documents preserved in fond 3696 show that the consulate continued to operate after Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyyi abdicated power on December 14, 1918, and the restoration of the UNR. File 31 contains correspondence between the consulate and the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UNR from December 18, 1918, to January 24, 1919, on the staff and its needs. On January 28, 1919, the consulate left Kyiv due to the Red Army offensive, taking advantage of the evacuation of foreign diplomats organized by the Ukrainian government (file 45). Polish representatives left by diplomatic train via Koziatyn to Vinnytsia. There, together with representatives of Georgia, Don, Germany, and Finland, they held a meeting, which resulted in a decision to leave the territory of the UNR as soon as possible. The report on this decision, submitted to the Directorate on February 7, 1919, stated the need to temporarily change the location of the missions "until peace comes to Ukraine", rather than to break off diplomatic relations<sup>52</sup>.

Fond 3696 also contains an array of documents related to the preparation and implementation of the Treaty of Warsaw of 1920. Since there was no longer an official Polish representative to the UNR Government at this time, it consists mainly of correspondence between the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Warsaw and the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UNR on relations with Poland, reports by the head of the mission, Andriy Livytski (Андрій Лівницький) on the progress of negotiations, notes from the UNR Government to the Polish government (file 124).

From the perspective of the history of Ukrainian-Polish relations and the history of Polish diplomacy, information on negotiations on this issue, the meeting between J. Piłsudski and A. Livytski, correspondence, draft treaties, etc., are all of interest. The documents contain information about the beginning of Ukrainian-Polish negotiations, changes in the composition of participants,

---

<sup>50</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3766, оп. 1, spr. 137, ark. 24.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, ark. 11.

<sup>52</sup> І. Нагаєвський, *Історія Української держави в двадцятому столітті*, Київ 1993, pp. 281–282.



the search for compromises, and the result of the negotiations – the texts of the Political and Military Conventions<sup>53</sup>. According to the reports of the head of the mission, the delegation consisted of four people. The key point of the negotiations was the publication of the declaration of the Ukrainian mission, which contained issues that required the approval of both sides. At first, no agreement was reached. On December 2, 1919, a second declaration was submitted, the content of which formed the basis of the text of the Treaty of Warsaw of 1920<sup>54</sup>.

Documents on the activities of Polish missions in Kharkiv after the signing of the Riga Peace Treaty are preserved in fond 4. The city became the political and administrative center of Soviet Ukraine in December 1919. In January 1920, the government and state bodies of the UkrSSR moved here and the activities of foreign missions were concentrated. The terms of the Riga Peace Treaty established a Polish mission with the status of an embassy. An additional protocol to the articles of the peace treaty and numerous notes on violations of the treaty's articles are preserved in file 29.

File 64 contains information about a meeting between the head of the Polish diplomatic mission, Count Franciszek Jan Pułaski (1875–1956), and the plenipotentiary representative of the UkrSSR, Oleksandr Shumsky (Олександр Шумський, 1890–1946)<sup>55</sup> in Zdolbuniv, at the border station of the Shepetivka–Rivne railway, October 6, 1921<sup>56</sup>. It took place on the decision of the head of the government and at the same time the National Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR, Khrystian Rakovsky (Християн Раковський), as a symbolic act. During a joint lunch at the station restaurant for the staff of the Polish embassy and the Ukrainian mission, organized by the Polish side, the ambassadors' protocol speeches emphasized their hope for the positive development of Ukrainian-Polish relations and outlined plans to sign a consular bilateral convention<sup>57</sup>. However, the documents show extremely difficult conditions for the functioning of the Polish representative office in Kharkiv.

<sup>53</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3696, оп. 2, spr. 277, ark. 30–34, 132–139.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, ф. 3696, оп. 2, spr. 326, ark. 26–27 v.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, ф. 4, оп. 1, spr. 64, ark. 102.

<sup>56</sup> *Нота Голови РНК і Народного комісара ЗС УРСР Міністрові Закордонних справ Польщі Скірмунту відносно призначення дипломатичного представника*, [in:] *Українська РСР на міжнародній арені...* р. 365.

<sup>57</sup> О. Бетлій, *Діяльність польського дипломатичного представництва в Україні (1921–1923 рр.)*, "Науковий вісник Дипломатичної академії України" 2003, в. 8: Зовнішня політика та дипломатія: витоки, традиції, новації, р. 471.

Fond 3, Permanent Representation of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Moscow, contains information about the arrival of the Polish mission in Kharkiv. To protect the train from attacks by “kurkuls<sup>58</sup> and counterrevolutionary gangs”, the Bolsheviks sent armored vehicles in front and behind it<sup>59</sup>. The Polish diplomats were to travel from the meeting point in Zdolbuniv to Kharkiv by an armored train, in which members of the UkrSSR’s representative office arrived under the protection of cadets from the school of red officers named after the All-Union Central Executive Committee in wagons decorated with golden state emblems.

The documents show that they were met in Kharkiv by Andriy Zhdan-Pushkin (Андрій Ждан-Пушкін), an adviser to the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR, with whom F. Pułaski exchanged remarks in French. During the first audience with Kh. Rakovsk, the Polish representative planned to deliver a welcoming speech in Ukrainian. However, before the meeting, he was asked to speak the “commonly understood” Russian. This “trifle” gave the Polish embassy staff grounds to conclude that “the independence of Soviet Ukraine is a complete fiction”<sup>60</sup>.

The information contained in fond 4 shows that the Polish embassy was the largest foreign diplomatic mission in terms of the number of employees, with a staff of 67 employees<sup>61</sup>. From the very beginning of its activities, the UkrSSR authorities created obstacles to its work: guards and a military commandant were stationed at the mission’s premises, and attempts were made to introduce passes. File 32 contains correspondence between the embassy and the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, in particular, on the issue of violation of diplomatic immunity of Polish representatives by Soviet authorities. Verbal notes on organizational issues have also been preserved: On November 4, 1921, the embassy appealed to the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR to issue 8 diplomatic cards and 3 letters of protection for Ambassador F. Pułaski and the embassy staff<sup>62</sup>. However, the ambassador went to Warsaw in early November 1921 and did not return, and the embassy was headed for some

---

<sup>58</sup> This is how the wealthy peasants who were considered opponents of the new order established by the Bolsheviks were contemptuously called in the Soviet Union.

<sup>59</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 3, оп. 1, spr. 146, ark. 64–64 v.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, ark. 64 v.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem, f. 4, op. 1, spr. 78, ark. 71–73.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, f. 4, op. 2, spr. 2, ark. 369.

time by Leon Berenson. He continued to respond to notes of protest from the government of the UkrSSR demanding that it stop supporting the Petliurists and disseminate information about the crossing of the Polish border by Ukrainian Soviet troops<sup>63</sup>.

Tensions in relations with the Bolshevik authorities are evidenced by personal documents. File 670 contains information about the “indecent behavior” of Polish diplomats during the opening of the VI session of the Congress of Soviets of the UkrSSR in November 1921. In the tone of the congress chairman, the diplomats felt that he did not seem to take into account the presence of foreign guests. They stood up several times when the anthem, Taras Shevchenko’s “Testament”, and the revolutionary song “You have fallen as a victim” were sung in honor of the UkrSSR. However, during greetings to the Communist Party and the Communist Internationale, which went beyond national etiquette, the Poles did not stand up<sup>64</sup>. The newspaper “Communist” published an article about this incident, which forced Attorney General L. Berenson to write a note of protest to Kh. Rakovsky warning that the newspaper attack would not contribute to strengthening good neighborly relations<sup>65</sup>.

At this time, the embassy’s activities, as documents show, focused on organizing the option, although according to Article VI of the Riga Peace Treaty, the option was to be carried out by consular representatives<sup>66</sup>. There are numerous files with embassy correspondence regarding passports of citizens traveling to Poland, lists of Polish citizens, questionnaires, applications, registration logs, documents submitted for visas, complaints, certificates, and passports (description 1: files 84, 150, 166, 207–209, 434–435, etc.), notes of protest about violations of the rights of national minorities (file 536), about the search and arrest of Polish citizens (files 819, 822, 888, etc.). These documents provide grounds for analyzing the activities of the consular section of the embassy and at the same time constitute an extremely important but little-studied source of genealogical research. The last head of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Kharkiv from August 26 to December 31, 1923, was Marceł Szarota (1876–1951) as Charge d’Affaires of the Polish Republic. File 889 contains a report by

<sup>63</sup> *Нота Народного комісара закордонних справ тимчасово керуючому справами польського посольства в Харкові Л. Беренсону*, [in:] *Українська РСР на міжнародній арені...* р. 382.

<sup>64</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 4, оп. 1, spr. 670, ark. 190.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, ark. 159.

the head of the economic and legal department of the People's to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the USSR in the UkrSSR Oleksandr Schlichter (Олександр Шліхтер) informing the secretary of the Embassy of the Polish Republic Stefan Litauer that he had informed him that the Embassy of the Polish Republic did not consider the Polish mission to be an embassy, and therefore did not allow the department to issue diplomatic passports. S. Litauer, that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR did not consider the Polish mission in Kharkiv to be an embassy, and therefore did not allow the office to endorse it<sup>67</sup>. This case also included a report from the secretary of the consular department on the theft of clothing and food from the diplomatic premises on the night of October 13–14, 1923, a request for permission to export M. Szarota's personal belongings (12 large and small carpets, including 4 Ukrainian ones, 3 icons of the eighteenth century, a painting by Wilhelm Kotarbiński, a sketch by Viktor Vasnetsov, two watercolors by unknown artists, a box of tableware (several plates and saucers, mostly from Ukrainian factories), 1 Saxon statuette, a box of Soviet books and newspapers)<sup>68</sup>, a notice of M. Szarota's recall from January 1, 1924<sup>69</sup>. Since then, the embassy operated under a changed name as the Representation of the Republic of Poland in Kharkiv under the leadership of Trade Counselor Ignacy Rużycki and has been working on restoring the option of Polish citizenship. In case 892, the consideration of documents regarding Leon Zabłocki, an employee of the options department, who is accused of insulting "an official of the Ukrainian government", was postponed<sup>70</sup>. The diplomat's demand that a policeman who came to the home of L. Zabłocki's mother ask her to remove her headdress was interpreted as an insult to the official and resulted in his deportation<sup>71</sup>. The activities of the representative office ceased on March 1, 1924, and I. Rużycki immediately left Kharkiv<sup>72</sup>. The same file contains the exequatur of the Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Kharkiv Michał Świrski, his petition regarding the unjustified imprisonment of Polish citizen Michał Węgliński, accused of spying for Poland, a note to the Commissioner of the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs under the Government of the UkrSSR

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem, f. 4, op. 1, spr. 891, ark. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, ark. 259, 290, 292–293.

<sup>69</sup> Ibidem, ark. 288.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem, f. 4, op. 1, spr. 892, ark. 29.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem, ark. 37, 38.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem, ark. 128–129.

regarding the burning of the Polish flag by demonstrators near the consulate and the police's non-interference in these actions, and other documents generated in the activities of the consular office<sup>73</sup>. The consul's diplomatic correspondence reveals the tensions between Poland and the Soviet Union and the difficulties of diplomats' stay in Kharkiv during this period.

### Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine

Information on the personnel of Polish missions and the activities of their heads is also preserved in the fonds of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine. These fonds contain supervisory files, archival and investigative files, court cases, rehabilitation files on foreign missions and their employees, reports of secret service agents who exercised external supervision over consulate staff and agents embedded in the missions' staff, and instructions from the governing bodies of the Emergency Committee – the State Political Directorate – the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs – the State Security Committee regarding their actions<sup>74</sup>. These documents can be conditionally attributed to the diplomatic archive as a specific group, the formation of which was influenced by the unfriendly Soviet policy toward foreign representatives. They show the constant surveillance over the staff of the Polish embassy in Kharkiv, and since 1924, the representative office, and consulate, and since 1926, the consulate in Kyiv. In particular, fonds 13 and 16 contain multi-volume agent files that documented the external surveillance of the Polish consulate by the secret services in the 1920s and 1930s and after the consulate was restored in 1947, memos on the case of the “Polish Military Organization”, and others. Among these documents are information collected by agents about the life of diplomats M. Szarota<sup>75</sup>, Mieczysław Babiński<sup>76</sup>, Paweł Włośński, who was forced to resign due to suspicion of spying for foreign intelligence<sup>77</sup>, reports on the activities of “agents” in the diplomatic staff of the

---

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, ark. 145, 156–157, 161, 229.

<sup>74</sup> Галузевий державний архів СБУ. путівник, автори-упоряд.: В. Даниленко (відп. упоряд.) et al., Харків 2009.

<sup>75</sup> Галузевий державний архів Служби безпеки України (ГДА СБУ), f. 13, spr. 162, t. 2, ark. 1–93.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, f. 13, spr. 162, t. 4, ark. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Ibidem, f. 16, op. 1, spr. 646, ark. 25–32.

diplomatic institution, and documents collected by the agents about the staff of Polish consulates.

## Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ukrainica

Information confirming that foreign missions were not only under the constant supervision of the Emergency Committee – the State Political Directorate – the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs – and the State Security Committee but also controlled by party bodies is contained in f. 1 “Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine” of the Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ukrainica. Reports of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the activities of the Consulate General to the Commissioner of the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR under the government of the UkrSSR, memos of party leaders on meetings with the Consulate General’s staff and visits by Polish diplomats, as well as minutes of the Politburo meetings, contain important details about the conditions of the Polish mission in Kharkiv and Kyiv.

A separate set of documents concerns the Consul General of the Polish Republic in Kharkiv in 1924–1928, Konstanty Zaremba-Skrzyński. File 123, item 6 contains materials from the May 9, 1927 meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, regarding his professional activities which aroused the suspicion of agents of the State Political Directorate of the UkrSSR, and the decision of the meeting instructing the State Political Directorate to collect materials compromising the Polish consul<sup>78</sup>. In file 2484, item 20, there is a record of a conversation with him by Ivan Kulyk, Deputy Commissioner of the USSR People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs under the Government of the UkrSSR<sup>79</sup>. The “conversation” took place in connection with the arrest of the head of the Bureau for Foreigners’ Services, Hryhoriy Petrenko (Григорій Петренко), and his fiancée, diplomat Nadiya Surovtsova (Надія Суровцова), who were charged with espionage, in particular, in favor of Poland through contacts with the Consul General. They were both sentenced on May 28, 1928, respectively to ten and five years in

---

<sup>78</sup> ЦДАВО України, ф. 1, оп. 6, spr. 123, ark. 76–78.

<sup>79</sup> ЦДАГОУ, ф. 1, оп. 20, spr. 2484, ark. 96 – 98.

camps<sup>80</sup>, and K. Zaremba-Skrzyński was recalled from Kharkiv on June 18, 1928.

Documents from file 6435, item 20 confirm the activity of Consul General Jan Karszo-Siedlewski in 1932–1936 in the development of cultural relations. He tried to organize an exhibition of Polish graphics in Kharkiv, a tour of Polish violinist and composer Grzegorz Fitelberg in Kyiv and Kharkiv, and participated in T. Shevchenko's celebrations in 1934, laid a wreath from the Polish mission during the laying of the monument to T. Shevchenko and took part in the opening ceremony of the exhibition of Kobzar's artworks<sup>81</sup>.

Archival fonds 23 and 25 contain correspondence from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs / Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR, reports and communications from the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the activities of foreign consulates in the UkrSSR, meetings with foreign consuls, copies of outgoing letters to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and information from the Central Committee and regional committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the establishment and development of friendly relations, and the twinning of Ukrainian and foreign cities; on the development of cooperation with socialist countries, participation in the celebration of anniversaries of socialist countries, etc. Preserved in file 1431, item 25 is the correspondence of the Polish Consul General in 1974–1978, Leon Tomaszewski, regarding the arrangement of everyday life and the purchase of a new consulate building at 12 Yaroslaviv Val Street, built according to an individual project and put into operation in March 1975<sup>82</sup>. This file also contains documents pertaining to the visit to Kyiv intended to familiarize himself with the activities of the Consulates General of the Polish People's Republic in the Soviet Union in the field of cultural cooperation of Ryszard Patsirkowski, Senior Advisor to the Department of Polish-Soviet Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PNR<sup>83</sup>. The report on the meeting records the information provided by the guest about the increase in the number of Ukrainian-Polish publications

<sup>80</sup> П. Синицький, «Справа Суровцевої – Петренка 1927–1928 рр.». *Опрацювання моделей масових репресій проти вітчизняної інтелігенції кінця 1920-х – початку 1930-х рр.*, "Історія України: Маловідомі імена, факти, події", Київ 2006, в. 33, pp. 166–185.

<sup>81</sup> ЦДАГОУ, ф. 1, оп. 20, spr. 6435, ark. 8–9.

<sup>82</sup> Ibidem, f. 1, оп. 25, spr. 1431, ark. 153.

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem, ark. 65.



prepared by the Lublin Publishing House; plans to expand information and exhibition activities in the UkrSSR about Poland, its historical past and present<sup>84</sup>.

File 1772, folder 25 contains information about a visit to Kyiv by another official – the Deputy Minister of Culture of the PNR<sup>85</sup>, who took part in an official meeting held by Consul General L. Tomaszewski on April 7, 1978, at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Polish students' studies in the USSR and the UkrSSR. At that time, about 900 Polish students were studying in the UkrSSR, including 390 in Kyiv, 125 in Lviv, 111 in Kharkiv, and 90 in Odesa. 12 universities had ties with Polish ones, and their graduates (many of whom became well-known specialists and business leaders) maintained contact with their alma mater. Universities maintaining ties with foreign graduates was a kind of instrument of influence of Soviet propaganda, which allowed them to broadcast their values abroad and create centers of supporters of the USSR. Therefore, foreign students received as much assistance as possible during their studies. The file also contains information about the meeting of the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine I. Sokolov in early September 1978 with Władysław Nowak in connection with his appointment as Consul General of Poland in Kyiv. This information shows the systematic party control over the activities of foreign representatives<sup>86</sup>.

The documents of file 1968, folder 25, show the Consulate General's participation in the preparation and holding of the Days of Krakow in Kyiv. On this occasion, a special train of friendship was organized in Kyiv with the leaders of production, workers, engineers, and technicians of industrial enterprises in Krakow who cooperated with Kyiv enterprises. Artists from Juliusz Słowacki's theater, musical, choral, and dance groups from Krakow toured Kyiv, and photo exhibitions about Krakow were prepared<sup>87</sup>.

A selection of documents from fond 4 "People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR" of the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, fond 1 "Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" of the Central State Archive of Public Associations and Ucrainica and from the fonds of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine and its regional subdivisions, which illustrate the activities of Polish diplomatic

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibidem, ark. 67.

<sup>85</sup> Ibidem, f. 1, op. 25, spr. 1772, ark. 62.

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem, ark. 178.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, f. 1, op. 25, spr. 1968, ark. 59.

and consular missions in Ukraine in Soviet times, was published by Ukrainian historians Natalia and Oleksandr Rublev in the collection “Ukraine and Poland 1920–1939: From the History of Diplomatic Relations between the UkrSSR and the Second Polish Commonwealth” (2012). Of the 133 documents published in their original languages, the following are of interest in terms of covering the “Polish segment” in the Ukrainian diplomatic archive: a complaint by Polish repatriate P. Yosem to the Russian-Ukrainian-Polish Mixed Commission for Repatriation about the illegal confiscation of his property on October 10, 1921; a complaint by Polish repatriate J. Szafran against the actions of a “gang of chekists” who searched his home on June 24, 1922; an extract from the report of the Office of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the Main Political Directorate on the Right Bank of Ukraine on the “espionage activities” of the Polish delegation in Kyiv on February 5, 1923; Report of the Foreign Department of the Main Political Directorate of the UkrSSR on the staff of the II Division of the Polish General Staff in the Polish missions in Odesa and Kyiv; information from the Counterintelligence Department of the Kyiv Provincial Department of the Main Political Directorate of the UkrSSR on the Polish mission in Kyiv of July 12, 1923, and September 15, 1923; an extract from the minutes of the closed meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine “On Polish Affairs” of May 9, 1927, with instructions to collect “dirt” on the Polish Consul General K. Zaremba-Skrzyński; and testimony of former employees of the staff of the Commissioner of the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs under the Government of the Ukr SSR Hr. Petrenko and N. Surovtseva about their acquaintance with the Polish diplomat; a record of conversations between the People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs under the Government of the UkrSSR I. Kulyk and the Consul General dated December 27, 1927.

## Regional state archives

Documents related to the Polish diplomatic presence in Ukraine have also been deposited in the state archives of Ukraine’s regions (in particular, Vinnytsia, Kyiv, Odesa, and Kharkiv). The State Archives of the Vinnytsia region in f. P-207 “Podillia Provincial Revolutionary Tribunal” has preserved the “Case of Members of the Agents of the Dutch Consulate General (On the Incident of the Dutch

Consulate General)”, which contains materials about a Bolshevik-fabricated case against employees of the Polish department of the Dutch Consulate General. It was headed by Jan Ostromenski. The archival file contains correspondence, protocols, and petitions from relatives for the release of the arrested. The documents show that the local Extraordinary Commission opened the “Dutchmen” agent case in 1919 to monitor consulate employees on suspicion of counterrevolutionary activity and intelligence in favor of the Polish Republic. On May 5 of the same year, J. Ostromenski and four employees of the department (Dlugalenski, Erigiy Kumanovski, Polkovski, Bygalke) were arrested. Workers Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage (usually know by its Russian initials as Cheka) broke down the door to the department and confiscated documents that they thought were material evidence, including military topographic maps of Galicia, Podillia, Volyn, and other provinces. The file contains reports on the fate of the arrested to the chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the UkrSSR, Kh. Rakovsky. On June 25, 1919, at the request of the ideologue of the Red Terror and the head of the UkrSSR’s Commissariat of People’s Commissars, Martyn Latsis (Janis Sudrabs), they were sent to Kyiv. The prisoners were later released and exchanged for Polish communists<sup>88</sup>.

The State Archives of the Kyiv Oblast contains fond 4205 “Office of the People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs in the Kyiv District”, which was transferred from the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine as a result of the redistribution of fonds in 1948 and declassified in 1992. There are lists of foreign missions; correspondence with personnel, certificates of foreign mission workers, Michał Świersk’s exequatur<sup>89</sup>, copies of certificates, mandates, powers of attorney, materials on the activities of the bilateral repatriation commission, and the Polish consulate, information on the location in Kyiv of the Delegation of the Polish Republic for Repatriation, which arrived by the Agreement on Repatriation of February 24, 1921, and the commission on options<sup>90</sup>.

In a separate file, the foundation collected documents about repressions against members of the Polish delegation for options. The Soviet secret service immediately put them under surveillance. The secretary of the delegation,

---

<sup>88</sup> Держархів Вінницької обл., ф. 207, оп. 6с, spr. 62, ark. 14.

<sup>89</sup> Ibidem, f. 4205, op. 1, spr. 162, ark. 2.

<sup>90</sup> Ibidem, f. 4205, op. 1, cpr. 102, ark. 86 v.

Stanisław Pawłowski (a cover name for Lieutenant Stanisław Łaniewski, an intelligence officer of the II Division of the General Staff of the Polish Republic in Chisinau)<sup>91</sup> and the economic consultant Michał Węgliński<sup>92</sup> were suspected of creating a “spy organization” and collecting information about the state of the Red Army, copying restricted documents. The searches and arrests in this case began on the night of August 8–9, 1922: Franciszka Zurachowska, Andrzej Moliak, Adam Endras, and an employee of the repatriation commission, Mrs. Janiewicz. The court of these individuals in Kyiv was the first trial involving foreign representatives. Subsequently, Wanda Linsenbort, the secretary of the option commission, was arrested on suspicion of espionage. The case documents show that she was sent to Kharkiv for investigation<sup>93</sup>.

The collection also contains documents from the Department of Visas and Passports, questionnaires, lists, and documents of Polish citizens who lived in the UkrSSR and applied for permission to leave the UkrSSR for Poland.

Documents on the activities of the Consulate of the Polish Republic in Odesa in 1918–1920 are partially preserved in fond R-3827 “Office of the Authorized People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR in Odesa” of the State Archives of Odesa Oblast, transferred from the Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Governments of Ukraine in 1956. These are mainly correspondence with foreign consulates, reports, applications from citizens, requests to use ships to transport refugees, and the organization of Polish citizens’ departure for their homeland. Information about the work of the Polish Re-emigration Committee at the Polish Consulate on the evacuation of Poles from Odesa is preserved in fond P-65 “Office of the Special Commissioner for the Evacuation of Prisoners and Refugees of the Odesa District under the Commander-in-Chief (Denikin) of all the Armed Forces of Southern Russia, Odesa, 23.08.1919 – 07.02.1920” and fond P-1915 “Odesa Provincial Administrative Department of the Odesa Provincial Executive Committee”.

<sup>91</sup> J.J. Bruski, *Między prometeizmem...*, pp. 126–130.

<sup>92</sup> *Польське шпигунство на Україні (Розмова з тов. Балицьким)*, “Вісті ВУЦВК” 1924, 29 жовтня, № 247 (1240), p. 1.

<sup>93</sup> Держархів Київської обл., ф. 4205, оп. 1, spr. 102, ark. 86.

## Sectoral State Archive of the Diplomatic Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Polish diplomatic presence in Kyiv from 1947–1990 is evidenced by documents preserved in the Sectoral State Archive of the Diplomatic Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Diplomatic documents are organized into the main fond, personal fond of the Ministry's employees, fond of treaties and agreements of Ukraine with foreign states, international treaties registered in the United Nations, conventions, agreements, and other acts concerning Ukraine, documents of the United Nations General Assembly, its bodies and specialized agencies, documents and materials of liquidated international organizations, and fond of photographic documents. Documents on the main activities are concentrated in fond 1, the first four records of which contain information on the Soviet period. In particular, there are valuable documents, which are practically not included in scientific circulation, created in the course of activities of the Consulate General of the Polish Republic/Polish National's Republic in Kyiv. Note correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR and the Embassy of the Polish Republic in the USSR and the Consulate General, information on the participation of Polish diplomats in events organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other consulates, information on the personalities of consuls general and consulate staff, meetings of foreign representatives with the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR, appeals of Ukrainian citizens with regard to the consulate's activities, information on the consulate general's activities in the field of cultural relations, information on organization of everyday life of the Polish mission and location of the institution, the consulate general's care for Polish students in Ukraine, etc. provide grounds for reconstructing the consulate's activities, recreating the process of negotiations on the preparation of premises for the consulate general, organization of security, etc., household support of employees, etc., constitute an important part of the source base of the history of the Polish diplomatic service.

It is known from the documents that the Soviet side gave consent to opening of a Polish consular institution in Kyiv in the second half of May 1946, but the consulate began working only in September 1947, headed by 36-year-old Aleksander Chłond. His explanation of the motivation for choosing a destination has been preserved. Knowing that Moscow allowed members of the ruling party loyal to its ideology to work in diplomatic and consular

institutions on its territory, the consul general said that he refused to be sent to London for his appointment to the Soviet Republic because he wanted to “work among friends, not where enemies would surround him”<sup>94</sup>. This motivation was convincing to official circles. The fonds contain information on the following heads of the Consulate General (A. Chłond, P. Włoński, Marian Cieślik, Henryk Gordon, Piotr Kiergiet, Wanda Michalewska, L. Tomaszewski, and W. Nowak, Kazimierz Dera, Leon Kotarba, Józef Nowotny, Władysław Kruk, Ryszard Polkowski, Jerzy Kozakiewicz) and other consular officers, and the activities of diplomats (Fonds 3, file 3700, page 6341, etc.). Of particular interest is information about G. Gordon’s organization<sup>95</sup> of informational and cultural work, attempts to start publishing photographs of Poland in the magazine “Ukraine”, about the awarding the first Polish diplomat, L. Tomaszewski, with the Honorary Diploma of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR (the highest award of the republic) for his contribution to the development of Soviet-Polish relations, about the Consulate General’s correspondence in the field of protecting the interests of Polish citizens with the Protocol and Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR<sup>96</sup>, on the Consulate General’s monitoring of the construction of facilities, restoration, and renovation of ancient monuments in Kyiv with the participation of Polish specialists. By the beginning of 1987, 6868 Polish specialists were working in the UkrSSR. They constructed gas pipelines in Kharkiv, Sumy, and Cherkasy regions, worked on the construction of the Khmelnytsky Nuclear Power Plant, a hotel complex in Kyiv, a recreation center in Alushta, and a vegetable storage facility commissioned by the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry in Donbas. By the end of the year, the number of employees was expected to grow to 13000<sup>97</sup>. The increase in the number of employees raised the issue of providing them with housing, necessities, organization of everyday life, and free time. The Consulate General facilitated the solution of these problems and contacts with local authorities. Most of the issues related to the organization of recreation arose at the Khmelnytsky Nuclear Power Plant. To solve them, it was decided to rent a cinema, invite Polish artists to perform, etc. The Consulate General studied

<sup>94</sup> Галузевий державний архів дипломатичної служби МЗС України (ГДА МЗС), ф. 1, оп. 1, spr. 145, ark. 47.

<sup>95</sup> Ibidem, f. 1, op.1, spr. 283, ark. 28.

<sup>96</sup> Ibidem, f. 1, op. 1, spr. 223, ark. 2.

<sup>97</sup> Ibidem, f. 1, op. 3, spr. 6342, ark. 8.

the issue of opening consular offices at some construction sites: Khmelnytsky Nuclear Power Plant, in Kharkiv and Sumy regions<sup>98</sup>.

The documents of the fond testify to the active search (search for the graves of Polish soldiers) and commemorative activities of the Consulate General (marking the place in Lviv where the Janowska forced labor camp was located during the occupation with a memorial sign, arranging the grave of the prominent Polish playwright Aleksander Fredro, buried in Rudky, Sambir district, Lviv region) and the reaction of the Soviet side to it<sup>99</sup>. To answer the question of perpetuating the memory of the soldiers buried in 1944–1945 on the territory of the UkrSSR, the Polish Consulate General provided lists of the dead, but the Soviet “competent authorities” demanded more detailed information (names and numbers of military units, military ranks, names of commanders)<sup>100</sup>.

There is information about the establishment by the Consulate General of a consular post in Lviv to promptly resolve issues related to the movement of Polish citizens through the territory of the UkrSSR<sup>101</sup>. The consular post was headed by Włodzimierz Woskowski. He managed to establish working relations with the party and Soviet authorities of the Lviv region, the Department of Visas and Registrations, and the State Automobile Inspectorate of Lviv and the region, but he had to work with a heavy workload due to the increase in transit through Lviv in the summer months (if in the first quarter 13 thousand cars passed through, in August – 56 thousand, in total for the first half of the year – 132 thousand cars, 763 thousand citizens of the Polish People’s Republic)<sup>102</sup>. Motorists committed violations (speeding, stopping in the wrong places, leaving the highway at a place not indicated in the route) and changed the route, entering Ukrainian territory as transitters. There were differences in the work of customs: the Polish customs did not confiscate things, collecting customs tax, while the Soviet customs did, limiting the importation of things that did not bring profit to the state (Polish customs officers received 4–5 million zlotys in profit for the 1987 tax year)<sup>103</sup>. The opening of a consular post in Lviv has greatly facilitated the work of the Consulate General in Kyiv<sup>104</sup>.

---

<sup>98</sup> Ibidem, ark.10.

<sup>99</sup> Ibidem, f. 1., op. 3, spr. 6342, ark. 3.

<sup>100</sup> Ibidem, f. 1., op. 3, spr. 6341, ark. 13.

<sup>101</sup> Ibidem, ark. 15.

<sup>102</sup> Ibidem, ark. 16.

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>104</sup> Ibidem, ark. 15.



## Central State Archive of Audiovisual and Electronic Documents

Film and photographic documents illustrating the activities of the Polish Consulate General in Kyiv in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are kept in the Central State Archive of Audiovisual and Electronic Documents. The films documented events involving the leaders and staff of the Consulate General related to the realization of its tasks in deepening “Soviet-Polish cultural cooperation”. After the end of World War II, this mission was monitored by Soviet authorities, who used propaganda to reinforce myths about the greatness of the Soviet victory in the war and the special qualities of the Soviet person. To familiarize Kyivans with Polish art, the Consulate General introduced film screenings and concerts of Polish music. In 1948, the Soviet-Polish documentary “Poland” appeared on Soviet screens, directed by Leonid Varlamov at the Central Documentary Film Studio in cooperation with the Film Polski studio<sup>105</sup>. A three-time winner of the Stalin Prize (1942, 1943, 1947), and Oscar winner (1943) for his documentary “The Defeat of German Troops Near Moscow” the frontline documentarian L. Varlamov specialized in propaganda films and enjoyed the favor of Józef Stalin. Such a biography was required for admission to international projects. The film “Poland” was a propaganda card that showed footage of military chronicles about the beginning of World War II in Poland, the occupation regime, the deportation of Poles to forced labor in Germany, concentration camps; joint combat operations of the Soviet Army and the Polish Army to liberate the Polish land; a meeting of the liberators in Lublin and Warsaw; the Polish government delegation’s visit to J. Stalin and the signing of the Soviet-Polish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. The plot of the film corresponded to the ideological concept of the USSR and was intended to form the historical memory needed by Soviet leaders in Russia and Poland through documentary cinema.

There are also films about the Consulate General’s celebrations of anniversaries and memorable dates of prominent figures. For example, the celebration of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of poet Adam Mickiewicz in December 1948 in the Mykola Lysenko Column Hall of the Kyiv State Philharmonic. The celebratory evening was opened by Vice Consul P. Włoński, and speeches were delivered by Ukrainian poets titled by the Soviet authorities Pavlo Tychyna (Павло ТИЧИНА),

<sup>105</sup> *Кінолітопис. Анотований каталог кіножурналів, документальних фільмів і кіносюжетів (червень 1945–1955)*, ed. Н. Слончак, О. Селіфонов, Н. Слончак, Н. Топішко, Київ 2001, pp. 132–133.

Maksym Rylsky (Максим Рильський), and Mykola Vazhan (Микола Бажан), but party leaders ignored the event because it somewhat violated propaganda canons<sup>106</sup>.

Films about events organized by the Consulate General during the “Khrushchev Thaw” are very interesting<sup>107</sup>. At the beginning of his rule, the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (Нікіта Хрущов) demonstrated the fight against the consequences of the “cult of personality” and the curtailment of political persecution declared the extension of the rights of national republics, and showed sentiment for Ukrainians and attention to cultural cooperation as an “inseparable part” of economic and political cooperation. This prompted the Polish mission to search for new forms of activity. One innovation was the 1954 Polish-Soviet Friendship Month organized by the Consulate General, which included meetings of scholars, concerts by artists, and book and art exhibitions. Tours of creative groups (in particular, the Polish Army Song and Dance Ensemble), scientific and creative exchanges, Polish film festivals, and exhibitions of Polish artists continued to be organized<sup>108</sup>.

A reliable guide to archival film footage exists – the annotated catalog of film magazines, documentaries, and film and television clips, *Kinolitopys*, which has been published by the archive since 2009<sup>109</sup>.

The latest addition to the Central State Archive of Audiovisual and Electronic Documents with photo and video documents related to the activities of the Embassy of Poland in Ukraine was the ceremonious transfer by the Center for Eastern European Studies of the University of Warsaw, at the initiative of the author of this publication, of photos and recordings of interviews with Polish Ambassadors to Ukraine (Henryk Lytvyn, Marek Żółkiewski, Jan Piekło, and Jacek Kluczkowski) during the scientific conference “Ukraine-Poland 105 (31): Diplomatic Relations and the Common Defense of European Values” held on May 30, 2023 at the University of Warsaw. However, these interviews cover a different period of activity of Polish diplomatic missions in Ukraine.

---

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 137.

<sup>107</sup> This is the name given to the period in the history of the USSR from the death of Joseph Stalin on March 5, 1953 to the beginning of the 1960s.

<sup>108</sup> *Кінолітопис...*, p. 353.

<sup>109</sup> *Кінолітописи* – Центральний державний аудіовізуальний та електронний архів, <https://tsdaea.archives.gov.ua/kinolitopysy-3/>, accessed 24 August 2023.

## Conclusions

In general, the Polish segment of the Ukrainian diplomatic archive complex as a collective concept is quite powerful, but not sufficiently studied. The understanding of the concept of “diplomatic archive” in this publication is based on a comprehensive approach and includes documents of official origin created in the course of activities of diplomatic and consular institutions and institutions directly related to ensuring the implementation of their functions, as well as documents of personal origin, relating to key figures of the diplomatic and consular service.

The peculiarity of the “Polish segment” in the Ukrainian diplomatic archive (a collective concept) is that it is not a coherent collection, including documents related to the realization of contacts between the Polish mission and the authorities and institutions of the host country. Based on time and conditions of creation of these documents, several thematic blocks can be distinguished: 1) drafts and texts of treaties and conventions; 2) authorization documents of heads of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates; 3) official correspondence of the highest state level; 4) documents (originals and copies) generated in the course of activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates in the host country; 5) documents related to implementation of consular functions; 6) audiovisual documents. In addition, given that Ukraine was part of the totalitarian state of the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1991, two more thematic blocks can be added: materials of surveillance by special services and materials of party control over the activities of Polish diplomatic missions and consulates. As in the Republic of Poland, in Ukraine, historical diplomatic archives are kept in “non-specialized” state archives (central, local, and sectoral), while diplomatic documents after 1944 (“modern”) are kept in the Sectoral State Archive of the Diplomatic Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Given the mutual interest of Polish and Ukrainian historians and archivists in common history and the incompleteness of the project “Common Polish-Ukrainian Archival Heritage” declared in the 2008 agreement, it seems important to create a common archival and information base concerning the composition and content of Polish and Ukrainian diplomatic archives and a common database of electronic document images available to users from different countries. Resolving organizational (negotiations, signing of agreements) and practical issues of digitizing archival documents and creating a virtual archive, making it

available to researchers, will allow for continuity of work of scholars and students of our countries interested in the history of diplomacy and Polish-Ukrainian interstate relations.

An equally important area of such work could be the preparation of a joint volume(s) of diplomatic documents of Poland and Ukraine from 1918 to the present, taking into account international experience (Foreign Relations of the United States, Documents Diplomatiques Français, Documents on British Foreign Policy, Diplomatische Dokumente der Schweiz, Polskie dokumenty dyplomatyczne, etc.) and discussing new topics of publications (issues related to electronic publications and so-called oral history projects) in this area during the XVI International Conference of Diplomatic Documents Publishers, held at the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw on June 8–11, 2022.

Such a database and publication will not only help to expand access to archival information in the context of the war waged by Russia against Ukraine but also to summarize specialized information holistically.

## Legislation

Dohovor mizh Ukrainoiu i Respublikoiu Polshcheiu pro dobrosusidstvo, druzhni vidnosyny i spivrobotnytstvo, [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616\\_172#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_172#Text), accessed 25 August 2023.

Konwencja Wiedeńska o stosunkach dyplomatycznych, sporządzona w Wiedniu dnia 18 kwietnia 1961 r., <https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzuziennik-ustaw/konwencja-wiedenska-o-stosunkach-dyplomatycznych-wieden-1961-04-18-16786459>, accessed 24 August 2023.

Poperednia Uhoda mizh Uriadom Ukrainy i Uriadom Respubliki Polshchi z pytan kulturnoho i naukovooho spivrobotnytstva, [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616\\_182#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_182#Text), accessed 25 August 2023.

Uhoda pro spivrobotnytstvo mizh Derzhavnym komitetom arkhiviv Ukrainy i Heneralnoiu Dyrektsiieiu derzhavnykh arkhiviv Respubliki Polshcha v haluzi arkhivnoi spravy, [https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza\\_rech\\_pol/intro.html](https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/baza_rech_pol/intro.html), accessed 24 August 2023.

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, [https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9\\_1\\_1961.pdf](https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf), accessed 24 August 2023.

## Archives

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchych orhaniv vldy ta upravlinnia Ukrainy:

f. 3696 Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, m. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; m. Tarniv (Polshcha): op. 1, spr. 30 Lystuvannia z departamentom chuzhozemnykh sprav pro dyplomatychni vidnoshennia z Polshcheiu. Dopovidi, noty i inshi dokumenty uriadu UNR pro politychni i viiskovi vzaiemovidnosyny, kordony, povodzhennia poliakov z ukrainskym naselenniam i v inshykh derzhavnykh spravakh, 17 hrudnia 1918 r. – hruden 1919 r., spr. 31 Lystuvannia z departamentom chuzhozemnykh sprav pro personalnyi sklad polskoho posolstva na Ukraini i yoho potreby ta v spravakh okremykh polskykh hromadian, 13 hrudnia 1918 r. – 24 sichnia 1919 r., spr. 124 Lystuvannia z departamentom chuzhozemnykh sprav pro dyplomatychni vidnosyny z Polshcheiu, dopovidi holovy ukrainskoi misii, noty uriadu UNR, pohodzhennia vid 25 kvitnia 1920 roku, sichen – lypen 1920 r.; op. 2, spr. 171 Lystuvannia z Holovoiu Dyrektorii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, Radoiu narodnykh ministriv UNR, ministerstvamy finansiv, presy i propahandy Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky pro oblik ukrainskykh emihrantiv za kordonom, zminy v personalnomu skladi dyplomatychnykh misii ta materialne zabezpechennia spivrobotnykiv misii za kordonom ta inshykh orhanizatsiinykh i finansovykh pytan, 10 travnia 1920 r. – 23 travnia 1924 r., spr. 183 Ankety, zaiavy, raporty ta sluzhbovi posvidchennia spivrobotnykiv ministerstv, 25 liutoho – 15 hrudnia 1921 r., spr. 277 Politychna konventsiiia mizh Polshcheiu i Ukrainoiu, viiskova konventsiiia mizh uriadom UNR i rosiiskym politychnym komitetom u Polshchi, konventsiiia mizh uriadom UNR, Donskoiu demokratychnoiu hrupoiu pro mizhnarodne pravove soiuzne obiednannia ta lystuvannia z pryvodu tsoho, 26 zhovtnia 1918 r. – 23 lystopada 1921 r., spr. 326 Kopiiia memorandumu Uriadu UNR Uriadu Rechi Pospolytii-Polskii pro myrni perehovory z radianskoiu Rosiieiu na myrovii konferentsii v Ryzi, vytiahy z polskykh chasopysiv pro robotu misiakh UNR u Varshavi, 17 chervnia – 30 lystopada 1920 r.

f. 3766 Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrayins'koyi Derzhavy, 1918 r.: op. 1, spr. 137 Pro dyplomatychni znosyny z Polshcheiu. Chast. 5, parahraf 9. Pro pryznachennia predstavnykiv Polshchi na Ukraini i yikhni dokumenty, noty protestu polskoho posla proty porushennia prav poliakov, 16 zhovtnia – 14 hrudnia 1918 r.), spr. 138 Pro dyplomatychni znosyny z Polshcheiu. Chast.

6 i 7. Pro ekonomichni i poshtovi znosyny, po spravam okremykh ukrainskykh i polskykh hromadian, 3 serpnia – 13 hrudnia 1918 r.), spr. 284 Hrupovi prokhannia z rezoliutsiiamy pro vydachu viz na vyizd za mezhi Ukrainy (deiaki na vizd) – do batkivshchyny po sluzhbovym i pryvatnym spravam, 28 travnia – 28 hrudnia 1918 r.; op. 3, spr. 8 Protokoly zasedania Soveta Mynystrov Ukrainy Hosudarstva, 2 travnia – 13 hrudnia 1918 r.

f. 3 Postiine predstavnytstvo Rady Ministriv URSS pry Radi Ministriv SRSR, m. Moskva, op. 1, spr. 146 Biuleteni pres-biuro Ukrainy Hosudarstva posolstva v Polshchi, t. 1, 21 sichnia – 16 liutoho 1922 r.

f. 4 Upravlinnia upovnovazhenoho Narodnoho Komisariatu Zakordonnykh sprav SRSR na Ukraini, m. Kharkiv, op. 1, spr. 29 Dopolnytelnyi protokol k statiam myrnoho dohovora, noty y telehrafnaia perepyska ob otnosheniakh Polshy y Ukrainy (perepechatka), 14 noiabria 1920 h. – 20 yanvaria 1922 h., spr. 64 Perepyska s Hosudarstvennym polytycheskym upravleniem (HPU) ob arestakh ynostrantsev, 26 yanvaria – 28 dekabria 1922 h., spr. 78 Spysky ynostrannykh myssyi v Kharkove; kharakterystyka dyplomatycheskykh kurerov y perepyska o vydache dyplomatycheskykh pasportov y o poluchenii korrespondentsyi, 1 yiunia – 31 dekabria 1922 h., spr. 84 Perepyska s Polskym posolstvom v Kharkove o vyzyrovannykh pasportov hrazhdan vyezhdaiushchykh v Polshu. 26 dekabria 1921 h. – 19 sentiabria 1922 h., spr. 591 Soobshchenye ynostrannoho otdela HPU URSS o sotrudnykakh II otdela Henshtaba Polshy v polskykh myssyiakh v Odesse y Kyeve, 17 marta 1923 h., spr. 592 Kharakterystyka polskykh obshchestvennykh y polytycheskykh deiatelei (kopyy), dekabr 1922 h. – 23 noiabria 1923 h., spr. 665 Materyaly o vzaymootnoshenii s Polshoi; soobshchenye o ratyfikatsii myrnoho dohovora mezhdou Rossiei, Ukrainoi y Polshoi; pochtovo-telehrafnaia konfentsiia mezhdou RSFSR, URSS, BSSR s odnoi storony y Polshoi s druhoi (perepechatka); perepyska s NKVD RSFSR narushenii Polshoi statei myrnoho dohovora, 9 marta – 15 oktiabria 1921 h., spr. 667 Materyaly o vzaymootnoshenii s Polshoi; razghovory po priamomu provodu, noty, telehramy y perepyska s NKVD RSFSR y Ukrainy dyplomatycheskoi myssiei v RSFSR; noty NKVD URSS Polskomu pravytelstvu o sushchestvovanii na terrytorii Polshy kontrrevoliutsionnykh ukrainskykh orhanyzatsii, 20 avhusta – 15 oktiabria 1921 h., spr. 668 Noty Polshy y URSS po povodu narusheniia uslovi Ryzhskoho myrnoho dohovora, 1 yiunia – 22 dekabria 1921 h., spr. 669 Verbalnye noty Polshy, 3 noiabria – 21 dekabria 1921 h., spr. 670 Razghovory po priamomu provodu, noty, telehramy y perepyska

s NKYD RSFSR, predstavystelstvom USSR v Polshe y dr. O razreshenyy spornykh voprosov v polsko-ukraynskykh otnosheniakh, 27 marta – 24 dekabria 1921 h., spr. 890 Perepyska s konsulskym otdelom Polskoho posolstva na Ukrayne, 26 fevralia 1923 h., spr. 891 Konsulskye porucheniya y perepyska s konsulskym otdelom Polskoho posolstva na Ukrayne po delam arestovannykh polskykh poddannykh, 16 yanvaria – 24 dekabria 1923 h., spr. 892 Konsulskye porucheniya y perepyska s konsulskym otdelom Polskoho posolstva na Ukrayne po delam arestovannykh polskykh poddannykh, 16 yanvaria – 24 dekabria 1923 h.; op. 2, spr. 2 Udostovereniya, telehrammy y perepyska o lychnom sostave, 12 fevralya – 29 dekabrya 1921 h.

f. 67 Ukrainske radianske posolstvo u Polshchi, m. Varshava, op. 1, spr. 1 Dokumenty o zakliuchenyy myrnoho dohovora s Polshoi v Ryhe (protokoly zasedaniy fynansovo-ekonomycheskoi y pravno-polytycheskoi, terrytoryalnoi, zheleznodorozhnoi y druhykh komysyiy, sohlasheniye o repatryatsyy s toi y druhoi storony, 18 noiabria 1920 h. – 6 yiunia 1921 h.

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh obiednan i ukrainiky:

f. 1 Tsentral'nyy komitet Komunistychnoyi partiyi Ukrayiny, op. 6 Protokoly zasidan Politbiuro TsK i materialy do nykh, spr. 123 Protokoly zakrytykh i spilnykh zasidan Politbiuro TsK KP(b)U ta Prezydii TsKK KP(b)U ta dokumenty do nykh; op. 20 Dokumenty viddiliv TsK KP(b)U (1918 – 1941 rr.), spr. 2484 Soobshcheniya, biulleteny, pysma Upolnomochennoho NKYD SSSR pry Pravytelstve USSR, o polozheny del y raskole v «Selrobe» (Ukraynskoe raboche-krestianskoe ob'kdyneniye), ukraynskykh hruppyrovkakh v Polshe, predvybornykh nastroeniakh v Zapadnoi Ukrayne, ukraynskoi emyhratsyy v Chekhoslovakyy y dr. voprosam, napravlenyye v TsK KP(b)U. V dele est kopyia pysma chlena kollehy NKYD na ymia Y.V.Stalyna o vrazhdebnykh hruppyrovkakh sozdavaemykh v Polshe po otnosheniyu k Ukrayne, 31 maia – 30 dekabria 1927 h., spr. 6435 Pysma sovetnyka Polpredstva, Upolnomochennoho NKYD SSSR pry Pravytelstve USSR y TsK KP(b)U o polytycheskom polozheny v Zapadnoi Ukrayne, polsko-sovetskykh otnosheniakh y dr. voprosakh. Obzor zapadno-ukraynskykh burzhuaznykh hazet o holode na Ukrayne, 11 yanvaria – avhust 1934 h.; op. 25 Dokumenty zahalnoho viddilu TsK kompartii Ukrainy (sekretna chastyna) (1968 – 1991 rr.), spr. 1431 Spravky Otdela zarubezhnykh sviazei TsK Kompartyy Ukrayiny, otdelov TsK, nekotorykh obkomov partyy, Mynysterstva ynostrannykh del Ukraynskoi SSR o pryeme Heneralnykh



konsulov sotsyalystycheskykh stran: zapysy besed s Heneralnymy konsulamy sotsyalystycheskykh stran v Kyeve, 20 fevralia – 26 noiabria 1976 h., spr. 1432 Spravky Otdela zarubezhnykh sviazei TsK Kompartyy Ukrainy, Mynysterstva ynostrannykh del Ukraynskoï SSR, o prebyvanny ynostrannykh delehatsyi, frantsuzskoho ansambliu «Zaporozhtsы v respublyke», 27 apreliia – 22 noiabria 1976 h., spr. 1772 Dokladnye zapysky TsK Kompartyy Ukrainy, Mynysterstva ynostrannykh del Ukraynskoï SSR, o pryeme delehatsyi y henkonsulov v respublyke; zapysy besed s Heneralnymy konsulamy sotsyalystycheskykh stran y po druhym voprosam, 11 maia – 28 dekabria 1978 h., spr. 1968 Ynformatsyy otdelov TsK Kompartyy Ukrainy, Mynysterstva ynostrannykh del Ukraynskoï SSR o pryeme predstavyteli kommunystycheskykh partyi zarubezhnykh stran, Henkonsulov v respublyke; o stroytelstve zdanyi, otvedennykh pod Henerealnoe konsulstvo SShA; zapysky besed s Heneralnymy konsulamy sotsyalystycheskykh stran, 9 fevralia – 20 dekabria 1979 h.

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnytskoi oblasti, f. 207 Podilskiy hubernskiy revoliutsiinyi trybunal, op. 6s, spr. 62 Sprava chleniv ahentury heneral-niderlanskoho konsulstva (Pro intsydent u Niderlandskomu konsultvi), 24 chervnia – 3 lypnia 1919 r.

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivskoi oblasti, f. 4205 Ahentstvo upovnovazhenoho Narodnoho Komisariatu inozemnykh sprav SRSR na Ukraini, op. 1, spr. 102 Kopiiia noty Narkomata inozemnykh sprav URSR Polskii dyplomatychnii misii v Ukraini, tsyrkuliary ta instruksii Narkomata inozemnykh sprav pro poriadok povernennia z Polshchi internovanykh tam soldat ta ofitseriv Biloi hvardii, amnistovanykh Postanovoiu VUTsV vid 30.11.1921, lystuvannia z predstavnykamy orhanizatsii ARA ta Chervonym Khrestom pro poriadok ta umovy yikhnoi diialnosti v Ukraini, b/d [1922 – 1923 rr.], spr. 162 Spysky zakordonnykh predtavnykiv za 1923 – 1924 rr., 15 bereznia 1923 r. – 26 hrudnia 1924 r.

Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy:

f. 13 Kolektsiia drukovanykh vydan KHB URSR, spr. 162 Informatsiini povidomlennia kontrrozvidualnoho viddilennia Kyivskoho hubernskoho viddilu HPU URSR shchodo polskykh hromadian], v. 2, 4.

f. 16 Sekretariat HPU–KDB URSR, op. 1, spr. 645 Dokumenty (povidomlennia, dopovidni, zvedennia) MDB URSR na adresu partiino-derzhavnoho kerivnytstva

URSR ta SRSR pro: rozshuk ta aresht ahentiv inozemnykh rozvidorhaniv, zradnykiv, kolaborantiv, avtoriv anonimnykh lystivok.

Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Ministerstva zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainy:

f. 1 Dokumenty z osnovnoi diialnosti, op. 1, spr. 56 Uhoda mizh uriadom Ukrainskoi Radianskoi Sotsialistychnoi Respubliky i Polskym Komitetom Natsionalnoho Vyzvolennia pro evakuatsiiu ukrainskoho naseleennia z terytorii Polshchi i polskykh hromadian z terytorii URSS. 9 veresnia 1944 r.; Protokol mizh Uriadom URSS i Uriadom Polskoi Respubliky do Uhody pro evakuatsiiu ukrainskoho naseleennia z terytorii Polshchi i polskykh hromadian z terytorii URSS vid 9 veresnia 1944 r. vid 6 travnia 1947 r. (oryhinaly ukrainskoiu i polskoiu movamy); Dodatkovyi protokol do Uhody mizh Uriadom URSS i PKNV pro evakuatsiiu ukrainskoho naseleennia z terytorii Polshchi i polskykh hromadian z terytorii URSS vid 9 veresnia 1944 r. vid 14 hrudnia 1945 r., spr. 145 Dovidky viddilu pro zustrich, prybuvshoho dlia roboty v Kyievi, Henkonsula Polskoi Respubliky Khlonda A., 16 veresnia 1947 r., spr. 223 Zvit pro robotu protokolno-konsulskoho viddilu Ministerstva zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi RSR za 1949 rik, spr. 283 Informatsii Heneralnoho konsulstva Polskoi respubliky u m. Kyievi pro sklad spivrobotnykiv ta yoho zminy za 1950 rik, 31 hrudnia 1949 r. – 1 hrudnia 1950 r.; op. 3, spr. 6341 Konsulski okruhy, knsulskyi rezhym, shtaty, ekzekvatory, 21 – 26 travnia 1987 r., spr. 6342 Zapysy besid zi spivrobotnykamy inozemnykh konsulskykh ustanov, yaki perebuvaiut u Kyievi (Polska Narodna Respublika), 23 sichnia – 9 hrudnia 1987 r.

## References

- Betliy O., Diyal'nist'pol's'koho dyplomatychnoho predstavnytstva v Ukraini (1921–1923 pp.), "Naukovyy visnyk Dyplomatychnoyi akademiyi Ukrainy" 2003, vyp. 8: Zovnishnya polityka ta dyplomatiya: vytoky, tradytsiyi, novatsiyi, pp. 467–486.
- Boryak T., Dokumental'na spadshchyna ukraïns'koyi emihratsiyi v Yevropi. Praz'kyy arkhiv (1945–2010), Nizhyn 2011.
- Braychevs'kyy M., Kyyivs'kyy velykoknyazivs'kyy arkhiv X–XIII st., [in:] *Ukrayins'ka arkheohrafiya. Suchasnyy stan ta perspektyvy rozvytku. Tezy dopovidey respublikans'koyi narady*, Kyyiv `1988, p. 104.

- Bruski J.J., *Hołodomor 1932–1933. Wielki Głód na Ukrainie w dokumentach polskiej dyplomacji i wywiadu*, Warszawa 2008.
- Bruski J.J., *Miedzy prometeizmem a Realpolitik. II Rzeczpospolita wobec Ukrainy Sowieckiej 1921–1926*, Kraków 2010.
- Bruski J.J., *Na Ukrainie Rakowskiego. Polskie placówki dyplomatyczne i konsularne na terenie USRR 1921–1924*, [in:] *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie w XX – początkach XXI wieku*, ed. H. Stroński i G. Seroczyński, Olsztyn–Charków 2010, pp. 148–149.
- Chesel's'kyy T., *Konsul'stvo Pol'shchi v Odesi v 1918–1920 rr. Ta yoho arkhiv*, “Zovnishni sprawy” 2017, № 12, pp. 18–21.
- Ciesielski T., *Konsulat polski w Odessie 1919–1920*, [in:] *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie w XX – początkach XXI wieku*, ed. H. Stroński i G. Seroczyński, Olsztyn–Charków 2010, pp. 81–101.
- Colket M., *The Inviolability of Diplomatic Archives*, “The American Archivist” 1945, January, vol. 8, № 1, p. 26.
- Dyrektoriya, Rada Narodnykh Ministriv Ukrayins'koyi Narodnoyi Respubliki, lystopad 1919 – lystopad 1920 r dokumenty i materialy*, uporyad. V. Verstyuk et al., Kyiv 2006.
- Grajżul T., *Poselstwo i konsulat Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej w Charkowie w latach 1921–1937*, [in:] *Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie w XX – początkach XXI wieku*, ed. H. Stroński i G. Seroczyński, Olsztyn–Charków 2010, pp. 214–215.
- Haluzevyy derzhavnyy arkhiv SBU. Putivnyk*, avtory-uporyad.: V. Danylenko (vidp. uporyad.) et al., Kharkiv 2009.
- Istoriya ukrayins'koyi dyplomatiyi. Pershi kroky na mizhnarodniy areni (1917–1924 rr.). Dokumenty i materialy*, [avt. peredm., uporyad.: I. B. Matyash et al.], Kyiv 2010.
- Kinolitopys: anotovanyy katalog kinozhurnaliv, dokumental'nykh fil'miv i kinosyuzhetiv (cherven'1945–1955)*, ed. N. Slonchak, uporyad.: O. Selifonov, N. Slonchak, N. Topishko, Kyiv 2001, pp. 132–133.
- Krokhmal' A., *Dokumenty z istoriyi Ukrayiny i pol's'ko-ukrayins'kykh vidnosyn u zibrannyakh polonistychnykh instytutysiy*, “Arkhiy Ukrayiny” 2005, № 4, pp. 60–75.
- Kushnizh R., *Holod v Ukrayini 1932–1933 (za dokumentamy pol's'kykh dyplomativ)*, “Arkhiy Ukrayiny” 2008, № 3-4, s. 46–52.
- Kuśnierz R., *Obraz głodującej wsi ukraińskiej w latach trzydziestych XX w. w dokumentach polskich przedstawicielstw dyplomatycznych w ZSRR i polskiego wywiadu*, [in:] *Polska i jej Wschodni Sąsiedzi*, Rzeszów 2009, pp. 64–75.
- Lozenko L., *Praz'kyy ukrayins'kyy arkhiv: istoriya i s'ohodennya*, “Arkhiy Ukrayiny” 1996, № 1–6, pp. 18–30.
- Matviyenko V., Haydukov L., *Arkhiy dyplomatychni*, [in:] *Ukrayins'ka dyplomatychna entsyklopediya*, v. 1, Kyiv 2004, pp. 81–82.

- Matyash I., *Bilya vytokiv ukrayins'ko-pol's'koho arkhivnoho spivrobotnytstva*, "Pam"yatky. Arkheohrafichnyy shchorichnyk" 2005, t. 5, s. 5–12.
- Matyash I., *Dolya „Dyplomatychnoy istoriyi Ukrayiny” frantsuz'koho ukrayintsya Yevhena Slabchenka*, "Mizhnarodni zv'yazky Ukrayiny: naukovi poshuky ta znakhidky" 2015, v. 24, pp. 391–410.
- Matyash I., *Dolya dyplomatychnoho arkhivu Yevhena Slabchenka*, "Ukrayina dyplomatychna" 2015, v. 16, s. 715–731.
- Matyash I., *Haluzevyy derzhavnyy arkhiv MZS Ukrayiny yak oseredok instytutsiynoyi pam"yati dyplomatychnoy ta konsul's'koyi sluzhby*, [in:] *Istoryko-kul'turna spadshchyna. Zberezhennya, dostup, vykorystannya. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*, red. I. Tyurmenko, Ternopil' 2017, pp. 135–138.
- Mushynka M., *Muzy vyvol'noyi borot'by Ukrayiny v Prazi ta dolya yoho fondiv. Istoryko-arkhivni narysy*, Kyiv 2005.
- Nahayevs'kyi I., *Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi derzhavy v dvadtsyatomu stolitti*, Kyiv 1993, pp. 281–282.
- Naukove tovarystvo istoriyi dyplomatiyi ta mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn, <https://sshdir.org.ua/>, accessed 30 August 2023.
- Okipnyuk V., *Heneral'ne konsul'stvo II Rechipospolytoyi v Kyievi. Trahichnyy epilog voseny 1939 r.* "Z arkhiviv CHK-HPU-NKVD-KHB" 2013, № 1–2 (40–41), pp. 193–214.
- Paliyenko M., *Arkhivni tsentry ukrayins'koyi emihratsiyi (stvorennya, funktsionuvannya, dolya dokumental'nykh kolektsiy)*, Kyiv 2008.
- Pisuliński J., Bruski J.J., *Polska dyplomacja wobec emigracji ukraińskiej. Nieznana instrukcja ministra Augusta Zaleskiego z 1926 roku*, "Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej" 1998, v. 33, pp. 159–168.
- Polska dyplomacja na Wschodzie w XX – początkach XXI wieku*, ed. H. Stroński, G.Z. Seroczyński, Olsztyn–Charków 2010.
- Polskie instytucje za granicą. Przewodnik po zbiorach archiwalnych*, ed. A. Krochmal, Warszawa 2004.
- Pol's'ke shpyhunstvo na Ukrayini (Rozmova z tov. Balyts'kym)*, "Visti VUTSVK" 1924, 29 zhovtnya, № 247 (1240), p. 1.
- Pryem u het'mana*, "Kyevs'kaya Mysl'" 1918, 4 oktyabrya, № 176, p. 1.
- Rubl'ova N., Rubl'ov O., *Heneral'ne konsul'stvo Druhoi Rechi Pospolytoyi u Kyievi za doby Velykoho Teroru (1937–1938)*, "Ukrayina: kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'" 2017, v. 29, pp. 361–373.
- Ryszewski B., *Problemy i metody badawcze archiwistyki*, Toruń 1985, p. 109.
- Shepelyuk V., *Anotovanyy reyestr dokumentiv TSDAMLM Ukrayiny „Ukrayins'ko-pol's'ki kul'turni zv'yazky"*, "Arkhivy Ukrayiny" 2005, № 4 (257), pp. 180–191.
- Skóra W., *Organizacja i działalność służby konsularnej Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej na terenach Rosji, Ukrainy i ZSRR w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym (1918–1939)*, [in:] *Stosunki polityczne*,

- wojskowe i gospodarcze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej i Związku Radzieckiego w okresie międzywojennym, ed. J. Gmitruk, W. Włodarkiewicz, Warszawa–Siedlce 2012, pp. 259–283.
- Solons'ka N., *Litopysni dzherela do istoriyi formuvannya biblioteki Yaroslava Mudroho*, “Arkhivoznavstvo. Arkheohrafiya. Dzhereloznavstvo: Mizhvidomchyy zbirnyk naukovykh prats” 2001, v. 3, pp. 211–212.
- Stępień St., *Józef Piłsudski i Symon Petlura. Umowa Symona Petlury z Towarzystwem Naukowym im. Szewczenki we Lwowie*, “Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze” 2004, № 17–18, pp. 294–313.
- Synyt's'kyy P., „*Sprava Surovtsevoyi – Petrenka 1927 – 1928 rr.*”. *Opratsyuvannya modeley masovyykh represiy proty vitchyznyanoyi intelihentsiyi kintsya 1920-kh – pochatku 1930-kh rr.*, “Istoriya Ukrainy: Malovidomi imena, fakty, podiyyi”, Kyiv 2006, v. 33, pp. 166–185.
- Szukaj w Archiwach, <https://www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl>, accessed 24 August 2023.
- Szumilo M., *Polsko-ukraińska współpraca wojskowa w roku 1920 jako praktyczny wyraz polityki wschodniej Józefa Piłsudskiego*, [in:] *Żar niepodległości. Międzynarodowe aspekty życia i działalności Józefa Piłsudskiego*, ed. L. Maliszewski, Lublin 2004, pp. 123–134.
- Tsentrāl'nyy derzhavnyy audiovizual'nyy ta elektronnyy arkhiv, <https://tsdaea.archives.gov.ua/kinolitypysy-3/>, accessed 31 August 2023.
- Ukrayina i Pol'shcha 1920–1939 rr. Z istoriyi dyplomatychnykh vidnosyn USSR z Druhoyu Richchyyu Pospolytoyu. Dokumenty i materialy*, uporyad., komentari, vstupna stattiya: N. Rubl'ova, O. Rubl'ov, Kyiv 2012.
- Ukrayins'ka Derzhava (kviten' – hruden' 1918). Dokumenty i materialy*, uporyad.: R. Pyrih (kerivnyk) et al., v. 1, Kyiv 2015.
- Ukrayins'ka RSR na mizhnarodniy areni: zb. dok. (1917–1923)*, ed. V. Korets'kyy, K. Zabihaylo, M. Mykhaylovs'kyy, I. Khmil', Kyiv 1966.
- Ukrayins'ka Tsentrāl'na Rada. Dokumenty i materialy*, ed. V. Verstyuk et al., v. 1, Kyiv 1996, v. 2, Kyiv 1997.
- Ukrayins'ko pol's'ki vidnosyny. Novitnya doba*, ed. Mykola Lytvyn], L'viv 2017.
- Yemel'yanova T., *Kinofotodokumenty TSDKFFA Ukrainy im. H. S. Pshenychnoho pro ukayins'ko-pol's'ki naukovy ta kul'turni zv'yazky*, “Arkhivy Ukrainy” 2005, № 4 (257), pp. 227–236.