

УДК (UDC) 94 : 327 [477+4+5] “1920/1939”
DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2023.1\(41\).628](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2023.1(41).628)

FOREIGN CONSULATES IN ODESA (1920s – 1930s)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the research paper is to highlight the history of repatriation missions and consular institutions of Poland, Albania, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Japan and Spain in Odesa during 1922-1938, analysis of the main areas of activity within the consular district and the consular staff's characteristics.

The scientific novelty. The general picture of the foreign diplomatic presence in Odesa, represented by the repatriation missions of Turkey, Albania and Poland, as well as five consulates, has been reconstructed. Their personnel composition and key areas of activity are shown.

Conclusions. With the creation of Soviet Ukraine, Odesa continued to remain a strategically important city for both European and Asian countries, which, having restored diplomatic and consular relations with the USSR, opened their consulates here. During the 1920s and 1930s, the repatriation missions of Poland, Albania, and Turkey operated in the city first (during 1922-1925), and later the consular offices of three European countries – Germany, Italy, Spain, and two Asian countries – Turkey and Japan. The foreign consular institutions' diplomatic staff consisted exclusively of representatives of the countries they represented and were career diplomats. In turn, among the representatives of the administrative and technical staff were citizens of these countries and Soviet Ukraine, and the service staff consisted with local residents.

Since its establishment, foreign consular representatives have contributed to the development of trade, economic, cultural and scientific relations of their countries with the UkrSSR. Important spheres of consulates' activity were protection of the citizens' interests of their countries, organization of material assistance for them and promotion of their departure to their homeland. In the process of gathering information about the socio-political situation in the USSR, the consuls recorded the unfolding of the Holodomor, pointing out its culprits, noted the negative consequences of collectivization and industrialization, etc.

But, despite the constantly emphasized friendship in relations between the USSR and the countries listed above, their consulates and employees found themselves under the Soviet special services close supervision, which considered any consulates representatives' actions as espionage. In order to be fully effective, the special services recruited representatives from both consulate employees and persons who were in contact with the consul. And after the consulates were closed, they began the process of “cleaning” them. In 1937-1938, the USSR's relations with Italy, Germany, Turkey, Japan, and Spain became strained, which led to the closure of the consular network in Odesa.

Keywords: consul, consulate, mission, Odesa, Poland, Albania, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Japan, Spain, UkrSSR

ІНОЗЕМНІ КОНСУЛЬСТВА В ОДЕСІ (1920-1930-х рр.)

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АНОТАЦІЯ

Мета статті полягає у висвітленні історії репатріаційних місій і консульських установ Польщі, Албанії, Німеччини, Італії, Туреччини, Японії та Іспанії в Одесі упродовж 1922-1938 рр., аналіз основних напрямків діяльності в межах консульського округу та характеристика консульського персоналу.

Наукова новизна. Реконструйовано загальну картину іноземної дипломатичної присутності в Одесі, що була представлена репатріаційними місіями Туреччини, Албанії та Польщі, а також п'ятьма консульствами. Показано їх кадровий склад і ключові напрями діяльності.

Висновки. Зі створенням радянської України Одеса й надалі продовжила залишатися стратегічно важливим містом як для європейських, так і азійських країн, які відновивши дипломатичні та консульські відносини з СРСР, відкривають тут свої консульства. Упродовж 1920-30-х рр. в місті діяли спочатку (протягом 1922-1925 рр.) репатріаційні місії Польщі, Албанії та Туреччини, а згодом консульські установи трьох європейських країн – Німеччини, Італії, Іспанії та двох азійських – Туреччини та Японії. Дипломатичний персонал іноземних консульських установ складався винятково з представників країн, які вони представляли, і були кар'єрними дипломатами. У свою чергу, серед представників адміністративно-технічного персоналу були як громадяни цих країн, так і радянської України, а обслуговуючий персонал складався з місцевих мешканців.

З моменту свого становлення іноземні консульські представники сприяли розвитку торговельно-економічних, культурних і наукових відносин своїх країн з УСРР/УРСР. Важливими сферами діяльності консульств був захист інтересів громадян своїх країн, організація для них матеріальної допомоги та сприяння їх виїзду на батьківщину. У процесі збирання інформації про суспільно-політичне становище в УСРР, консули фіксували розгортання Голодомору, вказуючи на його винуватців, відзначали негативні наслідки колективізації та індустріалізації тощо.

Але, незважаючи на постійно підкреслену дружність у відносинах між СРСР і вище переліченими країнами, їх консульства та працівники опинилися під пильним наглядом радянських спецслужб, які будь-які дії представників консульств розцінювали як шпигунські. Для повної результативності спецслужбами було завербовано представників як серед працівників консульства, так і осіб, які контактували з консулом. А після закриття консульств розпочали процес їхньої «зачистки». У 1937-1938 р. відносини СРСР з Італією, Німеччиною, Туреччиною, Японією та Іспанією набули напруженого характеру, що призвело до згорання консульської мережі в Одесі.

Ключові слова: консул, консульство, місія, Одеса, Польща, Албанія, Німеччина, Італія, Туреччина, Японія, Іспанія, УСРР

INTRODUCTION

Since its foundation, Odesa has become an economic, political and cultural center for many foreigners. Having a unique geographical position, the city has always been considered a bridge of international trade and cultural exchange. From the middle of

the 19th century, Odesa occupies a central position in the transit and intermediary trade of the countries of Europe, the Near and Middle East, and becomes the main center for the export of bread in the region. With the creation of Soviet Ukraine, Odesa continued to be a strategically important city for both European and Asian countries, which, having restored diplomatic and consular relations with the USSR, opened their consulates in the city in order to intensify trade and economic relations and protect their citizens who lived in the city and its surroundings. During the 1920s and 1930s, the city housed the consular offices of five European countries – Poland, Albania, Germany, Italy, Spain and two Asian countries – Turkey and Japan, which from the first days of their opening were actively included in the southern Ukrainian region's socio-economic and cultural life.

The question of the foreign consular institutions' activity on the territory of Soviet Ukraine during the 1920s and 30s is currently gaining more and more interest among representatives of historical science. Currently, we have works that reveal certain aspects of the activities of foreign consular institutions in the UkrSSR, as well as, directly, separate works that highlight the activities of the Polish, German, Italian, and Japanese consulates in Odesa (L. Vovchuk¹, I. Matiash², L. Vovchuk and S. Kornovenko³, S. Pavlenko⁴, V. Savchenko and O. Trygub⁵, Matthias Dornfeld, Enrico Seewald⁶, J. Bruski⁷, M. Keipert and P. Grupp⁸, George Lensen⁹). At the same time, the existence of the Albanian, Spanish and Turkish consulates in Odesa remains an almost

¹ *Вовчук Л.* Німецькі дипломати в Україні (1918-1938 рр.): просопографічний портрет // Україна та Німеччина: міждержавні відносини: збірник наукових праць / Голова ред. кол. *Владислав Верстюк*. Чернівці: Сівєрський центр післядипломної освіти, 2018. С. 207-218; *Вовчук Л.* Не дочекалися італійського паспорта (родина Анжелі у жорнах Великого терору) // Південь України: етноісторичний, мовний, культурний та релігійний виміри: збірка наукових праць. Вип. 7. Херсон: ОЛДІ-Плюс, 2019. С. 68-73; *Vovchuk L.* Diplomatic corps of German consulates in Soviet Ukraine (1922-1938) // *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych*. 2023. № 1 (22) [in print]; *Вовчук Л.* Радянські спецслужби vs японської дипломатії (на матеріалах японського консульства в Одесі у міжвоєнний період) // *Сходознавство*. 2022. № 89. С. 3-24.

² *Матяш І.* Іноземні представництва в Радянській Україні (1919-1991): протистояння і співпраця. Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2020. 503 с.; *Матяш І.* Український дипломатичний архів як джерело дослідження діяльності Консульства Японії в Одесі в міжвоєнний період // *Міжнародні зв'язки України: наукові пошуки і знахідки*. 2022. Вип. 31. С. 202-228.

³ *Вовчук Л., Корноєнко С.* Голодомор 1932-1933 рр. очима іноземних дипломатів // *Емінак*. 2019. № 4. С. 71-82.

⁴ *Павленко С.* Консул "під пильним оком": Танака Бун'їціро в Одесі // *Східний світ*. 2021. № 1. С. 18-34; *Павленко С.* С. Сасакі: спогади про Одесу та консульська служба // *Східний світ*. 2021. № 3. С. 39-54; *Павленко С.* Діяльність консульства Японії в Одесі під керівництвом Шімаду Шігуру. Частина I // *Східний світ*. 2022. № 2. С. 16-26; *Павленко С.* Діяльність консульства Японії в Одесі під керівництвом Шімаду Шігуру. Частина II // *Східний світ*. 2022. № 3. С. 28-46; *Павленко С.* Камімура Шін'їчі: кохання чи кар'єра? // *Сходознавство*. 2022. № 89. С. 49-72.

⁵ *Савченко В., Тригуб О.* Секретні співробітники ДПУ з одеського «Клубу іноземних моряків» // *Сторінки історії: збірник наукових праць*. 2019. Вип. 48. С. 118-134.

⁶ *Dornfeld M., Seewald E.* Deutschland – Ukraine. Hundert Jahre diplomatische Beziehungen. Berlin, 2017. 92 s. Arbeitspapiere des Forschungsverbundes SED-Staat; Nr. 50.

⁷ *Bruski J.J.* Między prometeizmem a Realpolitik: II Rzeczpospolita wobec Ukrainy Sowieckiej 1921-1926. Kraków, 2010. 416 s.

⁸ *Keipert M., Grupp P.* Biographisches Handbuch des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes, 1871-1945. Herausgegeben vom Auswärtigen Amt, Historischer Dienst. Band 1-5. F. Schöningh, Paderborn. 2005-2012.

⁹ *Lensen G.A.* Japanese Recognition of the U.S.S.R.: Soviet-Japanese Relations, 1921-1930. Sophia University, 1970.

unexplored page of history. Some aspects of the formation, consular composition and activities of the Turkish consulate in Odesa during the 1920s and 1930s are covered in the materials of L. Vovchuk¹⁰, S. Piskuriyov, and V. Chernytskyi¹¹.

The purpose of this paper is to create a general picture of the opening of foreign countries' missions and consular offices in Odesa, the consular staff's characteristics of these countries, their functions and main forms of activity in the region during the 1920s and 1930s.

THE FIRST FOREIGN MISSIONS IN ODESA (1921-1924)

The beginning of the foreign missions' establishment in Odesa was laid by the Delegation (Commission) on opting and repatriation, agreements on the formation of which were actively signed during 1921-1922. On February 24, 1921, the Ukrainian-Polish Agreement on Repatriation was concluded¹². Since in the difficult conditions of that time it was quite difficult to quickly form relevant commissions and missions on the ground, the Polish embassy in Kharkiv authorized issuing the necessary documents to persons of Polish origin regarding the opt-in and repatriation of a member of the Odesa Polish community M.V. Szczepkowski¹³ (a similar situation occurred in Kyiv, where the repatriation delegation was headed by a local resident, Adam Roshkovskiy).

Since the person M.V. Szczepkowski was clearly not satisfied with the bodies of the OGPU (Joint State Political Directorate) and NKZS (People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs), and besides, on April 30, 1922, the first term of the option commissions expired, then he was removed from the duties of the Polish representative, and the Delegation for repatriation acquired a completely official character according to letter № 318 of the Polish Government's Commissioner in matters of opting on the USSR's territory dated May 6, 1922¹⁴. According to the Polish historian Jan Jacek Bruski, the updated Delegation in Odesa began its work in June 1922, headed by Tadeusz Kunicki¹⁵. Instead, the materials of the Odesa GPU indicate that with the removal of M. Szczepkowski, the role of «Embassy Plenipotentiary» was assigned, with the permission of the NKZS, to Michal Soroko, who arrived with Secretary T. Kunicki. Soroko's task was to make it easier for Polish optants in Odesa and the district to

¹⁰ Вовчук Л. Турецьке консульство в Одесі (1922-1938 рр.) // XXV Сходознавчі читання А. Кримського: Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції, 10 листопада 2022 р. Київ – Львів – Торунь: Liha-Pres, 2022. С. 151-154.

¹¹ Піскурьов С.Є, Черницький В.Б. Репресії проти театральних діячів провінції у 30-ті роки XX ст. // Гілея. 2009. Вип. 24. С. 73-97.

¹² Соглашение о репатриации между РСФСР и УССР, с одной стороны, и Польшей, с другой, – во исполнение статьи 7-й договора о предварительных условиях мира, заключенного в Риге 12 октября 1920 года // Сборник действующих договоров, соглашений и конвенций, заключенных с иностранными государствами. Вып. I-II: действующие договоры, соглашения и конвенции, вступившие в силу до 1 января 1925 года. Москва: Издание литиздата НКВД, 1928. С. 180-191.

¹³ According to the Odesa GPU report, M. Szczepkowski was a former member of the Cadet Party, for which he was twice arrested by Odesa Gubcheka. As "the Polish embassy's semi-official representative", he transferred citizens to Polish citizenship, gave advice and the opportunity to leave for his homeland. He served in several Soviet institutions. – The Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU). Fund 13. List 1. File 426. Vol. 2. P. 412back.

¹⁴ The Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (CSA SBP&GU). Fund 4. List 1. File 885. P. 4-4back, 11-11back.

¹⁵ Bruski J.J. Między prometeizmem a Realpolitik... S. 90.

submit applications for the choice of citizenship, to inform them about the necessary documents, etc., that is, everything related to the opt-in procedure.

It is interesting that none of the representatives was entrusted with the performance of consular functions. These issues were handled by the Polish Embassy in Kharkiv. Thus, during 1922, the consular department's head, an expert on foreign trade issues of the Polish diplomatic mission in Kharkiv, Dzenkovskyyi, came to Odesa, who, after staying in the city for about two days, returned to Kharkiv, taking with him the documents of persons who had acquired Polish citizenship¹⁶.

Approximately in August-September 1922, all matters related to opting were transferred to the management of T. Kunicki¹⁷, and in September 1923, a military intelligence officer, lieutenant Henryk Kintopf¹⁸, became the secretary. The main goal of H. Kintopf was intelligence activity, which was quickly exposed by agents of the GPU.

At the end of October 1923, the Odesa GPU detained members of the network created by H. Kintopf in Odesa, Mykolaiv, and Sevastopol, and a week later arrested employees and supporters of the delegation. In March 1924, the National Security Service recognized Henryk Kintopf as *persona non grata* and expelled him from the USSR¹⁹. Since the exact date of the liquidation of the Odesa representative office is unknown to us (at the beginning of 1924, it still appears in the reference publication «All Odesa. 1924» as the Polish Consulate and the Polish Option Commission²⁰), but taking into account the fact that the option delegation in Kyiv was closed on February 15, 1924, then we believe that the termination of the activities of the delegations in Kyiv and Odesa took place simultaneously, which is confirmed by the letter of the Polish Consul General in Kharkiv, Michał Świrskiego, dated March 17, 1924²¹.

By signing the convention «On the repatriation of the war's prisoners and civilian internees»²² on September 17, 1921, the USSR and Turkey contributed to the intensification of bilateral relations. After a series of meetings, the Turkish side nevertheless agreed to open a repatriation point in Odesa. Although Odesa was rejected primarily for political reasons by the Turkish government, which insisted on Novorossiysk and Tuapse (they were rejected because they were outside the UkrSSR)²³.

In 1922, the Turkish Repatriation Mission was established in Odesa. The mission consisted of two persons: authorized representative Lutfi-Ikri and secretary Ismail Sharaf-Eddin. Both were native Turks, the first was from Constantinople, and the second – from Batum. The Odesa chekists did not have any complaints against the mission, since both «were not noticed in the counter-revolution» and «no abnormalities were observed» in the mission's activities²⁴. From approximately 1923 until the very closure of the mission in May-June 1925 (it was closed in connection with the opening of the consulate), the duties of the head were performed by I. Sharaf-Eddin.

¹⁶ SSA SSU. Fund 13. List 1. File 426. Vol. 2. P. 412back-413.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ *Bruski J.J.* Między prometeizmem a Realpolitik... S. 123-125.

¹⁹ Ibid. S. 125, 355.

²⁰ *Вся Одесса. Адресная и справочная книга на 1924 год.* Одесса: Типография «Известия», 1924. С. 106.

²¹ *Bruski J.J.* Między prometeizmem a Realpolitik... S. 100, 355.

²² CSA SBP&GU. Fund 4. List 1. File 680. P. 96-99.

²³ Ibid. P. 59-60.

²⁴ SSA SSU. Fund 13. List 1. File 426. Vol. 2. P. 413.

In addition to opt-out and repatriation tasks, the mission took an active part in the establishment of Ukrainian-Turkish relations in the economic and cultural spheres. Thus, in 1924, the Kharkiv branch of the Commerce Russian-Eastern Chamber began to function in Ukraine. In turn, on December 18, 1924, the solemn opening of the Odesa branch of the Commerce Russian-Eastern Chamber took place in Odesa. The main task of the Odesa branch was to establish trade relations with the coastal cities of Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Greece and Egypt. At the opening, Sharaf-Eddin expressed his confidence in the strengthening of Turkish-Soviet trade relations and noted that «Turkish merchants were pleased to learn about the organization of the Chamber's branch in Odesa», wishing him success in his work on behalf of the Turkish government²⁵.

In September 1922, the Albanian Repatriation Mission began its work in Odesa (sometimes it appears in documents as a consulate, but it was not). Its leader was Columbi, who knew the Russian reality quite well, having visited the former empire as a sailor and merchant. The opening of the consular office was dictated by the presence of an Albanian colony in the city²⁶.

Columbi arrived in Odesa on September 13 and immediately caused the concern of the NKZS's local Commissioner Serhii Koziura. In his letter to the USSR Foreign Affairs' Deputy People's Commissar Volodymyr Yakovlev, he noted: «Some Columbi has arrived in Odesa, who has documents from the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that he is authorized by the Albanian government to carry out the repatriation of Albanian citizens. This Columbi is a protégé of a certain Boshnian, a leader of revolutionary Albanian groups, who at one time was in Odesa and Moscow and whose services we secretly used to determine not only the national and political character of the repatriates. Now Boshnian is in Constantinople as an official representative (consul) of the Albanian government. A citizen Columbi is going to Moscow. I think I will first send it to you and you will decide what to do with it...»²⁷. Thus, the revolutionary interests of the Bolsheviks led to the approval of the Albanian Repatriation Mission in Odesa. The latter, led by Columbi, existed until about the middle of 1924.

CONSULATE OF GERMANY (1923-1937)

The treaty between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the German state, which was signed in April 1922 in Rapallo (Italy) during the Genoa Conference, not only renewed diplomatic relations, but also laid a solid foundation for further economic and military cooperation between the countries, which were in international isolation after the end of World War I. The course of rapprochement, maturation of the allied elements relations prompted both states to study each other more «thoroughly», monitor and analyze important events and processes that took place in the partner country. Berlin's increased interest in the Soviet Union led to an increase in its diplomatic presence in the UkrSSR²⁸.

In 1923, the German consulate was opened in Odesa. The primary task of the

²⁵ Открытие отделения Российско-Восточной торговой палаты // Украинский экономист (Харьков). 1924. 19 декабря (№ 67 (296)). С. 1; Торговля с Востоком // Коммунист (Харьков). 1924. 19 декабря (№ 291). С. 3.

²⁶ SSA SSU. Fund 13. List 1. File 426. Vol. 2. P. 413.

²⁷ CSA SBP&GU. Fund 4. List 1. File 540. P. 1-1back.

²⁸ Бажан О. Погляд з Одеси. Суспільно-політичне та економічне життя на Півдні України у першій половині 1930-х років очима німецьких дипломатів // Південний Захід. Одесика. Історико-краєзнавчий науковий альманах. 2016. Вип. 20. С. 179.

institution was the normalization of bilateral German-Soviet relations, where the emphasis was placed on the trade and economic sphere and the protection of German citizens and German colonists who lived in large numbers in the South of Ukraine (during the 1920s and 1930s there were 8 German national districts here). The German government periodically sent circulars to the German consuls operating in Soviet Ukraine, clearly specifying their tasks and actions regarding the implementation of bilateral Soviet-German trade relations.

The consulate's interest in the German colonists was especially intensified during socio-economic cataclysms (famines, collectivization, typhus and dysentery epidemics, persecutions, repressions, etc.). Almost every German family living in a village or city of the UkrSSR at that time needed material or food aid, and the Germans turned to the German consulate in Odesa for protection.

The consulate also looked after the religious sphere of Ukrainian Germans life, because the church existed at the expense of the small voluntary donations of its parishioners. At the same time, not only representatives of Catholic or Lutheran parishes asked for help, but also the Soviet Ukraine Orthodox clergy, who wrote letters both to the German consulates operating there and to various German nationalist organizations with a request for help. Among them was the Russian priest Dmytro Gulyi (the village of Novo-Bohdanivka, Melitopol district), who in his sermons repeatedly mentioned Hitler and Germany, which helps not only the Germans, but also the Soviet population. In addition, he urged the parishioners not to be silent and to write as many letters as possible about the famine to Germany²⁹. In November-December 1934, 11,123 such letters were discovered. As a result, 417,794 rubles were transferred to Ukraine from Germany during 11 months of 1934 only through the Torgsin system³⁰.

For the German consuls in Soviet Ukraine, the question of the forced involvement of Germans in collective farms was especially acute for them, who, like the majority of Ukrainians and Poles at the time, did not want to give up the status of «individual farmer». The forced eviction of German colonists and their arrest, which began to become widespread at the beginning of 1934, was also a painful issue.

One of the most difficult areas of the German consulates was ensuring the desire of Germans to leave for Germany. Despite the fact that Germans had the right to leave the USSR at any time, in practice it was quite difficult to do so, especially for those who had Soviet citizenship³¹.

However, considerable attention of the German consuls was paid to information activities, reports from which were sent to the German embassy in Moscow. The collected information related to the general political situation in the country, military aspects, the situation of heavy and light industry and agriculture, etc. The reports on the consequences of collectivization carried out by the USSR and the German consul in Odesa, Paul Roth, who, like his colleagues, highlighted the results of this terrible policy, were quite thorough³². He carefully monitored the activities of the Odesa region state farms and collective farms (the territory of the entire Northern Black Sea region), focused on the German colonies' life in the region³³.

²⁹ SSA SSU. Fund 16. List 1. File 39. P. 4.

³⁰ Ibid. P. 5.

³¹ *Vovchuk L.* Diplomatic corps of German consulates in Soviet Ukraine (1922-1938)...

³² *Вовчук Л., Корновенко С.* Голодомор 1932–1933 рр. очима іноземних дипломатів... С. 73.

³³ *Марочко В.* Німецькі дипломати і голодомор 1932-1933 рр. в Україні // Київські історичні студії. 2015. № 1. С. 64.

But in addition to official affairs, German representatives continued to carry out intelligence activities, which began on the territory of Ukraine even before the beginning of the World War I. So, today it is known that the German Consul General Werner Stefani, who, according to the data of the case against him for 1925, was engaged in intelligence activities in Kyiv and Odesa, where he actively collected information on the economic development of the region, its agriculture and industry, and was also engaged in speculative operations on the purchase and sale of foreign currency, gold and various jewels³⁴.

The personnel agent of the German General Staff was also a former officer of the intelligence service, the German consul in Odesa, Paul Roth³⁵, who organized a wide network of informants, received all possible information about the plans, intentions, development, and problems of the USSR.

When choosing a consular post, the German MFA gave preference to «career diplomats» who had extensive experience in the diplomatic field, were fluent in foreign languages, and had deep knowledge in the fields of history, geography, statistics, political economy, and international law. All German diplomats who worked in the consulate in Odesa (see Table 1), before their appointment in this republic, had a significant track record of activities abroad.

Table 1.

Diplomatic Corps of the German Consulate in Odesa (1923-1935)³⁶

position	name	tenure
consul	Philipp Vassel	04.07.1923-04.12.1925
	Carl Dienstmann	12.1925-06.1928
	Paul Roth	28.06.1928-19.11.1935
vice-consul	Hans Kroll	02.08.1923-31.08.1925
secretary	Carl Hahn	1923-1935
diplomatic courier	Oscar Yundt	1926-1928?

In 1936, the consulate in Odesa was reorganized into the Odesa consular department with a consular district within the Odesa region, the Autonomous Republic of Moldova and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea³⁷, and at the end of 1937 it ceased to exist altogether.

ITALIAN CONSULATE GENERAL (1924-1937)

On April 13, 1924, according to royal decree № 729, the Italian Kingdom consulate general was established in Odesa³⁸, which belonged to the 2nd class³⁹. The agreement «On trade and navigation» signed between the USSR and Italy on February 7, 1924

³⁴ Білоконь С. Німецьке консульство // Особистий сайт Сергія Білоконя. URL: <http://www.s-bilokin.name/Personalia/Ernst/Culture/GermanConsulat.html>

³⁵ SSA SSU. Fund 16. List 1. File 39. P. 48-53.

³⁶ More details see: *Vovchuk L.* Diplomatic corps of German consulates in Soviet Ukraine (1922-1938)...

³⁷ *Матяш І.* Іноземні представництва в Радянській Україні (1919-1991)... С. 246.

³⁸ *La Legislazione Fascista. 1922-1928 (I-VII). Volume Primo.* Roma: Tipografia Della Camera Dei Deputati Ditta Carlo Colombo, 1929. P. 428; *Annuario diplomatico del regno d'Italia. 1926.* Roma: Tipografia Riservata Del Ministero Degli Affari Esteri, 1926. P. 532.

³⁹ *Annuario diplomatico del regno d'Italia...* P. 435.

served as the basis for the establishment of consular relations⁴⁰. The Italian consulate was primarily located in the «Londonsky» hotel (Feldman Boulevard № 11, now Prymorskyi)⁴¹, since there was no suitable building when the consul arrived. A few months later, the consulate moved to the Lerhe building (Feldman Boulevard № 5).

The service territory of the Italian Kingdom consulate general in Odesa extended not only to the USSR's territory, but also covered the Don (Rostov-on-Don) and Kuban-Black Sea (Krasnodar) regions⁴². By the royal decree of July 19, 1924 (№ 1234 (1246)), the consulate's jurisdiction was extended to the Republic of Crimea⁴³, and later to the Adygea (Cherkessia) autonomous region⁴⁴.

Territorial expansion of the Odesa Consulate General led to a significant increase in the scope of the consulate's work. To optimize its work, in September 1924, Italy opened a vice-consulate in Kharkiv within the Odesa consulate⁴⁵, and on November 26, 1926, a vice-consulate in Novorossiysk (on April 24, 1927, it was elevated to a consulate)⁴⁶. By the beginning of 1925, the activities of the Italian Consulate General had acquired serious dimensions. To implement all tasks of the diplomatic representation, the consulate created a network of auxiliary official and unofficial agencies in many cities of the USSR (Astrakhan, Baku, Batum, Poti, Taganrog, Irkutsk, Tambov, Feodosia, etc.), which were financially supported by the consulate general⁴⁷.

The opening of the consulate and the arrival of the diplomat caused a stir in the local press, which reported: «After a four-year break, the activities of the Italian consulate in Odesa are resuming... On the third day, the Italian consul general, Signor Vicenzi Galanti, arrived in Odesa from Moscow, who will head the newly opened Italian consulate general in Odesa»⁴⁸.

The key direction of the consulate's work was the deepening of economic cooperation based on the collected political and economic information, its processing and assessment. Italian diplomats did not hide the importance of their economic interests. On March 26, 1925, Ukrainian newspapers published a short note about a conversation with the Italian vice-consul in Kharkiv, R. Tubino, who noted that «in the very near future, Soviet-Italian trade will many times exceed the pre-war trade. We have now purchased 32 million poods of Donetsk coal. If it proves acceptable, it will be in huge demand in our industry. The first analyzes of Soviet coal showed that it is almost as good as English coal in terms of quality. In addition to coal, we purchase manganese, oil and other raw materials. The development of Italian-Soviet trade relations will be facilitated by the creation of a Soviet-Italian bank, as well as a mixed

⁴⁰ Договор о торговле и мореплавании между Союзом Советских Социалистических Республик и Италией, заключенный в гор. Риме 7 февраля 1924 года // Сборник действующих договоров, соглашений и конвенций, заключенных с иностранными государствами. Вып. I-II: действующие договоры, соглашения и конвенции, вступившие в силу до 1 января 1925 года. Москва: Издание литиздата НКВД, 1928. С. 219-229.

⁴¹ SSA SSU. Fund 13. List 1. File 419. Vol. 1 (1). P. 7.

⁴² Ibid. P. 4.

⁴³ La Legislazione Fascista. 1922-1928 (I-VII). Volume Primo... P. 428; Annuario diplomatico del regno d'Italia... P. 435.

⁴⁴ SSA SSU. Fund 13. List 1. File 419. Vol. 1 (1). P. 21.

⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 22.

⁴⁶ La Legislazione Fascista. 1922-1928 (I-VII). Volume Primo... P. 431-432.

⁴⁷ SSA SSU. Fund 13. List 1. File 419. Vol. 1 (1). P. 31.

⁴⁸ В Одессу прибывает итальянский консул // Червоний шлях (Елисаветград). 1924. 13 апреля (№ 84); Приезд итальянского генерального консула // Моряк (Одесса. 1924. 20 апреля (№ 499).

joint-stock trading company. In exchange for Soviet raw materials, Italy can supply the Soviet Union with equipment for large and small factories, tractors, steamships, etc⁴⁹.

On this occasion, the all-Ukrainian newspaper «Communist» on April 2, 1925 noted the words of the Italian consul (probably the Kharkiv vice-consul): «Italy is interested in Russian coal, oil, wood and kerosene. Soviet centers are interested in Italian fruits and machines, especially motor vehicles... Odesa will play a big role in future [trade] operations»⁵⁰. Already in 1925, Italy began to actively purchase anthracite from the Donbass, for which warehouses were opened in Odesa, Mariupol, Novorossiysk and Leningrad to supply Italian ships with coal⁵¹.

The words of the Kharkiv vice-consul were confirmed by the general consul in Odesa, Provano del Sabbione: «The economic interests of the USSR and Italy run parallel, without crossing. Italy is interested in Soviet coal, bread and iron. All this indicates great prospects for trade between the USSR and Italy. In the future, the participation of the Italian merchant fleet in servicing the transportation of Soviet export goods will be developed. In recent years, trade operations between Italy and the USSR have increased. Italy is also interested, in addition to the above, in Soviet wool, kerosene, plywood, wood, livestock and poultry⁵². The above explains why Italy's main interests were concentrated in Soviet Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Caspian region, Eastern Siberia, etc. Thus, the former Odesa Consul General V. Galanti from Tiflis frankly reported that «Italy is completely satisfied with the quality of Batumi petroleum products and considers it most profitable to export petroleum products from the USSR»⁵³.

An important component was the guardianship of Italian subjects and Soviet citizens of Italian origin. The consulate not only performed its direct functions – granting visas, issuing passports, restoring Italian citizenship, etc., but also provided material assistance with parcels and money, took care of the problems of Catholic parishes and clergy, etc.

In order to maintain friendly relations with the USSR, the Italian Consulate General in Odesa often turned a blind eye to violations of the Italian citizens' rights and interests by the Soviet authorities. Such was the murder of the Italian sailor Aprozio in Mykolaiv. Among the representatives of the consular staff, there was a clear understanding that this was a political murder, but F. Meriano recognized this murder as accidental⁵⁴.

During 1924-1925, the process of collecting applications from Italian citizens for compensation for damages caused by the revolutionary events of 1917-1921 was quite lively. The questionnaires were received by the consulate from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs by diplomatic mail, because «great attention was paid to this work». In the application-questionnaire, it was necessary to indicate the total amount of losses in

⁴⁹ Беседа с итальянским вице-консулом в Харькове // Красное знамя (Чернигов). 1925. 26 марта (№ 68). С. 1; Перспективы советско-итальянских торговых сношений. Беседа с итальянским вице-консулом в Харькове // Звезда (Екатеринослав). 1925. 26 марта (№ 802). С. 2.

⁵⁰ Торговля с Италией // Коммунист (Харьков). 1925. 2 апреля. С. 3.

⁵¹ Вывоз донецкого угля в Италию // Красный Николаев (Николаев). 1925. 27 марта (№ 1264). С. 2; Торговля с Италией // Коммунист (Харьков). 1925. 2 апреля (№ 74). С. 3.

⁵² На зло Чемберлену. Итало-советская торговля // Харьковский пролетарий (Харьков). 1925. 16 июля (№ 160). С. 1.

⁵³ Италия удовлетворена качеством батумских нефтепродуктов // Кочегарка (Донецк). 1925. 26 июля (№ 169). С. 2.

⁵⁴ SSA SSU. Fund 13. List 1. File 419. Vol. 1 (2). P. 481.

rubles in gold, provide the testimony of three witnesses and, if possible, supporting documents. In general, the Italian government promised to issue 15 kopecks of compensation for every ruble of damages⁵⁵.

The head of the consulate and acting consul general Bova Skoppa developed an active activity. Like his predecessors, he actively cooperated with the Commissioner of the NKZS in Odesa, local foreign consuls, provided protection for Italian subjects, Italian sailors who went ashore while Italian ships were in the Odesa port. In addition, he performed an informational function, studying materials from printed newspapers and magazines, where special attention was paid to the work of Soviet party bodies among Italian sailors, namely their behaviour in the Odesa Interclub, their participation in various demonstrations. Clippings from periodicals were translated and sent to the Italian embassy in Moscow⁵⁶. With his assistance, on October 26, 1926, a school for learning the Italian language was opened at the consulate for colonists from Italy⁵⁷, which the Chekists considered a place for the spread of fascism and through the National Security Service repeatedly tried to close it.

One of the forms of the Soviet special services' activity was propaganda and «processing» – the recruitment of Italian sailors who ended up in Soviet ports. For this, a cover («roof») was created: the Soviet Bureau of the «International Union of Seamen and Port Workers», «Interclubs». In 1923, the «International Sailor's Club» appeared in Odesa («Foreign Sailors' Club», «Odesa Central International Club named after Karl Marx», «Interclub», «Mizhpropu») club, which was used for «communist propaganda» and for recruitment of «the revolution's agents». The crews of Italian ships arriving in Odesa were the subject of «special attention» of «Interclub» agitators. Even the Italian consul in Odesa regularly appealed to the NKZS with a protest against «anti-Italian propaganda» in «Interclub» (banners with the slogans «Down with fascism», caricatures of B. Mussolini, etc.)⁵⁸.

Consul Lamberto Tonker launched a hard work against the influence of the International Sailors' Club on Italian sailors. He came to every Italian ship arriving at the port of Odesa and informed the sailors about the ban on going ashore. In the event of a violation, strict repression was foreseen when the sailors returned to Italy. But despite all these warnings, the sailors continued to visit the Interclub. Then Tonker, with the help of the ship's captain, resorted to taking away their seafaring books from the sailors, without which they had no right to be ashore. Such actions were taken against the sailors of the «Nimbo» and «Carlo Pisacane» ships. But it did not give the desired result for Tonker.

Therefore, he unofficially, promising to solve the issue with Italian citizenship, hired Miro Avlich, who was supposed to follow the Italian sailors who visited the Interclub without permission, if possible, take photos and report it to Tonker⁵⁹. But the GPU quickly exposed him, arrested and sentenced him to prison for carrying out espionage activities for the benefit of Italy. In addition, Tonker paid considerable attention to the

⁵⁵ Ibid. Vol. 1 (1). P. 26, 31.

⁵⁶ Ibid. P. 45, 53-54.

⁵⁷ More details see: *Матяш І.* Іноземні представництва в Радянській Україні (1919-1991)... С. 227-228.

⁵⁸ *Савченко В., Тригуб О.* Секретні співробітники ДПУ з одеського «Клубу іноземних моряків»... С. 121.

⁵⁹ SSA SSU. Fund 13. List 1. File 419. Vol. 1 (1). P. 119-120.

collection of data on economic and political life in the UkrSSR, Soviet Union⁶⁰, political emigrants, and Italian communists, repressions by the Soviet authorities, and persons who maintained contact with foreign missions⁶¹.

During the Holodomor of 1932-33, the Italian consulate informed the embassy and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the Holodomor's horrors in the Ukrainian SSR caused by the Soviet authorities, about the eradication of separatist sentiments and the spread of distrust and hatred of the central government among the Ukrainian population, which resulted in the riots of 1936. In one from his reports, Consul Carlo Barduzzi wrote: «if the Nazis pursued the physical destruction's goal of "second race" peoples; for the Royal Army, on the contrary, «fascisation» meant the liberation of the Ukrainian people from the Soviet yoke, the restitution of the Orthodox cult and respect for the nationalist sentiments of Ukrainians»⁶².

Table 2.

Diplomatic Corps of the Italian Consulate in Odesa (1924-1937)

position	name	tenure
consul general	Vincenzo Galanti	31.03.1924-29.07.1924
-- «« --	Provana Del Sabbione	29.07.1924-09.1925
acting consul general	Renato Scoppa Bova	09.1925-10.1926
acting consul general, consul (15.03.1928)	Lamberto Toncker	22.10.1926-01.04.1928
consul general	Francesco Meriano	09.06.1928-21.04.1929
-- «« --	Alfredo Baistrokki	21.04.1929-15.05.1930 (did not arrive)
-- «« --	Ugo Tommasi	15.05.1930-1931
-- «« --	Edoardo Pervan	1931-1932
-- «« --	Carlo Barduzzi	1932-1935
-- «« --	Gino Scarpa	1935-1939
vice-consul	Silvio Cozzio	1924-1928
-- «« --	Alfredo Salvitsy	08-09.1925
-- «« --	Romolo Tubino	27.01.1925-1927
-- «« --	Pio Lo Savio	1927-1931
-- «« --	Benedetto D'Acunzo	1933-1934
-- «« --	Giuseppe De Yullis	1934-1935?
secretary	Giovanni Boschi	1924-06.1925
secretary (in charge of the consulate)	Renato Scoppa Bova	30.10.1925-22.10.1926
-- «« --	Lamberto Toncker	22.10.1926-01.04.1928
	Vernette	1929-1930

⁶⁰ Ibid. P. 122, 126.

⁶¹ Ibid. P. 177.

⁶² *Dubrovina O.* Nazionalismo, religione e cultura in Ucraina secondo la diplomazia e la propaganda fascista // Paper for Conference Ukraine and Russia 2013-2015: events and images. Modena Historical Institute. URL: <https://www.comune.modena.it/istitutostorico/fdownload.php?file=ODQ0LnBkZg==>

Despite the fact that in 1933 the Soviet-Italian treaty on friendship, non-aggression and neutrality was signed, the ideological confrontation still affected the general nature of relations. The final point on the existence of the Italian Consulate General in Odesa was put after the accession of Italy to the Anti-Comintern Pact on November 6, 1937. On November 8, 1937, the Soviet government protested against unfriendly actions. Further preservation of Italy as part of the «axis» led to the collapse of diplomatic relations. On August 24, 1939, a royal decree was issued to close the Consulate of Italy in Odesa and terminate its funding, although the actual termination of its activities took place even earlier.

CONSULATE OF TURKEY (1925-1938)

At the beginning of June 1925, the Turkish government, taking into account the strategic importance of Odesa, opened its consulate general here⁶³. On this occasion, the Soviet press reported: «A Turkish consulate was organized in Odesa. The main purpose of this consulate is the expansion of trade relations between Turkey and the USSR»⁶⁴.

Munif Bey, who arrived in Ukraine on June 4, 1925, was appointed the first head of the Turkish Consulate in Odesa in 1925⁶⁵, and Dervish Bey, who arrived in mid-May, was appointed as the vice-consul. Upon his arrival, the latter immediately made several statements about the importance of the trade relations' development between Turkey and the USSR and assured that «Turkish merchants are very interested in the possibility of economic relations with the USSR», the consulate, in turn, «will try to establish close relations with local economic organizations»⁶⁶. His words were confirmed by Consul General Munif-bey, who in his interview with the Soviet press on June 4, 1925 noted that «the main task of the Turkish consulate's organization in Odesa is to strengthen and develop trade relations between Turkey and the USSR»⁶⁷. Thus, the main task of the Consulate General was, first of all, to promote the development of trade and economic relations between Turkey and the UkrSSR, which were characterized by their intensity during the 1920s.

Ukrainian officials granted Turkish merchants the right to freely enter Ukraine at any time and conduct commercial operations at large fairs. Turkish ships could enter Ukrainian Black Sea and Azov ports without special visas of Soviet representatives in Turkey. It was through Ukrainian ports that a significant part of Turkish exports to the USSR passed. An important direction of the consulate's activity was the protection of the rights and interests of Turkish citizens who lived within the consular district.

At the initiative of the government, in 1925, the Kharkiv branch of the Commerce Russian-Eastern Chamber, which was opened in 1924, was reorganized into an independent Commerce Ukrainian-Eastern Chamber with branches in Kyiv and Odesa.

⁶³ The State Archive of Odesa Region (SAOR). Fund P-8065. List 2. File 9282. P. 23.

⁶⁴ В Одесі організовано Турецьке консульство // Червона Армія (Харків). 1925. 05 червня (№ 1233). С. 1.

⁶⁵ SAOR. Fund P-8065. List 2. File 9282. P. 23.

⁶⁶ Заявление турецкого консула в Одессе // Красное Запорожье (Запорожье). 1925. 19 мая (№ 112). С. 2.

⁶⁷ Турецкое консульство в Одессе // Красное знамя (Чернигов). 1925. 07 июня (№ 127). С. 1; Турция стремится к укреплению торговой связи с СССР // Кочегарка (Артемовск). 1925. 05 июня (№ 126). С. 2.

This contributed to the activation of foreign trade activities of various Ukrainian organizations. On November 25, 1925, the Odesa branch was visited by a Turkish delegation headed by Minister of Agriculture Sabri Bey and accompanied by Consul General Menif Bey and Vice Consul Dervish Bey. The minister noted the high indicators of trade cooperation and the support of the Chamber of Turkish Merchants. In response, the Odesa branch's head, Goldenberg, expressed his wish that «friendly relations with Turkish trade circles would develop to the widest possible extent, and Turkish merchants would turn to the chamber with all their needs without any hesitation»⁶⁸.

Like the majority of foreign diplomatic representatives operating in Soviet Ukraine at the time, Turkish consuls carried out information activities, highlighting the internal situation both in the consular district itself and beyond. In their reports to the Turkish government, the consuls provided information on the activities of the Odesa port, where special attention was paid to the number of foreign ships arriving; development of heavy, food industry, agricultural activity. They were also interested in the situation in the village, especially during 1932-33⁶⁹.

Turkish consuls were also present at various ceremonial events⁷⁰. The diplomatic corps of Turkey took an active part in establishing cultural cooperation. Thus, an important role in the Ukrainian-Turkish relations' development was played by the All-Ukrainian Scientific Association of Orientalists, founded in January 1926, whose activities focused on political-economic and historical-ethnological areas. The society had a Turkish section that dealt with Turkish issues and popularized the study of the Turkish language at courses in Kharkiv, Odesa and Kyiv⁷¹.

Soviet theater and art aroused the special interest of Turkish society. In August 1925, the Turkish theater reformer and film director Ertugrul Muhsin-bey visited the USSR⁷². During this trip, the artist probably also visited the Odesa film studio, whose work was known to the whole world. As a result, in 1926, with the assistance of Vice-Consul Zekki Jamil-bey, Muhsin-bey shot the feature film «Spartacus»⁷³ and in 1927, the film «Tamilla» at the Odesa Film Studio with funding from Turkey.

We also have information about valuable gifts of works of art to the Odesa Art Museum. To this day, the museum keeps a portrait of Leo Tolstoy (1900) by the portraitist Ivan Kazakov, which was presented by the Turkish consul Fuat Izzet-bey in 1932⁷⁴.

⁶⁸ Турецкий министр земледелия Сабри-бей в Одесском отделении Восточной торговой палаты // Моряк (Одесса). 1925. 27 ноября (№ 744). С. 4; Приезд турецкого министра земледелия в Одессу // Известия (Одесса). 1925. 26 ноября (№ 1785). С. 2.

⁶⁹ SAOR. Fund P-8065. List 2. File 9282. P. 51.

⁷⁰ Резников А.Б. Советско-турецкие и культурные научные связи в 1920-30-е гг. // Теория и практика общественного развития. История. 2014. № 1. С. 281-282.

⁷¹ Tchernikov I. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve Türkiye-Ukrayna İlişkileri (1918-1938) // Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi (Ankara). 2003. № 19. P. 311.

⁷² СССР на Б.-Востоке завоевал прочные позиции. Культурное сближение // Моряк (Одесса). 1925. 14 августа (№ 699). С. 2.

⁷³ Піскурьов С.Є, Черницький В.Б. Репресії проти театральних діячів провінції у 30-ті роки ХХ ст. // Гілея. 2009. Вип. 24. С. 90-91.

⁷⁴ Калмановская Л.Н. Выставка «Неизвестные и забытые портретисты XVIII-XIX веков» из фондов Одесского художественного музея. Каталог. Одесса: РИО областного управления по печати, 1996. С. 8.

Table 3.

Diplomatic Corps of the Turkish Consulate in Odesa (1924-1938)

position	name	tenure
consul	Munif Bey	05.1925-?1926
-- «« --	Kiamil Mumtaz Bey	1929-1930
-- «« --	Fouad Izzet Bey	?1930-1931 (1932)
-- «« --	Subhi Khair Bey	1931-1933
consul general	Rauf Khairy Bey	1933-1937
consul	Malkos Ali-Reza	04.1937-03.1938
vice-consul	Dervish Bey	05.1925-1926
-- «« --	Hatif Suphi Bey	?1929-1930
-- «« --	Zekki Jamil Bey	1930-1935
-- «« --	Selim Rauf Sarper	1928-1929, 1935-1937
-- «« --	Turgulo	1933-1935
secretary	Vladimir Kanshin	1927-1935
-- «« --	Teifuk-oze	?
-- «« --	Uzen Meshet Medeik	?
-- «« --	Tedefik Bey	?
-- «« --	Emdi Erer	?
chancellor-secretary	Suad Bey	1925-?1926
consulate's chancellor	Zekki Jamil Bey	1926-1930

Despite the constantly emphasized friendship in relations between the USSR and Turkey, the Turkish consulate and its employees were under the close supervision of the Soviet special services, which regarded any actions of the consulate representatives as espionage. In order to be fully effective, the special services recruited representatives from both consulate employees and persons who were in contact with the consul. And after the consulates were closed, they began the process of «cleaning» them⁷⁵. At the beginning of March 1938, the Turkish consulate in Odesa ceased its activities.

JAPANESE CONSULATE (1926-1937)

On January 20, 1925, after lengthy negotiations, the Convention on the Basic Principles of Relations between the USSR and Japan (Beijing Agreement) was signed in Beijing. On February 26, 1925, representatives of Japan and the USSR exchanged ratification's letters of the Beijing Agreement. Since the entry into force of the agreement, diplomatic and consular relations have been established between the two countries⁷⁶. Throughout 1925, the process of agreeing on the opening points of Japanese consular offices in the territory of the USSR and Soviet ones in Japan took

⁷⁵ Вовчук Л. Турецьке консульство в Одесі (1922-1938 рр.). XXV Сходознавчі читання А. Кримського: Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції, 10 листопада 2022 р. Київ: Львів – Торунь: Liha-Pres, 2022. С. 152.

⁷⁶ Договор между СССР и Японией утвержден. Между обоими странами восстановлены нормальные дипломатические отношения // Пролетарий (Харьков). 1925. 27 февраля (№ 47). С. 1.

place. After long discussions, Tokyo officials received permission to create representative offices in seven cities, including Odesa⁷⁷.

On January 4, 1926, the Japanese consulate in Odesa was officially opened⁷⁸. The consulate was temporarily located in the «Londonskiy» hotel, although the NKVD proposed to place the Japanese consulate in building № 21 on the Gogol Street for the convenience of surveillance, where the Turkish consulate was also located. Later, the consulate moved to a three-story building on Feldman Boulevard (currently 1 Prymorskyi Boulevard), where it occupied the entire second floor. The consular district covered the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and the Crimean ASSR⁷⁹.

Sasaki Seigo was appointed the head of the Japanese consulate, who performed the functions assigned to him until 1927, after which he was transferred as a consul to Fr. Sakhalin. Sasaki Seigo was familiar with Odesa and the features of this city, as he held the position of the Japanese consulate's secretary during 1907-1909. In the fall of 1925, he came to the city to inspect the state of the port and familiarized himself with the economic development of Odesa and the region. In an interview for the «Izvestia» newspaper, the Japanese noted that he considers the current state of Soviet-Japanese relations extremely good. Seigo Sasaki emphasized the significant prospects of economic relations between the countries, because the USSR expressed interest in the export trade's development, and Japan actively imported oil, wood, iron ore, etc. As for the USSR, the diplomat noted the possibility of exporting caustic soda, flax, hemp, salt, tobacco and other things to Japan⁸⁰.

The primary task of the Japanese consulate head was the trade relations' development with the USSR and the establishment of a steamship connection between the ports of Osaka and Odesa. For this purpose, a thorough analytical study of the region was carried out. The Japanese were interested in information about political life, industry (they were quite seriously interested in the issue of oil), financial status, the role of Soviet officials, specialists and other workers in the industry of the UkrSSR and the USSR, the number of employees in the Department of Ukrainian Industry of National Policy, the economic state of Ukraine, anti-Soviet sentiment in Odesa, the attention of the Central Government to the armament of the UkrSSR, the role of private capital in the USSR, the state of grain procurement in Ukraine, noting the terribleness of this whole process, etc⁸¹. The counter-intelligence department of the GPU noted in its reports that not a single notable event from the life of Odesa remained unnoticed by the consulate employees. They actively collected information about the region and often went beyond the consular district and sent their reports to the Japanese Embassy in Moscow and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan⁸².

Consul Shimada Shigeru, who arrived in Odesa on February 19, 1927, in an interview with the Odesa newspaper «Izvestia», noted that Japan was interested in purchasing salt, oil, medicinal herbs, etc. in the USSR's southern regions (USSR and the

⁷⁷ Павленко С. Камімура Шін'ічі: кохання чи кар'єра?... С. 52.

⁷⁸ Lensen G.A. Japanese Recognition of the U.S.S.R.: Soviet-Japanese Relations, 1921-1930. Sophia University, 1970. P. 207; Японское консульство в Одессе // Пролетарий (Харьков). 1925. 31 декабря (№ 298). С. 2.

⁷⁹ Матяш І. Іноземні представництва в Радянській Україні (1919-1991)... С. 253.

⁸⁰ Павленко С. С. Сасаки: спогади про Одесу та консульська служба... С. 41-47.

⁸¹ Вовчук Л. Радянські спецслужби vs японської дипломатії... С. 11.

⁸² Павленко С. Діяльність консульства Японії в Одесі під керівництвом Шімаду Шігуру. Частина II... С. 30.

eastern Black Sea region). And his first task as consul was to study these issues, possible directions of development of Soviet-Japanese economic relations. The second priority for the official was to establish a regular sea connection between Japan and the USSR's Black Sea ports⁸³.

The consulate also carried out Japanese cultural promotion in the UkrSSR. Thus, in the period 1927-1929, three cultural projects directly related to Japan were implemented on the territory of the USSR. These were exhibitions of children's books (1) and movies (2) and tours of the Kabuki theater (3). The consulate was not involved in the organization of these projects and mostly played the role of an observer or a passive participant.

An exhibition of Japanese children's books arrived in Odesa in April 1929, and was opened on July 17. The venue of the exhibition in Odesa was the State Art Museum. In the fall of 1929, a slightly different Japanese cultural product was presented in Odesa - cinema. The exhibition, in addition to cinema, included the display of Japanese advertising posters for films, photographs and magazines. In Odesa, the exhibition was opened on November 16 in the premises of the Frunze State Cinema. Positive relations have developed between the consulate and the Odesa branch of the All-Ukrainian Scientific Association of Oriental Studies (VUNAS)⁸⁴.

Throughout the 1930s, the consuls' attention was focused on the terrible food situation in the UkrSSR and the endless repression of the GPU against the wealthy sections of the rural population. The reports characterized the state of heavy industry, agriculture and transport. Here, the results of the first five-year period in the UkrSSR were summarized and official statistical data on this were given. In addition, great attention was paid to the collection of information on the development of school education in the USSR, teaching methods at school, especially in railway construction schools, the process of Ukrainization in the UkrSSR.

In order to better understand the situation in the region and beyond, Japanese representatives made several trips to the country. However, all this was perceived by the Soviet special services as the collection of intelligence data and the development of a spy network for the Japanese government's benefit⁸⁵.

As S. Pavlenko rightly points out, the Japanese consulate's peculiarity was that «its main function was not to ensure the interests of the diaspora or the development of economic ties, but to collect information about the region and study the possibilities of intensifying bilateral trade relations»⁸⁶.

As in the case of the German consulate, the formal reason for closing the Japanese consular office in Odesa was the reduction in the number of Japanese representations in the USSR, which at that time numbered 8, and only 6 Soviet representations in Japan. Therefore, on August 19, 1937, the NKZS directed the embassy Japan a note on the closure of two consulates in accordance with the principle of an equal number of representations. On September 15, Moscow decided to close the consulates in Novosibirsk and Odesa⁸⁷.

⁸³ Павленко С. Діяльність консульства Японії в Одесі під керівництвом Шімаду Шігуру. Частина I... С. 18.

⁸⁴ Павленко С. Діяльність консульства Японії в Одесі під керівництвом Шімаду Шігуру. Частина II... С. 32.

⁸⁵ Вовчук Л. Радянські спецслужби vs японської дипломатії... С. 11-13.

⁸⁶ Павленко С. С. Сасаки: спогади про Одесу та консульська служба... С. 47.

⁸⁷ Вовчук Л. Радянські спецслужби vs японської дипломатії... С. 22.

Table 4.

Diplomatic Corps of the Japanese Consulate in Odesa (1926-1937)

position	name	tenure
consul	Sasaki Seigo	10.12.1925-07.1926
acting consul	Kamimura Shin'ichi	05.1926-02.1927
consul	Shimada Shigeru	11.1926 (22.02.1927) - 02.1930
acting consul	Noguchi Yoshio	02-06.1930
consul	Tanaka Bun'ichiro	24.05.1930-1934
acting consul	Mitani Sidzuo	1934
consul	Hirata Minoru	04.1934-1937
vice-consul	Uemura Nobuichi	1926
secretary, vice consul	Kamimura Shin'ichi	15.02.1926-02.1927
secretary, vice consul	Goto Yasutsugu	1926-02.1927 02-11.1927
secretary, vice consul	Noguchi Yoshio	04.1927-1929 1929-12.1930
secretary, vice consul	Mitani Sidzuo	1929-1937

CONSULATE GENERAL OF SPAIN (1936-1939)

The last consulate of Spain started functioning in Odesa. Only at the end of July 1933 was an agreement reached to establish Spanish-Soviet diplomatic relations, but the exchange of ambassadors did not take place at that time. Only when the government of the Popular Front came to power in Spain, the Spaniards offered the Soviet side to exchange ambassadors. However, attempts to normalize relations between the countries were made as early as 1925. However, the Spaniards primarily emphasized the conclusion of an economic agreement, which the USSR did not agree. On July 18, 1836, the mutiny of General Franco took place, and the civil war began in Spain. Despite this, diplomatic cooperation between the countries continued.

In October 1936, the Consulate General of the USSR was founded in Barcelona, respectively, the Consulate General of Spain in Odesa. Professional diplomat Valeriano Picazzo Casanueva became the head of the newly created consular institution. He was born on May 9, 1889 in Madrid. He received a legal education. For some time he worked in the Ministry of Finance. He was Director-General of Public Litigation, Secretary of the Royal Academy of Jurisprudence and State Solicitor in Madrid.

In the future, he actively connected his life with the legislative power. Thus, in 1933, Valeriano Casanueva as a candidate from the Spanish Social Democratic Political Party (PSOE) took part in the general elections of Salamanca, he was elected deputy only in 1936, gaining 46,492 votes (out of a total of 153,797 votes). He was also a member of the commissions of the treasury, the accounting chamber, from April 8, 1936 to October 1, 1938; he belonged to the Cortes Permanent Deputation as a deputy. In September 1936, V. Casanueva was appointed deputy state secretary, and soon after that – consul general of Spain in Odesa, whose functions he performed until 1939⁸⁸. In

⁸⁸ Congreso de los Diputados. URL: <https://cutt.ly/i4tHo0A>

1937, he was also a representative of the Spanish consulate in China⁸⁹. At the end of the Spanish Civil War, V. Canasueva was exiled to France, where he died in Toulouse on September 20, 1941⁹⁰.

On March 5, 1939, the People's Front government was overthrown, and the «National Defense Junta» came to power. Pedroso, the Spanish ambassador to the USSR, said that he could not consider himself a representative of the government that was formed in Madrid after the coup. Therefore, only the Spanish consul in Odesa, V. Casanueva, was to remain in the USSR. However, Spanish-Soviet diplomatic relations were terminated. As a result, in 1939, the Spanish Consulate General in Odesa also ceased to exist.

CONCLUSIONS

With the creation of Soviet Ukraine, Odesa continued to remain a strategically important city for both European and Asian countries, which, having restored diplomatic and consular relations with the USSR, opened their consulates here. During the 1920s and 1930s, the repatriation missions of Poland, Albania, and Turkey operated in the city first (during 1922-1925), and later the consular offices of three European countries – Germany, Italy, Spain, and two Asian countries - Turkey and Japan. The diplomatic staff of foreign consular institutions consisted exclusively of representatives of the countries they represented and were career diplomats. In turn, among the representatives of the administrative and technical staff were citizens of these countries and of Soviet Ukraine, and the service staff consisted of local residents.

Since its establishment, foreign consular representatives have contributed to the development of trade, economic, cultural and scientific relations of their countries with the UkrSSR. Important spheres of consulates' activity were protection of the interests of citizens of their countries, organization of material assistance for them and their departure promotion to their homeland. In the process of gathering information about the socio-political situation in the UkrSSR, the consuls recorded the unfolding of the Holodomor, pointing out its culprits, noted the negative consequences of collectivization and industrialization, etc.

But, despite the constantly emphasized friendship in relations between the USSR and the countries listed above, their consulates and employees found themselves under the Soviet special services close supervision, which considered any consulates representatives' actions as espionage. In order to be fully effective, the special services recruited representatives from both consulate employees and persons who were in contact with the consul. And after the consulates were closed, they began the process of «cleaning» them. In 1937-1938, the USSR's relations with Italy, Germany, Turkey, Japan, and Spain became strained, which led to the closure of the consular network in Odesa.

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⁸⁹ Ruiz-Castillo C.G. Los fondos de las representaciones diplomáticas y consulares de España en China conservados en el Archivo General de la Administración: su contexto // Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea. 2009. № 31. P. 232.

⁹⁰ Congreso de los Diputados. URL: <https://cutt.ly/i4tHo0A>

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Надійшла до редакції / Received: 04.01.2023

Схвалено до друку / Accepted: 13.03.2023