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POLISH PRACTICE ON PROMULGATION OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE USSR, 1944–1960**

Abstract: *This article raises the issue of the proper publication of international treaties and their presence in the Polish legal system. The authors analyze this issue based on research conducted on Polish-Russian treaties from 1944–1960. Their research has shown that, during this period, only 11% of treaties were properly published. The research – conducted on a very limited subject: only bilateral agreements between Poland and the USSR – leads to the pessimistic conclusion that in Poland it is customary practice to refrain from publishing an international agreement in the Journal of Laws and that citizens do not have at their disposal a single official or unofficial source to reconstruct Poland’s current obligations, which may indeed directly concern them. Also this finding raises important questions about the accessibility and enforceability of international treaties in the Polish legal system. At the international level, the consequences of failing to publish an act and to ensure official promulgation can be much more serious. In the absence of information about published agreements, it is not possible to sufficiently and completely determine the obligations between states nor to reconstruct the relations binding them. It is also impossible to clearly determine which international agreements are still in force between countries, which are invalid and which have expired.*

Keywords: promulgation, publication, Official Journal, Journal of Laws, international treaties

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** The text was prepared as a part of a research project of the Polish National Science Centre (No. 2018/29/B/HS5/00863).

INTRODUCTION

The proper promulgation of international agreements in the national legal order is of fundamental importance for their proper application and observance. The promulgation of international agreements is not only a manifestation of the transparency of law, but also an effective way of publicly registering these agreements, allowing for a quick reconstruction of the legal state in the relations between the given states. This is evidenced by the example of the agreement between the Ministries of National Defence of the Republic of Poland and of the Russian Federation on the principles of mutual air traffic of both states' military aircraft in their airspace, drawn up in Moscow on 14 December 1993.¹ From the available information it appears that the individuals serving as the most important state officials were unaware of the existence and validity of this agreement in the first days and even weeks after the Smolensk catastrophe.² This situation would not have occurred had the agreement been published in the appropriate official journal.

In this article, we argue that this case was not an isolated incident, but rather an element of (an improper) well-established practice of the Polish government,³ as a result of which a significant number of international agreements have not been published.⁴ Based on available sources, we have attempted to compile a list of bilateral agreements concluded between Poland and the Soviet Union (USSR) between 1944 and 1960. We chose this period because we have a relatively reliable source for it (see below) and because we believe that it was during this period that the practice of publishing international agreements in Poland was shaped.

¹ They were concluded based on the Agreement between the Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Poland and the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation on bilateral military cooperation (signed on 7 July 1993). Neither of these agreements have been promulgated.

² See M. Domagalski, T. Pietryga, E. Żemła, *Zapomniana umowa z Rosją?* [Forgotten agreement with Russia?], *Rzeczpospolita*, 7 May 2010, available at: <https://www.rp.pl/wydarzenia/art7215251-zapomniana-umowa-z-rosja> (accessed 30 August 2024).

³ See generally J. Juchniewicz, *Polskie uregulowania prawne i praktyka traktatowa w latach 1945–1989* [Polish legal framework and treaty practice, 1945–1989], in: E. Borowska, J. Juchniewicz, J. Krawczyk-Grzesiowska, K.J. Marciniak (eds.), *100-lecie polskiej praktyki traktatowej* [100 years of Polish treaty practice], Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa: 2018, p. 71.

⁴ We have already pointed out these difficulties in earlier publications. See K. Wierczyńska, G. Wierczyński, *Ogłaszanie umów międzynarodowych jako warunek ich bezpośredniego stosowania – kilka uwag na marginesie polskiej praktyki* [Promulgation of international agreements as the condition of their direct application – some remarks on the margin of Polish practice], 3(181) *Studia Prawnicze* 5 (2009), G. Wierczyński, *The Polish practice regarding the promulgation of international agreements between 1945 and 2017*, 36 *Polish Yearbook of International Law* 257 (2017).

1. POLISH REGULATIONS CONCERNING PROMULGATION OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN 1944 AND 1960

Before the outbreak of World War II, the rules for publishing legal acts in the Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland were regulated by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Poland of 6 September 1935 on the publication of the Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland.⁵ Art. 1(1)(2) stated that the Journal of Laws shall publish “treaties with other states and treaties with the Free City of Gdańsk approved by way of legislation or concluded on the basis of a legislative act”, and Art. 1(1)(7) added that this obligation also extends to “government declarations stating the fulfilment of the conditions on which the binding force of treaties with other states depends, and government declarations on the accession of foreign states to treaties concluded by the Republic of Poland and on ratifications made.” These provisions were amended by the Decree of 29 September 1945 on the amendment and supplementation of the provisions on the publication of the Journal of Laws,⁶ which removed references to the Free City of Gdańsk from the cited provisions.

On 1 January 1951, the aforementioned decree was replaced by the Act of 30 December 1950 on the publication of the Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland and the Official Journal of the Republic of Poland “Monitor Polski”.⁷ Art. 1(1)(3) of this act stated that the Journal of Laws shall publish “treaties concluded by the Polish State with other states, and government declarations on the entry into force of these treaties, their ratification and the participation of other states in them.”

The cited provisions were very general; they did not distinguish between types of international agreements based on the way they were concluded. Formally, these provisions treated the publication of international agreements with the same obligation as statutes, and did not provide for any exceptions in this respect.⁸ In practice, some agreements were never published, and were even hidden from the public.

More detailed rules on the publication of international agreements were introduced by the Resolution of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of 28 December 1968 on the conclusion and termination of international agreements.⁹ Although this

⁵ Decree of the President of the Republic of Poland of 6 September 1935 on the publication of the Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland [1935] JoL 68, 423.

⁶ Decree of 29 September 1945 on the amendment and supplementation of the provisions on the publication of the Journal of Laws [1945] JoL 55, 305.

⁷ Act of 30 December 1950 on the publication of the Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland and the Official Journal of the Republic of Poland “Monitor Polski” [1950] JoL 58, 524.

⁸ However, Maria Frankowska points out that the wording of the Act of 30 December 1950 “does not imply an obligation to publish all agreements, or even only certain categories of them” (M. Frankowska, *Umowy międzynarodowe. Wprowadzenie do prawa traktatów* [International agreements: Introduction to the law of treaties], SGPiS, Warszawa: 1977, p. 54).

⁹ It was not published in any official publication; its content was published contemporaneously and is available in *Uchwała Rady Państwa i Rady Ministrów z dnia 28 grudnia 1968 r. w sprawie zawierania*

resolution was issued after 1960, it seems to have largely sanctioned the practice that was followed between 1944 and 1960. The resolution treated as mandatory only the publication of ratified international agreements and government declarations on the exchange or deposit of ratification documents or the termination of such agreements. Their publication in the Journal of Laws was to be ordered by the Chairman of the Council of State at the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (§ 18(1)). The resolution stated that other international agreements (so-called government agreements) and government declarations concerning them could only be published in the Journal of Laws. The decision in this matter was to be taken by the Prime Minister at the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, submitted in agreement with the relevant minister (§ 18(2)).

Furthermore, the resolution added that annexes to agreements published in the Journal of Laws containing detailed specialist or technical provisions which did not regulate matters reserved for statutory regulation, did not contain provisions deviating from the applicable legislation, concerned a small number of entities and did not relate to the rights or obligations of citizens could not be published in the Journal of Laws of the Polish People's Republic (PRL). The decision to waive their publication was to be taken by the Chairman of the Council of State in relation to ratified agreements and by the Prime Minister in relation to annexes to other agreements. This decision was to be taken at the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, submitted in agreement with the relevant minister. A government declaration concerning such an annex was to contain information on the location where the text was stored.¹⁰

These exceptions to the obligation to publish international agreements were inconsistent with the above-cited provisions of the Act of 30 December 1950 on the publication of the Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland and the Official Journal of the Republic of Poland "Monitor Polski", and the Resolution was of lower rank than the Act. At the same time, anticipating the remarks below, it can be stated that in this respect the Resolution of 1968, although it does not directly refer to the agreements of 1944–1960 – which are the subject of this study – it sanctioned the government practice in force at that time. It is also worth adding that the aforementioned resolution also provided that the Minister of Foreign Affairs shall keep a register of binding departmental agreements (§ 14(3)).

i wypowiedzania umów międzynarodowych [Resolution of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of 28 December 1968 on the conclusion and termination of international agreements], 3(20) Przegląd Sejmowy 65 (1997), pp. 65–71, available at: <https://tinyurl.com/bddxesbz> (accessed 30 August 2024).

¹⁰ This solution should not be confused with the publication of legal acts as an annex to a given issue of the Journal of Laws. One of the more controversial cases of publishing a legal act by making it an annex to an official journal was the publication of the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Journal of Laws of 1977, No. 38, item 169). In the Journal of Laws No. 38 of 1977, only the act of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic ratifying the pacts was actually published, with the following information included below: "The text of the Covenant is included in the annex to this issue."

2. SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BETWEEN POLAND AND THE USSR, 1944–1960

For the purposes of this study, we used the official journals (mainly the Journal of Laws) and the Internet Treaty Base provided by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at (ITB MFA; traktaty.msz.gov.pl). However, the most important source proved to be the multi-volume publication *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich* [Documents and Materials on the History of Polish–Soviet Relations] (D&M), which is the result of many years of joint research by researchers from the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.¹¹ This publication unfortunately ends in December 1960, but for the period it covers it can verify the contents of the Journal of Laws and the ITB MFA. The remaining sources turned out to be secondary to the above-mentioned ones, and we have omitted them from the text. In a few cases, we have included agreements that are not in any of the indicated sources and which we came across during our other research.¹²

¹¹ This refers to the volumes: E. Basiński, H. Adalińska, T. Kowalski, A. Chrienow (eds.), *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich. T. 8, styczeń 1944 – grudzień 1945* [Documents and Materials on the History of Polish–Soviet Relations. Vol. 8, January 1944 – December 1945], Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa: 1974; E. Basiński, W.W. Diechtiarienko, T. Kowalski, A. Chrienow (eds.), *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich. T. 9, styczeń 1946 – grudzień 1949* [Documents and Materials on the History of Polish–Soviet Relations. Vol. 9, January 1946 – December 1949], Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa: 1974; W. Balcerak, W.W. Diechtiarienko, I. Bazyłow, I.I. Kostiuszko (eds.), *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich. T. 10, styczeń 1950 – grudzień 1955* [Documents and Materials on the History of Polish–Soviet Relations. Vol. 10, January 1950 – December 1955], Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa: 1982; W. Balcerak, W.W. Diechtiarienko, E. Basiński, I.I. Kostiuszko, P.N. Olsanskij (eds.), *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich. T. 11, styczeń 1956 – grudzień 1960* [Documents and Materials on the History of Polish–Soviet Relations. Vol. 11, January 1956 – December 1960], Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa: 1987.

¹² In this case, no letter annotation is indicated in the columns regarding the place of publication.

3. LIST OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BETWEEN POLAND AND THE USSR, 1944–1960

Table 1. Authors' own analysis

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Porozumienie między PKWN i Rządem ZSRR o stosunkach między Polską Administracją a Radzieckim Wodzem Naczelnym po wkroczeniu wojsk radzieckich na terytorium Polski [Agreement between the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) and the Government of the USSR on the relations between the Polish Administration and the Supreme Soviet Commander after the entry of Soviet troops into the territory of Poland]	26 July 1944		T ¹⁴	T
Porozumienie między PKWN a Rządem ZSRR o polsko-radzieckiej granicy państwowej [Agreement between the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) and the Government of the USSR on the Polish–Soviet state border]	27 July 1944		T	T
Umowa między PKWN i Rządem ZSRR odnośnie spraw finansowo - gospodarczych, związanych z pobytym wojsk sowieckich na terytorium Polski, jak również dotyczących polskich sił zbrojnych, formowanych na terytorium ZSRR [Agreement between the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) and the Government of the USSR regarding financial and economic matters related to the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of Poland, as well as concerning Polish armed forces formed on the territory of the USSR]	4 August 1944		T	T
Układ pomiędzy PKWN a Rządem Ukraińskiej Socjalistycznej Republiki Rad dotyczący ewakuacji obywateli polskich z terytorium U.S.R.R. i ludności ukraińskiej z terytorium Polski [Agreement between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic concerning the evacuation of Polish citizens from the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainian population from the territory of Poland]	9 September 1944			

¹³ All agreements should be published in the Journal of Laws (or other official journals). Here we refer mostly to “Dziennik Ustaw”, which in the text is labelled with the abbreviation “Dz.U.”; if we refer to another official journal, it is marked separately.

¹⁴ The following letter codes are used in the table: T – for agreements for which the source contains both information about the agreement and its text, and M – for agreements for which the source only contains a mention but not its text.

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Układ pomiędzy PKWN a Rządem Białoruskiej Socjalistycznej Republiki Rad dotyczący ewakuacji obywateli polskich z terytorium B.S.R.R. i ludności białoruskiej z terytorium Polski [Agreement between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic regarding the evacuation of Polish citizens from the territory of the Belarusian SSR and the Belarusian population from the territory of Poland]	9 September 1944			T
Układ pomiędzy PKWN a Rządem Litewskiej Socjalistycznej Republiki Rad dotyczący ewakuacji obywateli polskich z terytorium L.S.R.R. i ludności litewskiej z terytorium Polski [Agreement between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic regarding the evacuation of Polish citizens from the territory of the Lithuanian SSR and the Lithuanian population from the territory of Poland]	22 September 1944			
Porozumienie między PKWN i Rządem ZSRR w sprawie dostaw towarów i warunków rozliczeń [Agreement between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the USSR regarding the supply of goods and terms of settlement]	20 October 1944		T	T
Umowa między PKWN a Rządem ZSRR o trybie eksploatacji i zarządu kolejami Polskimi na czas wojny [Agreement between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the USSR on the mode of operation and management of Polish railways during wartime]	5 November 1944		T	T
Umowa o bezprocentowej pożyczce udzielonej Rządowi Tymczasowemu RP przez Rząd ZSRR [Agreement on interest-free loan granted to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland by the Government of the USSR]	9 April 1945			T
Układ o przyjaźni, pomocy wzajemnej i współpracy powojennej między RP i ZSRR [Treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the USSR]	21 April 1945	Dz.U. 1945.47.268	T	T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Rządem ZSRR o prawie zmiany obywatelstwa radzieckiego osób narodowości polskiej i żydowskiej, mieszkających w ZSRR i o ich ewakuacji do Polski i o prawie zmiany obywatelstwa polskiego osób narodowości rosyjskiej, ukraińskiej, białoruskiej, rusińskiej i litewskiej, mieszkających na terytorium Polski i o ich ewakuacji do ZSRR [Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the right to change the Soviet citizenship of persons of Polish and Jewish nationality living in the USSR and their evacuation to Poland, and on the right to change the Polish citizenship of persons of Russian, Ukrainian, Belarussian, Ruthenian and Lithuanian nationality living in the territory of Poland and their evacuation to the USSR]	6 July 1945		T	T
Umowa między Polskim Rządem Jedności Narodowej i Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów [Agreement between the Polish Government of National Unity and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods]	7 July 1945		T	T
Protokół do Umowy z dnia 7 lipca 1945 r. w sprawie wzajemnych dostaw towarów w 1952 roku [Protocol to the Agreement of 7 July 1945 regarding mutual supplies of goods in the year 1952]	7 July 1945		M	T
Umowa między Polskim Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej i Rządem ZSRR o przekazaniu Ministerstwu Komunikacji RP zarządu nad kolejami żelaznymi w Polsce [Agreement between the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and the Government of the USSR on transferring the management of railways in Poland to the Ministry of Communications of the Republic of Poland]	11 July 1945		T	T
Umowa między RP i ZSRR o polsko-radzieckiej granicy państwowej [Agreement between the Republic of Poland and the USSR on the Polish–Soviet state border]	16 August 1945	Dz.U. 1947.35.167	T	T
Umowa między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Rządem ZSRR w sprawie wynagrodzenia szkód wyrządzonych przez okupację niemiecką [Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding compensation for damages caused by the German occupation]	16 August 1945		T	T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Protokół do umowy między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Rządem ZSRR w sprawie wynagrodzenia szkód wyrządzonych przez okupację niemiecką [Protocol to the Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding compensation for damages caused by the German occupation]	16 August 1945		T	T
Umowa między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Rządem ZSRR o przekazaniu Polsce na rachunek reparacji parowozów należących do Związku Radzieckiego i znajdujących się na terytorium Polski [Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding the transfer to Poland as part of reparations of locomotives owned by the Soviet Union and located on the territory of Poland]	7 September 1945			T
Umowa między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Dowództwem Północnej Grupy Wojsk Armii Czerwonej w sprawie przekazania majątków poniemieckich na ziemiach zachodnich i północnych [Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Command of the Northern Group of Soviet Forces regarding the transfer of former German assets in the western and northern territories]	8 October 1945			T
Umowa między Ministerstwem Żeglugi i Handlu Zagranicznego RP i Komisariatem Ludowym Marynarki Wojennej ZSRR w sprawie robót ratowniczych i pogłębiarskich w portach polskich [Agreement between the Ministry of Shipping and Foreign Trade of the Republic of Poland and the People's Commissar of the Navy of the USSR regarding rescue and dredging works in Polish ports]	29 October 1945			T
Protokół dodatkowy do umowy z 6 lipca 1945 r. między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Rządem ZSRR w sprawie przedłużenia terminu zmiany obywatelstwa niektórych kategorii obywateli ZSRR i Polski [Additional Protocol to the Agreement of 6 July 1945 between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding the extension of the deadline for changing citizenship for certain categories of citizens of the USSR and Poland]	11 November 1945			T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Ministerstwem Komunikacji RP i Komisariatem Ludowym Komunikacji i Łączności ZSRR o polsko-radzieckiej bezpośredniej komunikacji kolejowej [Agreement between the Ministry of Communications of the Republic of Poland and the People's Commissar of Communications and Transportation of the USSR on Polish–Soviet direct railway communication]	23 November 1945		T	M
Protokół dodatkowy do porozumienia z 9 września 1944 r. pomiędzy PKWN a Rządem Białoruskiej Socjalistycznej Republiki Rad dotyczący ewakuacji obywateli polskich z terytorium B.S.R.R. i ludności białoruskiej z terytorium Polski [Additional Protocol to the Agreement of 9 September 1944 between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic regarding the evacuation of Polish citizens from the territory of the Belarusian SSR and the Belarusian population from the territory of Poland]	25 November 1945			T
Protokół uzupełniający do Układu z dnia 22 IX 1944 roku pomiędzy PKWN a Rządem Litewskiej Socjalistycznej Republiki Radzieckiej, dotyczącego ewakuacji obywateli polskich z terytorium Litewskiej SRR i ludności litewskiej z terytorium Polski [Supplementary Protocol to the Agreement of 22 September 1944 between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic regarding the evacuation of Polish citizens from the territory of the Lithuanian SSR and the Lithuanian population from the territory of Poland]	10 December 1945			
Protokół dodatkowy do układu z 9 IX 1944 r. w sprawie przesiedlenia Ukraińców z Polski i obywateli polskich z USRR podpisany w Warszawie [Additional Protocol to the Agreement of 9 September 1944 regarding the resettlement of Ukrainians from Poland and Polish citizens from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, signed in Warsaw]	14 December 1945			
Umowa handlowa między Ministerstwem Żeglugi i Handlu Zagranicznego RP a Zarządem Handlu Zagranicznego Administracji Wojskowej w Niemczech w sprawie wzajemnych dostaw towarów [Trade agreement between the Ministry of Shipping and Foreign Trade of the Republic of Poland and the Foreign Trade Administration Board of the Military Administration in Germany regarding mutual supplies of goods]	2 February 1946		M	

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Rządem ZSRR o dostawach zboża z ZSRR dla Polski na poczet umowy o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1946 r. [Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on grain supplies from the USSR to Poland as part of the agreement on mutual supplies of goods in 1946]	8 February 1946			T
Umowa między RP i ZSRR w sprawie nawiązania łączności pocztowej i telefoniczno-telegraficznej (+ Protokół końcowy) [Agreement between the Republic of Poland and the USSR regarding the establishment of postal and telegraph/telephone communication (+ Final Protocol)]	20 March 1946		M	T
Umowa między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP a Rządem ZSRR o organizacji komunikacji lotniczej (+ Protokół + Protokół dodatkowy) [Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the organization of air communication (+ Protocol + Additional Protocol)]	21 March 1946		T	T
Umowa między Ministerstwem Komunikacji RP i Ministerstwem Łączności ZSRR w sprawie udzielenia Polsce pomocy w odbudowie zniszczonych środków łączności na kolejach polskich [Agreement between the Ministry of Communications of the Republic of Poland and the Ministry of Communications of the USSR regarding assistance to Poland in the reconstruction of destroyed communication facilities on Polish railways]	22 March 1946			T
Umowa między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów [Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods]	12 April 1946		T	T
Protokół dodatkowy do umowy o dostawach towarów i warunkach rozrachunków między PKWN a Rządem ZSRR [Additional Protocol to the Agreement on the supply of goods and settlement terms between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the Government of the USSR]	12 April 1946		M	

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Rządem RP i Rządem ZSRR w sprawie pożyczki udzielonej Polsce przez ZSRR [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding the loan granted to Poland by the USSR]	18 September 1946			T
Umowa między Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej RP i Rządem ZSRR o dostawie 100 tys. ton zboża ze Związku Radzieckiego do Polski [Agreement between the Provisional Government of National Unity of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the delivery of 100,000 tonnes of grain from the Soviet Union to Poland]	12 October 1946		M	T
Umowa między Rządem RP i Rządem ZSRR o przekazaniu RP części statków byłej niemieckiej morskiej floty handlowej [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the transfer of part of the former German merchant marine fleet to Poland]	5 March 1947		T	
Porozumienie między Rządem RP i Rządem ZSRR o współpracy naukowo-technicznej [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on scientific and technical cooperation]	5 March 1947		T	T
Protokół do Umowy z 16 August 1945 w sprawie wynagrodzenia szkód wyrządzonych przez okupację niemiecką w Polsce [Protocol to the agreement of 16 August 1945 regarding compensation for damages caused by the German occupation in Poland]	5 March 1947		T	
Umowa między Rządem RP i Rządem ZSRR w sprawie wyrównania należności za zboże dostarczone dla Polski [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding the settlement of liabilities for grain supplied to Poland]	5 March 1947			T
Protokół dotyczący pretensji do Umowy Handlowej z dnia 2.02.1946 r. [Protocol regarding claims to the Trade Agreement of 2 February 1946]	2 July 1947		M	
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie wzajemnych dostawach towarów w okresie 1 IV 1947 - 31 III 1948 [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period from 1 April 1947 to 31 March 1948]	4 August 1947			T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o dostawie 300 000 ton zboża radzieckiego do Polski [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the delivery of 300,000 tonnes of Soviet grain to Poland]	29 August 1947			T
Porozumienie między Rządem RP i Rządem ZSRR o przekazaniu władzom polskim portu w Szczecinie [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the transfer of the port of Szczecin to Polish authorities]	17 September 1947		T	
Umowa w sprawie wymiany paczek pocztowych między RP a ZSRR [Agreement on the exchange of postal parcels between the Republic of Poland and the USSR]	1 October 1947	Dz.Urz. Min. Poczty i Telegrafów z 1947.20.49 ¹⁵	T	T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w okresie lat 1948-1952 [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period 1948–1952]	26 January 1948		T	T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o dostawach do Polski sprzętu przemysłowego na kredyt [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the supply of industrial equipment to Poland on credit]	26 January 1948			T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o dostawie 200 000 ton zboża z ZSRR do Polski [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the delivery of 200,000 tonnes of grain from the USSR to Poland]	26 January 1948			T
Konwencja między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie kwarantanny i ochrony roślin uprawnych przed szkodnikami i chorobami [Convention between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding quarantine and the protection of cultivated plants from pests and diseases]	8 April 1948	Dz.U. 1949.2.4	T	T
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1948 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in the year 1948]	13 May 1948		M	T

¹⁵ Instead of “Dziennik Ustaw”, this agreement was published in the Official Journal of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs.

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Rządem RP i Rządem ZSRR o studiach obywateli RP w wyższych cywilnych uczelniach ZSRR i o ich utrzymaniu [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the studies of citizens of the Republic of Poland at higher civilian educational institutions in the USSR and their maintenance]	28 May 1948		T	T
Konwencja między Rządem RP i Rządem ZSRR o sposobie regulowania konfliktów granicznych i incydentów (+ Protokół) [Convention between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the method of settling border conflicts and incidents (+ Protocol)]	8 July 1948	Dz.U. 1949.43.325	T	T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o stosunkach prawnych na polsko-radzieckiej granicy państwowej [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on legal relations at the Polish-Soviet state border]	8 July 1948	Dz.U. 1949.43.323	T	T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnym dostarczeniu środków pieniężnych na utrzymanie przedstawicielstw dyplomatycznych i inne wydatki niehandlowe w latach 1948-1949 [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the mutual provision of funds for the maintenance of diplomatic missions and other non-trade expenses in the years 1948-1949]	16 November 1948		M	
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1949 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in the year 1949]	15 January 1949		M	T
Protokół dodatkowy do Umowy między Rządem RP i Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w okresie lat 1948-1952 z dnia 26 January 1948 [Additional Protocol to the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period of 1948-1952, dated 26 January 1948]	15 January 1949		M	
Protokół w sprawie zakończenia rozliczeń z Umowy Handlowej zawartej między Rządem RP a Sowietką Wojskową Administracją w Niemczech z dnia 2.02.1946 [Protocol regarding the conclusion of settlements from the Trade Agreement concluded between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Soviet Military Administration in Germany on 2 February 1946]	26 February 1949		M	

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Protokół do umowy polsko-radzieckiej z 26 stycznia 1948 o dostawach do Polski sprzętu przemysłowego na kredyt [Protocol to the Polish–Soviet agreement of 26 January 1948 regarding the supply of industrial equipment to Poland on credit]	30 May 1949			T
Porozumienie między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o współpracy w sprawach celnych [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on cooperation in customs matters]	8 June 1949		M	
Protokół do umowy polsko-radzieckiej z 29 czerwca 1949 r. w sprawie dostaw towarów od 1 lipca 1949 do 30 czerwca 1950 r. [Protocol to the Polish–Soviet Agreement of 29 June 1949 regarding the supply of goods from 1 July 1949 to 30 June 1950]	29 June 1949			T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie udzielenia Polsce kredytu towarowego [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding the provision of trade credit to Poland]	5 September 1949			T
Umowa między Polskim Radio i Komitetem Informacji Radiowej przy Radzie Ministrów ZSRR o współpracy wzajemnej [Agreement between Polish Radio and the Committee of Radio Information at the Council of Ministers of the USSR on mutual cooperation]	22 October 1949			T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o trybie kompensacji wydatków na utrzymanie i kształcenie żołnierzy Armii Polskiej w wojskowych zakładach naukowych ZSRR [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the procedure for compensating for expenses for the maintenance and education of soldiers of the Polish Army in military scientific institutions of the USSR]	14 December 1949			T
Protokół do umowy polsko-radzieckiej z 26 stycznia 1948 r. o dostawach do Polski sprzętu przemysłowego na kredyt [Protocol to the Polish–Soviet Agreement of 26 January 1948 regarding the supply of industrial equipment to Poland on credit]	17 December 1949			T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o warunkach odbywania przez polskich specjalistów produkcyjno-technicznej praktyki w ZSRR [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the conditions for Polish specialists to undertake production and technical training in the USSR]	25 January 1950			T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Protokół o zmianie warunków opłaty specjalistów radzieckich delegowanych do Polski dla udzielenia pomocy technicznej [Protocol on the amendment of the terms of payment for Soviet specialists delegated to Poland to provide technical assistance]	25 January 1950			T
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1950 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in the year 1950]	25 January 1950		M	T
Protokół w sprawie częściowego pokrycia kredytu i pożyczek udzielonych Polsce na mocy umów z 26 stycznia 1948, 18 września 1946 i 9 kwietnia 1945 r. [Protocol regarding partial coverage of loans granted to Poland under agreements dated 26 January 1948, 18 September 1946 and 9 April 1945]	25 April 1950			T
Protokół do umowy między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR z 26 stycznia 1948 r. o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w latach 1948-1952 [Protocol to the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR dated 26 January 1948 regarding mutual supplies of goods in the period 1948-1952]	24 June 1950			T
Protokół do umowy z 26 stycznia 1948 r. między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w latach 1948-1952 [Protocol to the agreement of 26 January 1948 between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR regarding mutual supplies of goods in the period 1948-1952]	29 June 1950			T
Protokół o kolejnych płatnościach na spłatę kredytów udzielonych przez Rząd ZSRR Rządowi RP [Protocol on subsequent payments towards repayment of loans granted by the Government of the USSR to the Government of the Republic of Poland]	29 June 1950		M	
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w okresie 1953-1958 [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period 1953-1958]	29 June 1950		T	T
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o dostawach do Polski sprzętu przemysłowego na kredyt w latach 1951-1958 [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the supply of industrial equipment to Poland on credit for the years 1951-1958]	29 June 1950		M	T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Porozumienie o delegowaniu radzieckich specjalistów do pracy w instytucjach, organizacjach i przedsiębiorstwach Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej oraz o warunkach ich wynagradzania [Agreement on the delegation of Soviet specialists to work in institutions, organizations and enterprises of the Republic of Poland, as well as on the conditions of their remuneration]	8 August 1950		M	M
Umowa pomiędzy RP a ZSRR o zamianie odcinków terytoriów państwowych (+ protokół) [Agreement between the Republic of Poland and the USSR on the exchange of sections of state territories (+ protocol)]	15 February 1951	Dz.U. 1952 No- vember 63	T	T
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1951 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in the year 1951]	9 March 1951		M	T
Protokół pomiędzy Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o wprowadzeniu zmian do Umowy o stosunkach prawnych na polsko-radzieckiej granicy państwowej oraz do Konwencji o sposobie regulowania konfliktów granicznych i incydentów, podpisanych w Moskwie dnia 8 lipca 1948 roku [Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on amendments to the Agreement on legal relations at the Polish–Soviet state border and to the Convention on the method of settling border conflicts and incidents, signed in Moscow on 8 July 1948]	8 December 1951	Dz.U. 1952.23.145	T	
Protokół o dodatkowych wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1952 roku [Protocol on additional mutual supplies of goods in the year 1952]	29 February 1952		M	T
Protokół dodatkowy do Porozumienia z 17 September 1947 między Rządami RP a ZSRR o przekazaniu władzom polskim portu w Szczecinie [Additional Protocol to the Agreement of 17 September 1947 between the Governments of the Republic of Poland and the USSR on transferring the authority over the port of Szczecin to Polish authorities]	28 March 1952		T	
Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie budowy gmachu wysokościowego - Pałacu Kultury i Nauki w Warszawie [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the construction of a high-rise building – the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw]	5 April 1952			T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Ministerstwem Kolei RP i Ministerstwem Komunikacji ZSRR o utrzymaniu i obsłudze mostów kolejowych położonych na polsko-radzieckiej granicy państwowej [Agreement between the Ministry of Railways of the Republic of Poland and the Ministry of Communications of the USSR on the maintenance and servicing of railway bridges located on the Polish–Soviet state border]	10 May 1952			T
Porozumienie między Rządem RP a Rządem ZSRR o studiach obywateli RP na wyższych cywilnych uczelniach w ZSRR [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the USSR on the studies of citizens of the Republic of Poland at higher civilian educational institutions in the USSR]	19 May 1952		T	T
Umowa między Rządem RP z jednej strony a Rządem ZSRR, Rządem Ukraińskiej Socjalistycznej Republiki Radzieckiej, Rządem Białoruskiej Socjalistycznej Republiki Radzieckiej i Rządem Litewskiej Socjalistycznej Republiki Radzieckiej z drugiej strony o wzajemnych rozliczeniach wynikłych w związku z ewakuacją ludności i delimitacją polsko-radzieckiej granicy państwowej [Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland on one side and the Government of the USSR, the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Government of the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Government of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic on the other side on mutual settlements arising from the evacuation of the population and delimitation of the Polish–Soviet state border]	21 July 1952		T	
Protokół w sprawie dostawy przez ZSRR do Polski w latach 1953–1955 sprzętu dla fabryk związków azotowych oraz kwasu siarkowego i cementu [Protocol on the USSR supplying Poland with equipment for factories of nitrogen compounds, sulfuric acid and cement in 1953–1955]	4 August 1952			T
Protokół do Umów z dnia 26 January 1949 i z dnia 29 June 1950 o dostawach do Polski sprzętu przemysłowego na kredyt (Protokół o przekazaniu Polsce przez ZSRR dokumentacji technicznej i rysunków roboczych i o dostawach urządzeń do hut) [Protocol to the Agreements of 26 January 1949 and 29 June 1950 regarding the supply of industrial equipment to Poland on credit (Protocol on the transfer of technical documentation and working drawings to Poland by the USSR and on the supply of equipment for steelworks)]	7 August 1952		M	T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Protokół o kolejnych płatnościach na spłatę kredytów udzielonych przez Rząd ZSRR Rządowi PRL [Protocol on subsequent payments for the repayment of credits granted by the Government of the USSR to the Government of the PRL]	1 April 1953		M	
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1953 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in the year 1953]	22 April 1953		M	T
Protokół o wprowadzeniu częściowych zmian do Umów o dostawach do Polski sprzętu przemysłowego na kredyt z dnia 26 January 1948 i 29 June 1950 [Protocol on the introduction of partial changes to the Agreements on the supply of industrial equipment to Poland on credit dated 26 January 1948 and 29 June 1950]	28 August 1953		M	T
Protokół dodatkowy do porozumienia o współpracy między Komitetem do spraw Radia przy Radzie Ministrów ZSRR i Polskim Radiem z dnia 22 października 1949 r. [Additional Protocol to the Agreement on cooperation between the Radio Committee under the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Polish Radio dated 22 October 1949]	5 September 1953			T
Porozumienie w formie wymiany not w sprawie porządku obsługiwaniania i zaopatrywania w porcie Murmańsk polskich statków rybackich prowadzących połowy na morzu Barentsa [Agreement in the form of exchanging notes regarding the order of servicing and supplying Polish fishing vessels operating in the Barents Sea at the port of Murmansk]	10 October 1953		T	T
Protokół o wygaśnięciu Umowy między Polskim Tymczasowym Rządem Jedności Narodowej i Rządem ZSRR o wynagrodzeniu szkód wyrządzonych przez okupację niemiecką z dnia 16 August 1945 i Protokołu do tej umowy z dnia 05 March 1947 [Protocol on the expiration of the Agreement between the Polish Temporary Government of National Unity and the Government of the USSR regarding compensation for damages caused by the German occupation dated 16 August 1945 and the Protocol to this Agreement dated 5 March 1947]	25 November 1953		T	

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa pomiędzy MON PRL a Ambasadą ZSRR w sprawie przekazania przez MON PRL i przejęcie przez Ambasadę ZSRR w PRL w bezterminowe i nieodpłatne użytkowanie szkoły średniej [Agreement between the Ministry of National Defence of the PRL and the Embassy of the USSR regarding the transfer by the Ministry of National Defence of the PRL and the assumption by the Embassy of the USSR in the PRL of indefinite and gratuitous use of a secondary school]	15 December 1953		T	
Protokół dotyczący Umów o dostawach do Polski sprzętu przemysłowego na kredyt z dnia 26 January 1948 i 29 June 1950 [Protocol concerning the Agreements on the supply of industrial equipment to Poland on credit dated 26 January 1948 and 29 June 1950]	18 December 1953		M	T
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1954 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in the year 1954]	11 February 1954			T
Protokół o dostawie do Polski 100 tys. ton pszenicy w pierwszym półroczu 1954 [Protocol on the delivery of 100,000 tonnes of wheat to Poland in the first half of 1954]	11 February 1954			T
Protokół dotyczący „Przepisów o przewozach wojskowych dla wojsk radzieckich na kolejach PRL” [Protocol regarding the “Regulations on military transportation for Soviet Forces on the railways of the PRL”]	17 April 1954		T	
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o dostawach statków z Polski do ZSRR w latach 1956-1960 [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on the supply of ships from Poland to the USSR in the period 1956–1960]	23 September 1954		M	T
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o ustanowieniu regularnej komunikacji lotniczej między Polską a ZSRR (+ Protokół) [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on establishing regular air communication between Poland and the USSR (+ Protocol)]	18 February 1955		T	T
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1955 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in the year 1955]	25 February 1955			T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Porozumienie w sprawie udzielenia przez ZSRR pomocy PRL w zakresie rozwoju badań w dziedzinie fizyki jądra atomowego i wykorzystania energii atomowej dla potrzeb gospodarki narodowej [Agreement on the provision of assistance by the USSR to the PRL in the development of research in the field of nuclear physics and the use of atomic energy for the needs of the national economy]	23 April 1955		T	T
Protokół o nieodpłatnym przekazaniu przez rząd ZSRR rządowi PRL Pałacu Kultury i Nauki w Warszawie [Protocol on the gratuitous transfer by the Government of the USSR to the Government of the PRL of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw]	21 July 1955		M	T
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1956 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in the year 1956]	8 February 1956			T
Umowa o utworzeniu Zjednoczonego Instytutu Badań Jądrowych, podpisana w Moskwie 26 marca 1956 r. [Agreement on the establishment of the United Institute for Nuclear Research, signed in Moscow on 26 March 1956]	26 March 1956			T
Umowa o współpracy kulturalnej między PRL a ZSRR [Agreement on cultural cooperation between the PRL and the USSR]	30 June 1956	Dz.U. 1957.16.83	M	T
Umowa w sprawie udzielenia Polsce przez ZSRR pomocy technicznej w budowie zakładów przemysłowych [Agreement on the provision of technical assistance by the USSR to Poland in the construction of industrial plants]	11 July 1956			T
Umowa w sprawie udzielenia Polsce przez ZSRR pomocy technicznej w rozbudowie kombinatu „Huta im. Lenina” [Agreement on the provision of technical assistance by the USSR to Poland in the expansion of the Lenin Steelworks complex]	11 July 1956			T
Protokół w sprawie przekazania przez władze radzieckie rządowi PRL dzieł malarstwa, grafiki, rzeźby i sztuki użytkowej pochodzących z polskich muzeów [Protocol regarding the transfer by Soviet authorities to the government of the PRL of paintings, graphics, sculptures and applied art originating from Polish museums]	3 September 1956			T
Protokół w sprawie udzielenia Polsce pomocy gospodarczej przez Związek Radziecki [Protocol on the Soviet Union providing economic assistance to Poland]	18 September 1956			M

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o współpracy w budowie zakładów produkcji betonu komórkowego w ZSRR [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on cooperation in the construction of aerated concrete production plants in the USSR]	11 October 1956			T
Porozumienie między Rządem PRL a Rządem NRD i Rządem ZSRR o współpracy w dziedzinie ratowania życia ludzkiego oraz niesienia pomocy statkom morskim i powietrznym potrzebującym pomocy lub ratunku na Morzu Bałtyckim. Protokół między Służbami Ratowniczymi PRL, NRD i ZSRR o utrzymywaniu łączności w związku z ratowaniem życia ludzkiego oraz niesieniem pomocy statkom morskim i powietrznym, potrzebującym pomocy lub ratunku na Morzu Bałtyckim [Agreement between the Government of the PRL, the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the USSR on cooperation in the field of saving human lives and providing assistance to ships and aircraft in need of assistance or rescue in the Baltic Sea. Protocol between the Rescue Services of the PRL, the GDR and the USSR on maintaining communication in connection with saving human lives and providing assistance to ships and aircraft in need of assistance or rescue in the Baltic Sea]	12 December 1956		T	T
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o statusie prawnym wojsk radzieckich czasowo stacjonowanych w Polsce [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on the legal status of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Poland]	17 December 1956	Dz.U. 1957.29.127	T	T
Porozumienie o współpracy kulturalnej w 1957 roku [Agreement on cultural cooperation in 1957]	6 February 1957			M
Umowa między PRL a ZSRR o wytyczeniu istniejącej polsko-radzieckiej granicy państwowej w części przylegającej do Morza Bałtyckiego [Agreement between the PRL and the USSR on delineating the existing Polish–Soviet state border in the part adjacent to the Baltic Sea]	5 March 1957	Dz.U. 1958.76.386	T	T
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie terminu i trybu dalszej repatriacji z ZSRR osób narodowości polskiej [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR regarding the timing and procedure for further repatriation from the USSR of persons of Polish nationality]	25 March 1957	Dz.U. 1957.47.222	T	T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Protokół o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w 1957 roku [Protocol on mutual supplies of goods in 1957]	9 April 1957			T
Protokół między PRL, ZSRR i NRD w sprawie rozszerzenia udziału transportu morskiego i przewozu ładunków na drogach wewnętrznych [Protocol between the PRL, the USSR and the GDR regarding the expansion of maritime transport participation and cargo transportation on internal roads]	22 May 1957			M
Umowa o współpracy w dziedzinie radiofonii między Polskim Radio a Komitetem Informacji Radiowej przy Radzie Ministrów ZSRR [Agreement on cooperation in the field of radio broadcasting between Polish Radio and the Committee for Radio Information under the Council of Ministers of the USSR]	22 June 1957		M	T
Protokół dodatkowy do porozumienia o współpracy między Polskim Radio a Komitetem Informacji Radiowej przy Radzie Ministrów ZSRR [Additional Protocol to the Agreement on cooperation between Polish Radio and the Committee for Radio Information under the Council of Ministers of the USSR]	22 June 1957			T
Porozumienie między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnej wymianie studentów i aspirantów wyższych cywilnych uczelni i osób kierowanych na specjalizacje naukowe [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on mutual exchange of students and aspirants of civilian higher educational institutions and individuals following scientific specialisations]	23 August 1957		T	T
Porozumienie między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnej pomocy prawnej w sprawach związanych z czasowym stacjonowaniem wojsk radzieckich w Polsce [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on mutual legal assistance in matters related to the temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Poland]	26 October 1957	Dz.U. 1958.37.167	T	
Umowa o naukowej współpracy między Polską Akademią Nauk i Akademią Nauk ZSRR [Agreement on scientific cooperation between the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR]	21 December 1957		T	T
Umowa między PRL a ZSRR o pomocy prawnej i stosunkach prawnych w sprawach cywilnych, rodzinnych i karnych [Agreement between the PRL and the USSR on legal assistance and legal relations in civil, family and criminal matters]	28 December 1957	Dz.U. 1958.32.147	T	T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Konwencja konsularna między PRL a ZSRR [Consular Convention between the PRL and the USSR]	21 January 1958	Dz.U. 1958.32.145	T	T
Konwencja w sprawie uregulowania obywatelstwa osób o podwójnym obywatelstwie [Convention on the regulation of citizenship for persons with dual citizenship]	21 January 1958	Dz.U. 1958.32.143		T
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów na lata 1958-1960 [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period 1958-1960]	4 February 1958		T	T
Protokół nr 1 do umowy między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów na lata 1958-1960 [Protocol No. 1 to the Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on mutual deliveries of goods for the period 1958-1960]	4 February 1958			T
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o warunkach delegowania polskich specjalistów do ZSRR oraz radzieckich specjalistów do PRL w celu udzielania pomocy technicznej oraz innych usług [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on the conditions for the delegation of Polish specialists to the USSR and Soviet specialists to the PRL for the purpose of providing technical assistance and other services]	5 February 1958		T	
Protokół pomiędzy Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o rozgraniczeniu polskich i radzieckich wód terytorialnych w Zatoce Gdańskiej Morza Bałtyckiego [Protocol between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on the delimitation of Polish and Soviet territorial waters in the Gdańsk Bay of the Baltic Sea]	18 March 1958	Dz.U. 1958.76.386	T	T
Protokół z rokowań między Rządową Delegacją PRL a Rządową Delegacją ZSRR w sprawie wzajemnych dostaw podstawowych towarów w latach 1961-1965 [Protocol of the negotiations between the Government Delegation of the PRL and the Government Delegation of the USSR regarding mutual supplies of basic goods for the period 1961-1965]	9 April 1958		T	M
Porozumienie między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o trybie i warunkach korzystania przez wojska radzieckie czasowo stacjonowane w Polsce z różnego rodzaju obiektów i usług [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on the procedures and conditions for the use of various facilities and services by temporarily stationed Soviet troops in Poland]	18 June 1958		M	

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Protokół między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie wprowadzenia w życie Przepisów o wojskowych przewozach na kolejach PRL dla wojsk radzieckich czasowo stacjonowanych w Polsce [Protocol between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR regarding the implementation of the Regulations on Military Transport on the Railways of the PRL for the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Poland]	18 June 1958		M	
Protokół w sprawie dodatkowych wzajemnych dostaw podstawowych towarów PRL i ZSRR w latach 1961-65 ponad dostawy towarów przewidzianych w Protokole z 09 April 1958 [Protocol regarding additional mutual supplies of basic goods between the PRL and the USSR for 1961–1965, in addition to the supplies of goods provided for in the Protocol of 9 April 1958]	1 August 1958		T	
Protokół w sprawie dodatkowych wzajemnych dostaw towarów między PRL a ZSRR na rok 1958 [Protocol regarding additional mutual supplies of goods between the PRL and the USSR for the year 1958]	5 August 1958			T
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie udzielenia Polsce przez Związek Radziecki pomocy technicznej przy budowie zakładu przeróbki ropy naftowej [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on the provision of technical assistance by the Soviet Union to Poland in the construction of an oil refinery]	23 August 1958			T
Protokół nr 2 do umowy między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów na lata 1958-1960 [Protocol No. 2 to the Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period 1958-1960]	21 November 1958			T
Protokół w sprawie przekazania Polsce przez rząd ZSRR radzieckiej stacji naukowo-badawczej Oaza na Antarktydzie [Protocol on the transfer of the Soviet scientific research station Oaza in Antarctica to Poland by the Government of the USSR]	21 December 1958		M	T
Plan współpracy kulturalnej i naukowej między PRL a ZSRR na rok 1959 [Plan of cultural and scientific cooperation between the PRL and the USSR for the year 1959]	26 January 1959			M

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o udzieleniu przez ZSRR pomocy technicznej PRL w rozwoju przemysłu naftowego, gazowego oraz kopalnictwa rud miedzi [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on the provision of technical assistance by the USSR to the PRL in the development of the oil, gas and copper mining industries]	3 March 1959		T	T
Porozumienie między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie współdziałania przy budowie linii kablowej w Polsce [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on cooperation in the construction of a cable line in Poland]	3 April 1959			M
Protokół w sprawie dodatkowych dostaw towarów z PRL do ZSRR w roku 1959 [Protocol on additional supplies of goods from the PRL to the USSR in 1959]	6 May 1959			T
Protokół nr 3 do umowy między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów na lata 1958-1960 [Protocol No. 3 to the Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period 1958-1960]	6 November 1959			T
Umowa między rządami PRL, ZSRR i NRD w sprawie budowy dalekosiężnego rurociągu ze Związku Radzieckiego do Polski i Niemieckiej Republiki Demokratycznej [Agreement between the Governments of the PRL, the USSR and the GDR regarding the construction of a long-distance pipeline from the Soviet Union to Poland and the German Democratic Republic]	18 December 1959			T
Plan współpracy kulturalnej i naukowej między PRL a ZSRR na rok 1960 [Plan of cultural and scientific cooperation between the PRL and the USSR for the year 1960]	11 January 1960			M
Porozumienie między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o współpracy w sprawach celnych [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on customs cooperation]	19 February 1960		T	T
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów w latach 1961-1965 [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period 1961-1965]	10 March 1960		T	T

Title	Date	Publication in Official Journal ¹³	ITB MFA	D & M
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR w sprawie udzielenia przez ZSRR PRL pomocy technicznej w budowie zakładów przemysłowych [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on the Provision of technical assistance by the USSR to the PRL in the construction of industrial plants]	10 March 1960		T	T
Umowa między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o zwiększeniu dostaw gazu ziemnego z ZSRR do Polski [Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on increasing natural gas supplies from the USSR to Poland]	29 September 1960			T
Umowa między PRL, ZSRR i NRD o żegludze towarowej na wodach wewnętrznych [Agreement between the PRL, the USSR and the GDR on inland waterway freight shipping]	28 November 1960			M
Protokół nr 1 do umowy między Rządem PRL a Rządem ZSRR o wzajemnych dostawach towarów na lata 1961-1965 [Protocol No. 1 to the Agreement between the Government of the PRL and the Government of the USSR on mutual supplies of goods for the period 1961–1965]	3 December 1960			T

4. QUANTITATIVE STUDY

As can be observed, information was found during the research on 147 bilateral agreements between Poland and the Soviet Union between 1944 and 1960. This does not mean that there were no other international agreements; the study is limited to those documents which were found in the research. As we indicated above, there is no complete and exhaustive register of all international agreements concluded by Poland. Even the ITB MFA does not offer a comprehensive set of international agreements, even though one would suppose that it is the only ministry with access to all of them.

Out of the 147 agreements covered by the study:

- only 16 agreements were published in the Journal of Laws¹⁶ (this constitutes less than 11% of those covered by the study)
- 54 were available in the ITB MFA in the form of both a mention and a text (slightly over 36%), and an additional 30 are mentioned in the

¹⁶ One agreement was published in the Official Journal of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, which was obviously inconsistent with the applicable regulations.

database but without a text (this gives a total of 57% of the agreements covered by the study)

- 109 agreements were published in the publication “Documents and Materials on the History of Polish–Soviet Relations” (slightly over 74%), and an additional 10 were mentioned in this publication (yielding a total of almost 81% of the agreements covered by the study).

The research indicates that currently there is no complete source of information on bilateral agreements concluded between Poland and the USSR in the period 1944–1960. Considering that the number of agreements published in the *Journal of Laws* is certain, and that the number of all bilateral agreements concluded with the USSR in the study period was likely higher than we were able to determine, it can be estimated that in the period in question at most 11% of bilateral agreements concluded between Poland and the USSR were published in the manner prescribed by the applicable regulations.

5. RESULTS OF THE LACK OF PUBLICATION

The research indicates that the obligation to publish international agreements in the appropriate official journal was systemically violated during the study period. Negligence in this area largely exists to this day. There are also no official registers or catalogues from which complete information about international agreements can be obtained. In domestic law, such negligence may be assessed as a breach of duty by the government administration. This means that neither citizens nor courts and other bodies applying and creating law are able to properly reproduce the applicable legal status, and that the rights under these agreements cannot be effectively invoked.

The same was true with regard to the rights concerning property left behind by persons displaced under the so-called “republican agreements”, i.e. three agreements between the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) and the Governments of the Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republics on the evacuation of Polish citizens from the territory of the USSR in September 1944. These agreements were never published in the *Polish Journal of Laws*, and for decades interested parties were deprived of the possibility of pursuing claims arising from them. As early as 1961, the Supreme Court stated that “[t]he Agreement between the Government of Poland and the Governments of the Ukrainian SSR and the Belarusian SSR on granting to repatriates who left their property on the territory of these Soviet Republics an appropriate equivalent in Poland, and which

the appellant refers to, cannot constitute a source of the claimant's subjective rights, since this agreement was neither ratified nor published in Poland."¹⁷

When, 40 years later, the case came before the Polish Constitutional Tribunal, it ruled that "neither the so-called republican agreements nor subsequent unpublished international agreements on the consequences of border changes create per se a basis for the emergence – on the part of persons subject to repatriation – of a subjective right to compensation" precisely because "both in the period preceding the adoption of the 1952 Constitution (1944–1952), in which the provisions of the 1921 March Constitution applied in this respect, and in the period of the 1952 Constitution, finally against the background of the constitutional provisions after 1989 and the new Constitution of 1997, the minimum basis for the application in internal relations of the norms contained in international agreements was their ratification and publication in the Journal of Laws."¹⁸

At the international level, the consequences of failing to publish an act and to ensure official promulgation can be much more serious. In the absence of information about published agreements, it is not possible to sufficiently and completely determine the obligations between states nor to reconstruct the relations binding them. It is also impossible to clearly determine which international agreements are still in force between countries, which are invalid and which have expired. These are key issues in the event of disasters or other incidents in which existing obligations must be immediately reconstructed, as clearly reflected in the example of the Smolensk catastrophe and the existing but unpublished 1993 agreement.

CONCLUSIONS

The Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties,¹⁹ to which Poland joined only in 1990, states directly in the preamble that "principles of free consent and of good faith and the *pacta sunt servanda* rule are universally recognized", confirming that a state which has entered into the agreement will perform it in good faith, and therefore will also effectively publish it. The Convention also mentions the registration and publication of treaties (Art. 80), pointing out that "[t]reaties shall, after their entry into force, be transmitted to the Secretariat of the United Nations for registration or filing and recording, as the case may be, and for publication." The obligation to register the agreement with the United Nations and its simultaneous publication

¹⁷ Polish Supreme Court, Decision of 12 July 1961, II CZ 70/61.

¹⁸ Polish Constitutional Tribunal, judgment of 19 December 2002, K 33/02. For more, see Frankowska, *supra* note 8, pp. 543 et seq.

¹⁹ Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (signed 23 May 1969, entered into force 27 January 1980), 1155 UNTS 331.

in an official national publication strengthens the chances for properly reproducing the state's obligations as they currently stand. It is therefore necessary to recommend a radical change in the current practice and an attempt to supplement the existing databases as well as the publication of all "overdue" international agreements (even departmental ones). Exceptions to the principle of general publication could apply to contracts with confidentiality clauses alone, although the authors support the general publication and therefore openness of all international agreements. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should also, as much as possible, supplement the ITB MFA or rebuild it into a tool that will allow for efficient reconstruction of the scope of international agreements binding on Poland. The research – conducted on a very limited subject: only bilateral agreements between Poland and the USSR – leads to the pessimistic conclusion that in Poland it is customary practice to refrain from publishing an international agreement in the Journal of Laws and that citizens do not have at their disposal a single official or unofficial source to reconstruct Poland's current obligations, which may indeed directly concern them.

The Agreement on the principles of mutual air traffic of military aircraft of the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation in the airspace of both states, drawn up in Moscow on 14 December 1993, has not been published in any official journal to date.