

THE PRO-EUROPEAN AND PRO-ATLANTIC INFLUENCE OF THE CONSULATES GENERAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND IN UKRAINIAN REGIONS

Summary. The Consulates General of the Republic of Poland in Ukraine started out in limited numbers, mostly in the west, but expanded throughout the country in the later part of the first decade of the 21st century. While there were objective needs for that expansion, related to the work of the Polish MFA, providing services to more people in Central, Eastern and Southern Ukraine, the Consulates' staff became influencers of certain policies on their own. Using archival documents and other primary sources, we can see how the Consuls of Poland first became involved in Ukrainian-Polish business talks, and later, in the purview of interregional cooperation, promoted pro-European and pro-NATO narratives in Ukraine. In this regard the Consuls General acted not only as diplomats, but as Poland's soft power in Ukraine, being invited as experts to conferences, festivals, student Olympiads etc., while connecting their efforts with those of ethnic Polish NGOs in Ukraine and Ukrainian universities.

Key words: European Integration, Euro-Atlantic Integration, history of Ukraine, international relations, Polish-Ukrainian relations.

ПРОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ ТА ПРОАТЛАНТИЧНИЙ ВПЛИВ ГЕНЕРАЛЬНИХ КОНСУЛЬСТВ РЕСПУБЛІКИ ПОЛЬЩА В ОБЛАСТЯХ УКРАЇНИ

Анотація. Генеральні консульства Республіки Польща в Україні починали свою діяльність в обмеженій кількості, сконцентровані на Заході, але розширилися країною у другій половині першої декади XXI століття. Хоча в цьому розширенні були об'єктивні потреби, пов'язані з роботою МЗС Польщі щодо надання послуг більшій кількості людей у Центральній, Східній та Південній Україні, співробітники консульств самі

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отримували вплив на підтримку тієї чи іншої політики. Використовуючи архівні документи та інші періоджерела, ми бачимо, як польські консули спочатку залучалися до українсько-польських переговорів з питань торгівлі, а згодом у рамках міжрегіонального співробітництва пропагували в Україні проєвропейські та пронатовські наративи. У цьому плані Генеральні консули виступали не лише як дипломати, а і як м'яка сила Польщі в Україні, їх запрошували як експертів на конференції, фестивалі, студентські олімпіади тощо, поєднуючи свої зусилля з діяльністю етнічних польських громадських організацій в Україні та українських університетів.

Ключові слова: європейська інтеграція, євроатлантична інтеграція, історія України, міжнародні відносини, польсько-українські відносини.

Through war and pain, Ukraine has persevered in her people's hopes for joining united Europe, unified in the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The topic of Ukraine's integration into the EU and NATO has certainly been a relevant issue for Ukrainian political science and historic experience, intensifying especially with the new strategic course for joining the Euro-Atlantic community codified in the Constitution of Ukraine in 2019. The Republic of Poland, which in 1999 completed an accelerated program of integration into the Alliance, has long since become a full part of the European Union, and a model of reform and general foreign political activity for Ukraine.

The importance of Polish experience for Ukraine, and Ukraine's general abilities to "understand" said experience through the process of Polish-Ukrainian relations has thus been of interest to many Ukrainian researches. Among historians, we can note various trends historiography. A prominent Euro-Atlanticist from Donetsk, Ihor Todorov, researched the topic of how the Polish experience of reforms was studied and used by Ukrainian NGOs to help with regional development, particularly in Donetsk region². The influence of Poland's European integration on Ukraine's top-level authorities, during the relations between whole governments, specific ministries etc. was considered by Lesya Aleksiiivets, Mykola Aleksiiivets

² Тодоров І.Я. Україна на шляху до європейської та євроатлантичної спільноти : монографія. Донецьк : ДонНУ, 2006. 268 с.

and Natalia Chorna³. Interregional contacts were the subject of Natalia Buglay's research on the place of Ukraine and Poland in the various stages of EU's neighborhood policy⁴. Important data on economic cooperation between countries during the early stages of relations were provided by Bohdan Andrushkiv, Yaroslav Bakushevych⁵. The analytical approach to Polish-Ukrainian interregional relations distinguishes thorough monographic studies of economists Yurii Makohon "Forms and directions of interregional cross-border cooperation"⁶, Roman Fedan "Regional factors of intensification of cross-border cooperation between Poland and Ukraine"⁷.

Contrasting with the previous works on the topic of Polish-Ukrainian relations, the goal of this paper is to prove the influence of the consular offices of the Republic of Poland in Ukraine on the implementation of European and Euro-Atlantic cooperation by regional authorities, local governments, research institutions and non-governmental organizations.

The following primary sources were used in the disclosure of the above topic: documents from the State Archives of Vinnytsia Region (DAVO), articles in the media, Internet resources of non-governmental organizations of the Polish community in Ukraine, official websites of government structures. The analyzed archival documentation included statistical reports, orders from regional authorities, reports from the interregional cooperation commissions, regional leader's correspondence with higher authorities, other regions of Ukraine and voivodships of Poland, embassies and consulates of the Republic of Poland, NGOs and business.

³ Алексієвцев Л., Алексієвцев М., Чорна Н. Польща: на шляху до НАТО та ЄС. Тернопіль : Вектор, 2012. 268 с.

⁴ Буглай Н.М. Польща та Україна в європейській політиці сусідства ЄС. *Гілея. Історичні науки. Філософські науки. Політичні науки* : зб. наук. пр. Київ : Вид-во НПУ ім. М.П. Драгоманова, 2010. Вип. 42. С. 110–118.

⁵ Андрушків Б., Бакушевич Я. Україна і Польща – економічні аспекти співпраці. *Економіка України*. 2005. № 11. С. 82–86.

⁶ Макогон Ю.В., Ляшенко В.И. Формы и направления межрегионального трансграничного сотрудничества : монография. Донецк : Юго-Восток, Лтд, 2003. 512 с.

⁷ Федан Р. Регіональні фактори активізації транскордонної співпраці Польщі та України. Львів : ІРД НАН України, 2003. 336 с.

The successes of Polish Consulates General in Ukraine mostly cover the period after the “Orange Revolution”. However, the political-economic atmosphere of Polish-Ukrainian relations that allowed for such influence was established earlier. Consulates first became the go-to pathway for solving Polish-Ukrainian issues in the 1990s, although some of the early experiences were far from positive. Archival documents of the state regional administrations of Ukraine indicate that early on the introduction of border legislation of the two independent countries required bilateral regulation to prevent cases of border incidents. There was almost no control over the protection of railways in the border zone, trains were attacked by hooligans. Thus, in 1993 there were several attacks on Ukrainian trains: the assault on the Przemyśl–Lviv and Kyiv–Wrocław trains on the Polish side of the border strip was reported in a note to the Polish consulate by the representative of the President of Ukraine in Lviv region Serhiy Davymuka. The reaction of the Polish Consul General in Lviv Henryk Litwin did not satisfy the civil servant, and so S. Davymuka sent a complaint to the Ambassador of Ukraine to Poland Hennadiy Udovenko, who raised the issue of attacks on Ukrainian trains before the Presidents of Ukraine and Poland⁸.

However, such unpleasant experiences notwithstanding, the relations between countries were improving, and the importance of consulates was rising. The increase in Ukrainian economy at the eve of the century facilitated new developments. In 2001–2003, Ukraine and Poland signed a number of bilateral agreements, such as on the exchange of information between ministries in the field of finance, and on the intergovernmental exchange of classified information. These documents testify to the achievement of a high level of trust in the relations between the states. Accordingly, at the end of the 20th – early 21st century we can talk about the transformation of bilateral relations, their achievement of the level of strategic partnership (Ukraine and Poland have set common goals on the world stage). In turn, this led to a shift in the economy. According to Ukrainian economic relations researchers B. Andrushkiv and Ya. Bakushevich, by the beginning of 2004 specifically 837 enterprises with Polish investments were registered

⁸ Державний архів Львівської області. Ф Р-221. Оп. 4. Спр. 77. Арк. 40–45.

in Ukraine, which was at the time around 8.9% of all enterprises in the country that received investments from abroad.

According to analytical information provided by regional administrations at the request of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Poland, economic ties between Ukraine and Poland did not simply “grow without stopping”, and during the period 1993–2000 they actually decreased or increased periodically. However, in the year 2000 Poland was the eighth in the list of investors in the economy of Vinnytsia region, and Polish-Ukrainian trade accounted for 1.84% of the total foreign trade flow of the region⁹. Looking at Vinnytsia region’s archival documents on foreign relations, we can notice that at the beginning of 2003 a sharp increase in the share of Poland in the Ukrainian economy – up to 3.2% of total foreign trade turnover¹⁰. This breakthrough was preceded by the opening of representative offices of various Vinnytsia region companies in Poland (“NEMIROFF”, “Podillya OBST”, “Geosystem”, etc.), the creation of “Ukrainian-Polish ECO-Consortium”. Furthermore, as the archival documents show, provisions of the “Ukraine’s EU Integration Program in 2003” were considered implemented by the regional authorities with the assistance from Polish side, including Sylwester Szostak, the Consul General in Kyiv¹¹.

As of 2004, the head of the Vinnytsia Regional State Administration Viktor Kotsemyr reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the results of cooperation between the state authorities and local self-government of the region with Poland. The region’s foreign trade turnover with Poland continued to grow: in 2003 it amounted to \$16.4 million, which was 49.7% more than in 2002. The regional authorities noted the attraction of Polish investments worth \$636 thousand and the efficient operation of 52 Ukrainian-Polish enterprises (“Warta”, “Lodvi”, “Sodas”, “Ukraflora-Vinnytsia”). These successes were noticed by the officials of the Republic of Poland, in particular the Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Kyiv S. Szostak and representatives of Polish business. They visited the Fair of Investment

⁹ Державний архів Вінницької області (ДАВО). Ф Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 419. Арк. 122–130.

¹⁰ ДАВО. Ф Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 752. Арк. 69–70.

¹¹ ДАВО. Ф Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 753. Арк. 1–4; 36–39.

Projects “Vinnytsia 2004” and considered areas of cooperation in the field of investment¹². In order to expand contacts, the Regional Economic Forum of Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship was held in Vinnytsia, where the success of investments in the economy of Ukraine was noted¹³.

Strengthening contacts between Ukrainian and Polish business, interregional cooperation led to discussions on the establishment of new Polish consulates in Ukraine. The development of the network of consulates in Ukraine in 2007–2010 was initiated by the well-known diplomat Tomasz Olejniczak, who has been working in diplomatic missions in Ukraine since 1997. The fruitful work of T. Olejniczak to improve the work of consulates and their dissemination was noted by both the Polish and Ukrainian sides. In 2015 he received the post of Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Vinnytsia, and in 2017 the title of “Honorary Doctor of Vasyl’ Stus Donetsk National University”¹⁴.

Among the issues of economic cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian regions via the consulates’ support, we should move on to 2005, which the Polish side declared “The Year of Ukraine in the Republic of Poland”. 2005 was marked by intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements in Polish-Ukrainian relations. It was the year of bilateral agreements opened by the “Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Poland on economic cooperation”¹⁵. The agreement has become one of the key documents in the history of modern Ukrainian-Polish relations, which “ensures the proper development of bilateral cooperation at the level of strategic partnership in the fields of trade, industry and energy”. An important element of the agreement was the clause on “development of interregional economic cooperation”. The agreement was implemented by the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland¹⁶. The commission

¹² ДАВО. Ф Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 882. Арк. 68 – 69.

¹³ ДАВО. Ф Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 878. Арк. 24–27.

¹⁴ Протокол № 8 від 28 квітня 2017 р. Засідання нагородної комісії. *Присвоєння звання «Заслужений професор ДонНУ»*. Донецький національний університет імені Василя Стуса. Матеріали нагородної комісії. Вінниця, 2017. С. 1–8.

¹⁵ Договірні-правова база між Україною та Польщею. *Посольство України в Республіці Польща*. URL: <http://poland.mfa.gov.ua/ua/ukraine-pl/legal-acts>.

¹⁶ Угода між Кабінетом Міністрів України та Урядом Республіки Польща про економічне співробітництво. *Офіційний вісник України*. 12 липня 2006. № 26. С. 291.

set an important goal – to implement the provisions of multi-sectoral interagency agreements at all levels. The main efforts were aimed at further strengthening interregional economic cooperation. This is evidenced by the increase in funding by the regions of Ukraine for joint activities with the relevant partners-voivodeships of Poland. For example, during 2005–2006 Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship held joint international conferences, cultural and economic forums, fairs, cooperation in the field of sports and tourism with the Ukrainian side under the conditions of joint funding¹⁷.

Another manifestation of the commission's activity was the implementation of the clause on interregional cooperation by signing the “Agreement on International – Interregional Cooperation of Donetsk Region (Ukraine) and Śląskie Voivodeship (the Republic of Poland)”. According to the document, delegations of representatives of regional authorities, managers, specialists and experts were exchanged, economic structures were involved in contacts¹⁸.

The agreement was preceded by long and fruitful cooperation between Donbas and Silesia during 1998–2005 on local self-government, public organizations and educational institutions. According to I. Todorov, an important result of cooperation within the projects was the use in the Donetsk region of experience and tools for regional development of industrial regions of France and Germany, which were previously successfully used in Upper Silesia¹⁹.

Donetsk-Silesian relations continued during 2005–2015. Donetsk National University took an active part in the cooperation, exchanging students with Silesian educational institutions, organizing internships for teachers in the Republic (with the assistance of the International Renaissance Foundation and the Institute for Social Research and Political Analysis)²⁰.

Thus, the measures taken to expand trade, economic, scientific and cultural ties during the “Year of Ukraine in Poland” began a long-term

¹⁷ ДАВО. Ф 6200. Оп. 1. Спр. 8. Арк. 2–19.

¹⁸ Договір про міжнародне – міжрегіональне співробітництво Донецької області (Україна) і Сілезького воєводства (Республіка Польща). *Офіційний вісник України*. 17 травня 2006. № 18. С. 139.

¹⁹ Тодоров І.Я. Україна на шляху до європейської та євроатлантичної спільноти : монографія. Донецьк : ДонНУ, 2006. С. 226.

²⁰ Стажування у Вроцлавському університеті. *Університетські вісті*. 4 грудня 2015. Донецький національний університет ім. Василя Стуса. URL: <https://news.donnu.edu.ua/2015/12/04/stazhuvannya-u-vrotslavskomu-universiteti/>.

cooperation between the governments and individual regions of the two countries. The positive dynamics of relations can be revealed analyzing the examples of cooperation on the ground, noted in regional archives. In addition to the traditional partnerships of the regions established in Soviet times, the regions of Ukraine began to look for new incarnations of interregional cooperation. We see these changes on the example of Vinnytsia region, which has been cooperating with Świętokrzyskie (formerly Kielce) voivodeship for decades. However, in 2005–2006, Valeriy Koroviy, Deputy Head of the Regional State Administration, drew attention to the success of concrete steps in cooperation with the Łódź, Wielkopolska and Mazowieckie Voivodeships. The delegations not only attended the celebrations in the region, but also held consultations with local authorities²¹.

After the end of the “Year of Ukraine in Poland” and related events, the ties of the regions expanded, new acquaintances were formed at the levels of business, administration, and local government actors. According to the report of the Vinnytsia Regional Administration on socio-economic development and external relations of the region in 2006, exports of goods to Poland increased 2.1 times, reaching 6.3% of total exports of the region. A new periodic exchange of delegations was organized for consultations on the implementation of European experience in the region’s economy. As in the Donetsk region, the practice of internships of representatives of regional authorities in the Republic of Poland has spread in the Vinnytsia region²².

Consulates General of Poland not only involved various Ukrainian businesses in joining the European economy, but were also actively involved in promoting European values, such as celebrating Europe Day with Ukrainians since 2003. Ukraine has become the only country outside the EU where this holiday is celebrated at the state level. Polish delegations joined the opening of Europe Day in Vinnytsia during 2009–2011²³. They attended various economic forums in the region²⁴. In the end, such cooperation contributed to the official opening of the city’s own Consulate

²¹ ДАВО. Ф Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 1088. Арк. 1–7.

²² ДАВО. Ф Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 1299. Арк. 109–114.

²³ ДАВО. Ф 6200. Оп. 1. Спр. 35. Арк. 35.

²⁴ ДАВО. Ф 6200. Оп. 1. Спр. 34. Арк. 2–4.

General of the Republic of Poland²⁵. Polish consulates joined Europe Day celebrations in other cities as well. In Kharkiv, the image of Poland as part of the European Union was popularized by the Consul General, the activities of the Ukrainian-Polish cultural and educational center were supported, and experts in the Polish language were awarded monetary prizes. Cooperation with Poland was especially taken care of at the O.M. Beketov Kharkiv National University of Urban Economy²⁶. For decades, Europe Day was supported by the Odesa branch of the Adam Mickiewicz Union of Poles in Ukraine. In cooperation with the Consul General in Odesa, the Union began public readings in Polish. NGOs held festivals, ceremonial events on the occasion of public holidays of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland not only in Odesa, but throughout the southern regions of Ukraine²⁷.

With the assistance of consulates, Ukrainian regional administrations have established direct contacts with NATO member states for consultations on Euro-Atlantic integration. With the participation of the Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Ukraine Marek Ziółkowski and the Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Kyiv Sylwester Szostak on August 23, 2005 a conference on “Regional Policy in European Integration” was held with the section “Ukraine-NATO”²⁸. During the conference, delegations from Świętokrzyskie, Wielkopolskie, Łódź Voivodeships and NATO countries (Germany, Hungary, Slovakia) visited Vinnytsia Region. After inspecting all districts of Vinnytsia Region, the parties agreed on areas of cooperation for the prospect of Euro-Atlantic integration: attracting investment in education, law enforcement, and trainings of activists. In response, a delegation of Ukrainian businessmen, representatives of local self-government and public organizations visited the capital of Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship, Kielce. The delegation was headed by the head of the regional

²⁵ ДАВО. Ф 6200. Оп. 1. Спр. 46. Арк. 28–32.

²⁶ День Європи та вишиванки. *Харківський національний університет міського господарства*. URL: <https://www.kname.edu.ua/index.php/2710-день-європи-та-вишиванки>.

²⁷ На засадах порозуміння та співпраці. *Поляки Одессы. Одесское отделение Союза поляков им. А. Мицкевича*. URL: <https://polonia.od.ua/на-засадах-порозуміння-та-співпраці/>.

²⁸ ДАВО. Ф Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 1090, Арк. 11–12.

state administration Oleksandr Dombrovsky and the head of the regional council Yuriy Ivanov²⁹.

The development of culture and science is also of great importance for Ukraine's integration into Europe, and was encouraged by the Polish Consulates General in areas where it considered the issues of Polish language in Ukraine. In this context, the interdepartmental Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Education 2015 is relevant. Under this agreement, a joint Advisory Commission on Education of the Ukrainian National Minority in the Republic of Poland and the Polish Minority in Ukraine was established³⁰. The first results of the implementation of the agreement were reported in December 2015. Yuriy Kononenko, Chairman of the Commission, reported on the integration of the Polish minority in Ukraine and the policy of multiculturalism, with students studying various school subjects in several languages. The meeting summed up the fact that in 2015 for the first time in Ukraine among students of 9–11 grades of general educational institutions were held competitions in Polish language and literature³¹. The success of the Olympiads was also noted by the Polish side, among which non-governmental organizations of the Polish community in Ukraine joined in supporting these events. Acting Chairman of the Board of the Adam Mickiewicz Union of Poles in Odesa, Tetiana Filippova said that schoolchildren from all over the South of Ukraine were involved in the competitions. This was due to the cooperation of NGOs with the Consulate General, whose consular district covered the cities of Kropyvnytskyi, Chornomorsk, Mykolaiv, Kherson, and Odesa³².

²⁹ Вінницька делегація поїхала до Польщі. 20 хвилин – Новини Вінниці. 5 вересня 2005. URL: <https://vn.20minut.ua/Groshi/vinnitska-delegatsiya-poyihala-do-polschi-29168.html>.

³⁰ Про створення Консультаційної комісії з питань освіти. База даних «Законодавство України» / Верховна Рада України. URL: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/rada/show/v0367729-15/paran5#n5>.

³¹ МОН: Освіта національних меншин залишається одним із пріоритетних напрямів діяльності Міністерства. / Міністерство освіти і науки України. URL: <http://mon.gov.ua/usi-novivni/novini/2015/12/25/novina-24122015-gromadskarada/>.

³² Поляки Одессы. URL: <https://polonia.od.ua/na-zasadaх-porozumіння-ta-sпівпраці/>.

An important part of the aforementioned agreement was the involvement of students from both countries in European mobility programs such as Erasmus+. Support was also provided by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Vinnytsia T. Olejniczak helped in the implementation of programs, which was stated as part of the reason for the awarded title of “Honorary Doctor of Vasyl’ Stus Donetsk National University”³³. The Ukrainian-Polish Council for Youth Exchange reported throughout the years on the implementation of mobility projects that have passed the competition and received funding on the website of the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine^{34–35}.

Overall, the economic, political, Euro-Atlantic and cultural aspects of Ukrainian-Polish interregional cooperation during the first decades of the 21st century testifies to the positive role of Polish Consulates General in encouraging the Ukrainian side to revive integration processes during the times where integration lacked progress. Namely: expanding economic contacts of the regions with the business of the EU countries, involvement in the European cultural community (celebrating Europe Day, culture festivals), promoting the pro-Atlantic course via both diplomatic and soft power means, promoting the empowerment of students of both college and school levels. Furthermore, the work of Polish Consulates General in this regard was considered to be a positive factor for improving both the Polish-Ukrainian relations and the support for Ukraine’s European integration by Ukrainian regional authorities themselves – archival documents on the events discussed in the article were filed as examples of developments in pro-EU/NATO policies by the regional administration and the regional council. Most of the facts were drawn from the examples of Vinnytsia region, but various materials of the press and Internet resources show the importance of Polish Consulates General in Kharkiv, Odesa, Donetsk and other regions of Ukraine throughout the first decades of the 21st century.

³³ Протокол № 8 від 28 квітня 2017 р. ... С. 7.

³⁴ Українсько-польські обміни молоддю в 2016 році. / Міністерство молоді та спорту України. URL: <http://dsmsu.gov.ua/index/ua/category/456>.

³⁵ Українсько-польські обміни молоддю в 2017 році. / Міністерство молоді та спорту України. URL: <http://dsmsu.gov.ua/index/ua/category/484>.

Considering their successful pro-European and pro-Atlantic messaging in both central and Southern Ukraine, one can hope that the Consulates General will help Ukrainian universities, NGOs and pro-European politicians facilitate support for Euro-Atlantic integration in the east of the country in near future.

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