

of a Christian minority in the immediate neighbourhood of the centre of Moslem resistance is kept in check by the firmness of an administration which draws its moral authority both from the League of Nations and from its own disinterestedness and impartiality. France thought that she would still need about five years in which to prepare, in the best interests of the country for the transfer of authority which must be the normal end of the mandate, and contemplated retaining all her powers and responsibilities during that period. It was solely on that assumption that she felt able to disregard the objections which are well known to the Committee, and the programme had been drawn up accordingly. Should it be argued that the difficulties apprehended would have arisen during the period in question, it is not difficult to reply that, since the work would by that time have been completed, the material advantages that the country would have derived from the development of the area would have been so patent that, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, they would have unquestionably offset the difficulties, and that it was not unreasonable to suppose that the Syrians, with their realist spirit, would have taken account of the results of the scheme as a whole and would have been obliged to acknowledge its beneficial character.

This process seems likely to be appreciably accelerated by new developments, of which we are obliged to take account. If, as is reasonable to suppose, the transfer of the responsibilities of government to the local administration should substantially anticipate the expectations referred to above, the situation would inevitably be radically altered. The technical difficulties would not, of course, be in any way affected, those that have made themselves felt since the beginning of the work, and which are essentially due to causes independent of human diligence, can no doubt be overcome. The political difficulties, however, would appear in all their force under the new conditions; indeed, they would grow more proportionally acute with the withdrawal of the salutary barrier constituted by the care of a Government determined to pursue objectively the true interests of the country and to secure a harmonious balance between them.

For these reasons the French Government considers that what seems likely to be the increased pace of the political development must henceforth prevent the effective execution of a scheme which, though difficult—indeed, risky—from a technical point of view, was well worth undertaking in view of the great and lasting advantages it would bring to the areas involved and at the same time to the Assyrian tribes which, finally settled in a fertile district, would have seen the end of their troubled existence in the Near East.

In view of these considerations, the Committee will not fail to conclude that, left to itself, the local administration would not be able to overcome difficulties which would in future be much more serious, since the political atmosphere is tending to make them substantially more acute. The operation in question can only be carried out in a calm atmosphere. France, moreover, cannot see her way to lay so heavy a mortgage on the inheritance that she bequeaths. Even if the local Government were inclined to agree to take over the obligations contracted under the conditions defined above, France regards it as a matter of conscience to advise against such a transfer.

Further, the Committee is called upon to face a new situation at a time when the expenditure actually incurred is still very small. It can arrive at a decision in relative freedom, since the most important work has not yet been begun and the funds collected remain available for the purpose for which they are intended. The decision would have been far more unpleasant and painful if large sums had already been spent on works destined to remain useless.

In these circumstances, the French Government feels bound to call the Committee's attention to the advisability of abandoning here and now a project which is henceforth in imminent danger of being deprived of the basis that would alone give it, so far as could humanly be foreseen, a chance of success at least equal to the risk of failure.

ANNEX 1610.

C.28r.1936.VII.

FREE CITY OF DANZIG SITUATION AT DANZIG.

LETTER, DATED JUNE 30TH, 1936, FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT DANZIG TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.

Danzig, June 30th, 1936.

In view of recent events in Danzig, I think it well to send you a brief report for the information of the Council of the League of Nations.

I recall the situation in the Free City of Danzig as exposed in my report for 1935, and considered by the Council at its January session,¹ merely to say that, in the intervening months

¹ See *Official Journal*, February 1935, pages 80, 121 and 202.

since January I had felt rather more hopeful than at any time during the past eighteen months that a policy would be developed and put into force by the authorities in Danzig which would be more in accordance with the Constitution and with the various directions given by the Council. To the Council in May I reported that their specific recommendations had been carried out and permitted myself to add, with some caution but some hope, that the continuance of the spirit of co-operation shown by the Senate might gradually lead to a situation different from that which had been the source of concern to the Council some months previously. As a matter of fact, the head of the Government, President Greiser, had given me some grounds for the impression that the Senate's policy was to be founded upon a genuine effort at co-operation. My hopes were higher inasmuch as I had reason to believe that his personal policy was the attempt to heal some of the deep wounds in the German-speaking people of Danzig. The bitter feeling which divided the population (in proportions of 58% and 42% in 1935) was deep, and to alleviate it would require much patience and wisdom, aiming at co-operation between the parties rather than forced absorption. It seemed to me that he hoped gradually to lay the foundations of a policy which would be, perhaps, broader than a partisan conception and that his attempt would be slowly to prepare the formation of a German Front, necessarily based upon the constitutional and legal situation. Needless to say as my official interests concerned only its legal basis, I regarded this development with the greatest sympathy and goodwill, and, although I had in progress discussions concerning various difficulties, I had hopes that all these might be gradually eliminated.

This note as to the general tendency as shown in my relations with the Senate in recent months is certainly not to be taken to mean that everything in the existing situation was satisfactory considered from the point of view of the Constitution, but I was at any rate convinced that the general tendency existed, and gave it the very fullest consideration.

Some weeks ago there began, however, to be a number of incidents, many of them of a minor character, if viewed from a broad standpoint. I noticed them and merely hoped that they were not symptomatic. These incidents sometimes included assaults on people who did not salute the National-Socialist flag when carried in the numerous marches through the streets of the city. Sometimes they were apparently isolated brawls between the National Socialists and their opponents and the newspapers gave very different versions. Another incident was that a National Socialist was stabbed by a man who alleged he was attacked while distributing leaflets from one of the Opposition parties, whose newspaper had been suppressed. The Opposition parties also made many complaints, including alleged interferences by the political police in their right to hold meetings, etc. On the whole, however, events in the Free City were not of a character to cause grave anxiety.

This was the general situation when, on June 12th, a private meeting was held in Danzig by the German Nationalist Party which is composed largely of middle-class people. It was attended by about 700 men and women. The political police were not present in the hall, as it was a meeting by limited invitation. It appears, however, that several hecklers (apparently S.A. men) had secured entrance and, after interrupting the speakers, were ejected. The meeting proceeded then to its close and the audience were singing "Deutschland über Alles" when, according to my information, the hall was attacked. I am not going into any details in this matter at present, but about fifty people were treated in the hospitals, including some members of the S.A., a National-Socialist organisation. One of the latter died the following morning.

The next morning, President Greiser came to see me. He regretted very much the events of the previous night, expressed the view that the Opposition parties were to blame, as they had been provocative, and he trusted that the matter would not lead to any further difficulties. I joined with him in this hope and said that I, at that stage, knew nothing about the matter beyond what had been seen by the members of my household, who had been startled in my absence by Danzig citizens clamouring at my door the previous night. I asked President Greiser if the attack had been premeditated as well as organised, and he said that to the best of his knowledge this was not so. I then said that, obviously the most important factor in the preservation of order in the Free City would be the degree to which the police acted promptly impartially and without fear of any consequences of doing their duty. I said I was glad to note that one of the Opposition newspapers reported that, at points where the police had energetically intervened, order had been quickly restored. A joint deputation from the leaders of the Catholic Centre Party the Social-Democratic Party and the German Nationalist Party came subsequently. They told me that formal approaches were being made to the Danzig authorities, but expressed certain fears at the conclusion of their statements. I urged upon them as responsible political leaders the importance of their followers (and they represent over 40% of the population) doing nothing to provoke or exasperate their opponents, even though they might be convinced that their actions were strictly within the law.

There was still some possibility that the matter could be limited in its consequences. That afternoon, however, leaflets were broadcast in the city with the heading "Bestialisches Blutbad an einem National-Sozialist" and announcing that M. Albert Forster, the Gauleiter of the National-Socialist Party in Danzig, would address meetings that evening and the following evening. I thought it well to send a personal message to President Greiser to use his influence to prevent,

if possible, anything being said or done at these meetings which would make the situation worse.

The same afternoon (June 13th) a meeting of one of the German ex-servicemen's associations, which is not connected with the National-Socialist movement, was to take place, and the promoters declare they had notified the police, asking for protection. At the last moment, however, they appeared to have abandoned the idea of holding a meeting, but this did not prevent some very unpleasant scenes of violence.

Two days later, summaries of the speeches made by M. Forster were published in his own newspaper. He had bitterly assailed the Opposition, declaring that they alone were responsible for all Danzig's troubles, and had also announced that the patience of the National-Socialist Party was exhausted and that order would be restored within three weeks. And again. "Our powers are underestimated, but we can confidently assert that the adversaries will, within a few weeks, have withdrawn into their holes" To this he added a declaration that he was responsible to nobody for his actions in Danzig except to the leader of the movement in Germany

By this time the city was in a state of considerable excitement with fear, anger and nervousness. The significance attached in Danzig to M. Forster's declaration cannot be appreciated unless it is remembered that his disciplined party organisations include those with some thousands of uniformed and drilled men, a number of whom live in barracks, etc., and that these organisations were making daily marches through the streets. Partisan, and sometimes violent, newspaper comments did nothing to alleviate my anxiety. I began to take a graver view of the situation, or, rather, of the situation which might very quickly develop. I feared an attempt on the part of M. Forster to carry out what appeared to be a threat (and it is to be remembered that, although he has power, he has no official position in Danzig, and no responsibility for law and order). I therefore sent, on June 16th, to the Government a note expressing my anxiety about the general situation and again emphasised that vigorous and impartial police action in dealing with any disorders appeared to be the first essential (Appendix I).

The President of the Senate replied on June 17th (Appendix II) pointing out that similar disturbances and worse occurred in many other countries. This was quite true, but my anxiety was not so much for what had happened, which was bad enough, as to what future possibilities were, and one had to bear in mind that, owing to its unusual position, serious disturbances of public order in Danzig could in some ways be more dangerous than elsewhere.

As I have already pointed out, M. Forster's declarations had added greatly to my anxiety although I had done what I could with regard to influencing his public lead through President Greiser. I was aware, however, that M. Forster occupied an unusual position (in the party he is superior to the President of the Senate), and, in view of his declaration, that he was responsible to no one in Danzig, I had a conversation with the German Consul-General. I told him that the situation in Danzig seemed to threaten to become dangerous and that I thought it would be well if he would inform his Government that that was my anxiety and to draw his Government's attention to the declarations of M. Forster, who was of German nationality and who held high official posts in the German Government Service. He was good enough to agree to do so. This I did in the sincere conviction that the German Government would share my earnest desire to prevent serious trouble from developing in a city outside their frontiers, but in which, as is well known, they take an interest. My intervention was strictly limited to the part played by a Prussian Counsellor of State who holds a party post in Danzig with very considerable power. I have no reason to believe that the limited degree of co-operation I sought in my anxiety with regard to the activities of the German official in Danzig on that occasion was not fully accorded. Furthermore, knowledge of the fact that I had drawn the German Government's attention to M. Forster was confined to the President of the Senate and the Polish representative. Only the circumstances in which I report to the Council make it necessary for me in this limited way to make public my effort.

On the same day (June 17th) and, I understand, on each of the three succeeding days, representations were made to the Senate by the Polish Minister on behalf of Polish citizens and Danzig citizens of the Polish minority who were also suffering assaults in the streets. A note was also sent by the Polish Minister to the Senate on June 17th. In this note, Minister Papee, after referring to an interview with the Senate, drew the attention of the President:

« ...sur ce que dans l'atmosphère de surexcitation qui règne depuis quelques jours à Dantzig, et en connexion avec les agissements en masse du parti national-socialiste, des incidents du genre de ceux notés jusqu'à présent peuvent se répéter aisément. Etant donné que mon Gouvernement, possédant des intérêts spéciaux à Dantzig, doit attacher une grande importance à ce que de tels incidents ne se répètent pas à l'avenir, j'ai l'honneur de vous prier de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour maintenir l'ordre et assurer la sécurité à mes compatriotes. »

On June 16th, the Association of Poles in Danzig also presented a resolution to the Senate (of which they sent me a copy on the 20th instant) complaining of insecurity, etc., and I attach a copy as Appendix III).

On June 19th, I had an interview with President Greiser, merely to reinforce my formal note as to the continued danger of the situation, and I subsequently addressed a note to him drawing attention to Gauleiter Forster's speeches (Appendix IV).

The daily incidents were confined mostly to the city but in a village in the surrounding territory another unfortunate incident occurred. I am not yet in a position to give any details, but I am informed that, following a visit to the house of an Opposition partisan by a group of S.S. men, two of the latter died from pistol wounds. On June 17th and 18th, the funerals of the National-Socialist victims took place, all official business having been suspended, and the principal speakers at the gravesides were the chief of the S.A. in Germany Herr Lutze, and the chief of the S.S. and head of the German police, Herr Himmler.

On June 19th, the Polish Minister addressed a further note, which drew the Senate's attention, not only to the incidents in which Poles had been assaulted, but also pointing out the general concern of the Polish Government in the maintenance of good order in view of their interests in the Free City. I am permitted to make the following quotations from the note, which opened with a reference to *demarches* made daily on June 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th. The incidents to which these *demarches* referred, the note continued.

« ...ont eu une suite dans les regrettables agressions dont les victimes continuent à être des ressortissants polonais, ainsi que des personnes de langue et d'origine polonaises. Dans l'effervescence générale des esprits qui s'est manifestée ces derniers jours à Dantzig, provoquée à un haut degré par diverses énonciations publiques, tout un nombre de personnes et de groupes appartenant au parti national-socialiste se sont rendus coupables de graves infractions, d'actes de violence et de contrainte physique également à l'égard de Polonais et ce fréquemment, malgré que leur allégeance nationale ne laissait subsister aucun doute, ou même précisément, car ils avaient été reconnus comme Polonais. La police appelée à maintenir le calme et l'ordre, et responsable de la sécurité à assurer, n'a pas réussi, dans les cas parvenus à ma connaissance, à prêter protection ni à prévenir les actes de violence, dans la majorité des cas, elle n'a pas su faire, jusqu'à présent, le nécessaire pour qu'une punition soit infligée aux coupables.

« Il en résulte une situation susceptible de peser gravement sur les relations polono-dantziennes, d'autant plus que les incidents dantziens trouvent un vif écho et une réaction en Pologne. »

In conclusion, the Polish note said.

« Mon gouvernement, possédant des intérêts spéciaux dans la Ville libre, suit de près le développement des événements. De son ordre, j'ai l'honneur d'attirer votre attention, Monsieur le Président du Sénat, avec toute la sérieux que comporte la situation, sur la nécessité du maintien du calme, de l'ordre et de la sécurité par les organes de police préposés à ces fins, pour que lesdites infractions, dont sont victimes aussi des Polonais, soient rendues impossibles à l'avenir. J'ai l'honneur de rappeler le rôle que remplit Dantzig et qui lui incombe comme port polonais du territoire douanier par rapport à son arrière-pays, rôle économique qu'il ne peut remplir d'une façon satisfaisante que dans des conditions de calme, d'ordre et de sécurité. Je dois enfin formuler, une fois de plus, la demande que satisfaction et plein dédommagement soient donnés du chef des torts et pertes subis par des Polonais au cours des derniers jours. »

My anxiety continued until Saturday June 20th, when, after consultations, President Greiser announced that a police order would immediately be issued forbidding all political meetings and demonstrations. At the same time, he drew attention, at a great National-Socialist demonstration, to the fact that the swastika flag was that of their party and also the honoured flag of the German Reich, but was not that of the Free City and that there should be no insistence or compelling of unwilling salutes to this flag. He also at one point remarked that the Government regarded with disfavour any attacks on Gauleiter Forster, who was an honorary citizen of the Free City.

As I say my anxiety was relieved, and, in a conversation with the President on June 23rd, I expressed my appreciation of the Government's action as a temporary emergency measure to relieve public fears and allow hot tempers to subside. My relief was due to the fact, and I may as well say so, that the Government's ban was not one-sided, but that they had felt able to include *all* political demonstrations.

Subsequently complete satisfaction appears to have been promised by the Senate to the Polish representative in regard to the cases of violence mentioned by him, and Polish newspapers reported that the leader of the S.A. organisation had assured the Polish Minister that members who again assaulted Poles would be expelled.

In my judgment, a very dangerous crisis in internal order had been averted, a crisis which might easily have led to external complications.

Appendix I.

LETTER FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
DATED JUNE 16TH, 1936.

I have the honour to refer to your visit to me on the 13th instant, when you gave me certain information as to the unfortunate events of the preceding night in Danzig, when a very serious disturbance of the peace took place.

Since seeing you, I have also seen the leaders of all the Opposition parties and a number of persons who took part in the Deutschnational meeting, which was the occasion of the riot. In addition, I have seen a number of members of the S.A. who were injured.

I have read the reports and comments in the National-Socialist newspapers and have received accounts also from observers who were independent of all parties in Danzig.

It appears that between forty and fifty persons, including a number of elderly people, have been treated in hospital and that one S.A. man has since died.

On Saturday afternoon, I drew your attention to a leaflet announcing a meeting of the National-Socialist Party called by Gauleiter Albert Forster. These leaflets were headed.

Bestialische Bluttat an einem National-Sozialist " and I expressed the hope that nothing would be said at these meetings which would further enflame the situation.

I am addressing this note to you to emphasise again the full responsibility in the first place of the Senate for the maintenance of peace and order, and I have to repeat that the first essential is the prompt, effective and *completely impartial* action of the forces at the disposal of the Government. In this connection, I must draw your attention to the remarks made in my last annual report to the Council of the League of Nations concerning the police.

I take a grave view of the situation and must, as you will understand, follow the events very closely in order to be in a position to fulfil promptly the duties which have been placed upon me in this post.

(Signed) LESTER.

Appendix II.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER,
DATED JUNE 17TH, 1936.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th instant referring to the events in St. Josephshaus of the 12th instant. I gather from your letter that you regard the disturbances which took place as a very serious disturbance of the peace and look upon the entire situation as very grave, and that you now look upon effective and completely impartial conduct on the part of the forces at the Government's disposal as the principal requirement of the situation.

In this connection, I may point out that more or less serious disturbances occur from time to time at meetings and in public places in every civilised country. The Government of the Free City of Danzig has been able, since it has been in the hands of the National-Socialist Party, to restrict such occurrences to a minimum. The Free City compares in this respect favourably with most other countries. The manner in which peace and order have hitherto been maintained in Danzig by the National-Socialist Government might serve as a model. The fact that, on this occasion, there has been a death in connection with a brawl is in itself highly regrettable, but does not afford any justification for doubts as to the Government's firm grasp of the situation. I cannot help feeling that the Opposition is exploiting the incident in order to give a very exaggerated impression of the situation. In view of the foregoing, I can only once more assure you that the Government is master of the situation and that there is no occasion for any particular apprehension.

(Signed) GREISER.

Appendix III.

RESOLUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF POLES " (VERBAND DER POLEN) OF JUNE 15TH, 1936.

[Translation.]

The Governing Body of the " Association of Poles " (Verband der Polen) in the Free City of Danzig unanimously passed the following resolution at its meeting held on June 15th, 1936

" During the last few days there have been further cases in the territory of the Free City of assaults on Poles and of bloody massacres of Poles by members of National-Socialist organisations. The Governing Body of the Verband der Polen in the Free City of Danzig

categorically protests, on behalf of the Polish population of Danzig, against this employment of violence, and establishes, on this basis, the fact that the security enjoyed by the Poles residing in Danzig is inadequate and that this state of affairs has been brought about by the agitation of a number of organisations and persons belonging to the National-Socialist Party—an agitation which does not reject any method, or shrink from employing violence.

“In view of this state of affairs, the Governing Body of the Verband der Polen appeals to the Senate of the Free City of Danzig, which is responsible for the safety of the inhabitants, with the request that it should severely punish the guilty parties, compensate the victims of the terror and take all necessary steps to render impossible a repetition of such incidents and to secure for the Polish population residing in Danzig the possibility of leading a quiet life and of a development within the limits of the legislation binding upon them.”

Appendix IV

LETTER FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, DATED JUNE 17TH, 1936.

As you are aware, meetings of the National-Socialist Party were called by Herr Albert Forster in Danzig during the last week-end with a leaflet headed “Bestialische Bluttat an einem National-Sozialist” Herr Forster made speeches at each of these meetings, of which some reports have been published in the National-Socialist newspapers. According to these reports, Herr Forster declared that the patience (with the Opposition) of the National Socialists was exhausted, and further declared that it would be possible to restore complete tranquillity in Danzig within three weeks. And, again. “Our powers are underestimated, but we can confidently assert that within a few weeks the adversaries will have withdrawn themselves once more into their holes” He appears to have emphasised, in particular, that he was responsible only to the Führer, who had called him to his post.

I have received fuller reports of Herr Forster's speeches, but confine myself to accounts from his own Press. It is not clear what exactly is meant by the declarations as to the restoration of peace in Danzig. I must say however, that the only responsibility Herr Forster or any other private individual in Danzig has is himself to keep the peace and to keep within the law and the Constitution, and to use his influence to that end with such people as may be influenced by him.

I would add that, while he is in Danzig enjoying the hospitality of the Free City Herr Forster can in no way divest himself of responsibilities towards the Government, and more particularly in all matters affecting peace and good order.

In the present situation in Danzig, I think it well to draw the attention of the Senate to Herr Forster's declarations.

(Signed) LESTER.

Appendix V

EXTRACT FROM *Der Danziger Vorposten* OF JUNE 27TH, 1936.

The League of Nations Commissioner at Danzig, by Albert Forster Regional Leader

On Thursday the German cruiser *Leipzig* anchored in the German port of Danzig. The call on the High Commissioner of the League of Nations, which it has been the custom on previous occasions for the staff of German cruisers visiting Danzig to make, did not this time take place. We are not informed as to the precise reasons for the omission of the call, but we can imagine what they were. The situation will be better understood from a study in detail of the activities of the League of Nations' representative in Danzig.

The so-called “Free City” of Danzig was created by the former victorious Powers in order to create a permanent element of agitation and conflict between Germany and Poland. The authors of the dictated Peace of Versailles wished to have Danzig as a leaven of discord on the east of Germany as the Saar was to be on the west. Their expectations were justified, and disputes between Danzig and Poland, and therefore between Germany and Poland, were continuous from 1919 until Adolf Hitler assumed power in 1933. At almost every session of the League of Nations, the Council was called upon to deal with matters in dispute between Danzig and Poland. Danzig at the time was known as the powder-magazine of Eastern Europe.

With the accession of the Führer to power in Germany and the development of the National-Socialist movement in Danzig, Germany's Eastern policy underwent a change. The Führer sought a compromise between Danzig and Poland which would make it possible in future to settle such disputes as might arise between the two States by direct conversations between the Governments of the two countries or their representatives, instead of taking them to Geneva. The path of understanding and co-operation had to be found in the interest of the two countries and in the interest of the peace of Europe. The National-Socialist Government of Danzig took action in this sense, and was successful in negotiating the elimination of all misunderstandings between Danzig and Poland. Relations in Eastern Europe between Danzig and Poland, and consequently between Germany and Poland, were made more tolerable and for three years past

the League of Nations has had no disputes between Danzig and Poland before it. What the League had failed in the years since 1919 to effect—namely an understanding between Danzig and Poland and the pacification of Eastern Europe—Adolf Hitler was able to bring about in the shortest possible period of time. One more striking example of the Führer's love of peace.

The League of Nations and its High Commissioner in Danzig having no longer anything to do in the way of settling conflicts between Danzig and Poland, and the existence of the High Commissioner being thereby rendered superfluous—for the settlement of disputes between Danzig and Poland was the very essence of the High Commissioner's functions—the High Commissioner now finds it necessary to justify his presence in Danzig by activities in quite another direction. The line he takes is one of continual interference in the internal policy of the Free City. He intervenes in matters which no High Commissioner has ever touched before him, though such intervention would have been more necessary in the past than it is to-day. At a time when the National-Socialist Party was not yet in power, and we were exposed to the most shameful and brutal terrorism on the part of the other political parties, no representative of the League of Nations was ever found to protect the National Socialists. No High Commissioner ever thought of submitting special reports to Geneva on incidents of Danzig internal politics, and none of them ever championed the National-Socialist Party when it was the object of attack.

It is only since we have been in power, since union has been achieved at Danzig and since the political parties have been shown of their strength—in so far as that was possible in the very peculiar situation of Danzig—that Mr. Lester, the present representative of the League of Nations, has been at pains on all occasions to come forward as the champion of the Danzig Opposition, that amalgam of the last shreds of the old parties from the Nationalists to the Communists with the Centre halfway between the two, and to make matters unpleasant for the Danzig Government. There would long since have ceased to be any more parties in Danzig but for the League of Nations. What do these parties do? For three years past, they have been conducting a systematic and deliberate campaign of disparagement of National Socialism and opposition to Germany and the Führer. They incite the population on the lines of their former activities in Germany to the class struggle. They preach internationalism, civil war and who knows what besides. They endeavour, under the protection of the League of Nations representative, to create troubles and disorders in Danzig and to make it a stronghold of Bolshevism. When we have taken steps to restore order, and have been successful in doing so, the High Commissioner of the League of Nations tolerates the fomentation of new troubles. He does not allow the Danzig Government to rid themselves of these professional agitators, Communist and other; on the contrary he hampers the Government's efforts and tolerates the campaign of agitation. The events of the last fortnight in Danzig show the length to which these subversive activities go. A half-dozen of National-Socialist wounded and three deaths—such is the terrible price of this campaign of agitation.

The extent to which the High Commissioner sees fit to make advances to the Danzig Opposition may be seen from what happened on the occasion of the visit of a German warship in 1935. The High Commissioner invited the German captain and his officers to dinner, and had the audacity to invite notorious agitators of the Opposition parties to the same reception. His object as host was the singular one of compelling the German officers to sit at table with people who never let slip an opportunity in their Press and at their meetings of insulting the new Germany and the Führer, and hence the Supreme Head of the German armed forces. It was only natural that the High Commissioner's attitude on this occasion should be regarded by the higher authorities of the Reich as a provocation.

The High Commissioner's motives in the matter do not concern us. What is certain is that he takes every opportunity to trip up the National-Socialist Government and to lend his support to the Opposition. His actions in this sense are anything but calculated to promote peace and quiet in Danzig. Just as the Hitlerian movement was able without help from the High Commissioner in Danzig to establish peaceful and friendly relations with Poland, so it will be able to maintain order in the internal affairs of Danzig without the High Commissioner's help. The High Commissioner should be grateful to the Führer and to the movement for establishing good relations between Danzig and Poland, and for putting an end to the struggle of political parties which was rife in Danzig before the National Socialists assumed power. The League of Nations representative in Danzig is free to busy himself as he pleases; but he must leave us National Socialists in peace. We propose to show him that we are in a position to maintain order inside and outside Danzig.

Appendix VI.

VISIT OF GERMAN WARSHIP IN AUGUST 1935.

During the visit of the German warship *Admiral Scheer* to Danzig in August 1935, it was arranged, in agreement with the Danzig Senate, the Polish Minister, the German Consul and the representative of the High Commissioner, that, amongst other entertainments, the High Commissioner would give a dinner and a subsequent reception in honour of the officers. The dinner was limited to strictly official people, but to the reception which followed an additional hundred or so guests were invited. The guests invited to the reception included Polish and

Danzig officials, Consuls de Carrière and honorary Consuls, a few ex-officials and citizens and representatives of the Press. The leaders of the four political parties in Danzig were not invited. One category however, included ex-Presidents of the Senate, of which there were two in Danzig. One of them came. This was the first National-Socialist President of the Senate, who had left office some time previously on the ostensible ground of ill-health and accompanied by high encomiums from his successor, the present National-Socialist President. Another category contained the honorary Consuls, nearly all of whom are Danzig citizens. These may have included also some gentlemen who did not belong to the National-Socialist Party. The representatives of the Danzig, Polish and German newspapers did not exclude one of the editors of the daily Opposition newspaper.

During the reception, some National-Socialists left, including President Greiser. (The naval officers did not leave with him.) No explanation was offered at the time, but it was subsequently announced in the newspapers that President Greiser had left on account of the presence of his predecessor, who had left the National-Socialist Party since his departure from office following a quarrel as to policy with the Gauleiter of his party

I issued the following note to the Press:

“The High Commissioner of the League of Nations in Danzig, having read with some surprise certain local newspapers comments on a so-called incident at his reception of 150 guests in honour of visiting officers of the German Navy and which followed the official dinner, has made the following statement:

“In view of his duties in connection with the Constitution and the Treaties, no holder of the office of High Commissioner can show, or has in the past shown, partisanship by confining his invitations, on the occasion of a large reception, to either Polish or Danzig people, or to members of any one party in Danzig.

“The High Commissioner would be particularly shocked at any attempt to drag visiting officers into local political controversies. In view of the suggestions made, he owes it to his recent German guests to say that, throughout their visit, the Commander and officers of the *Admiral Scheer* have, of course, shown complete courtesy and correctness towards the representative of the League of Nations.”

This was ten months ago. Neither at the time nor on any occasion since has any suggestion been made by German authorities that the presence of former Presidents of the Senate of Danzig, now in Opposition, was unwelcome at a Danzig reception. The incident was local and soon forgotten in Danzig. The High Commissioner, however, took the decision that, while it appeared that the division between the Danzig citizens of German culture was so bitter, he would not again have any general receptions in his house.

Appendix VII.

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE AT A MEETING ON JUNE 28TH, AS REPORTED IN THE
Danziger Vorposten ON JUNE 29TH.

[Translation.]

The Germans in general, and we Danzigers in particular, are living at a time that is full of strain, the effects of which cannot yet be predicted. The National-Socialist Government at Danzig has not only the task of piloting the ship of State quietly and securely it must in addition use part of its strength to protect itself against the irritating and sterile grumbling of the Opposition.

At present, the Opposition is attempting to justify its existence by addressing a flood of petitions to the Government and to the League of Nations. The fact that, in connection with the visit of the German cruiser *Leipzig*, the person of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations and his activities have come up for discussion has also caused some sensation outside Danzig. This gives the Danzig Government sufficient cause to be watchful.