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DANZIG, City of Polish Traditions

*"NO person of Polish nationality was spared, whatever his condition, sex or age might be, but they put to death without mercy individuals of age and under age, including children and infants at the breast, so that the news of this cruelty should spread and break the nerve of others who would fear to offer resistance in other towns and fortified places, and thereby render secure their occupation of the said land. Seldom was the spilling of Polish blood attending the conquest of any place more profuse, seldom the slaughter more inhuman."*¹

These sentences are not a quotation from some "Black Book" on German atrocities in Poland during the present war. They happen to be a translation from Dlugosz, the great Polish chronicler of the fifteenth century, and they refer to the "occupation" of Danzig by the Teutonic Knights on November 14th, 1308. The cited text shows two things: that, in the opinion of Dlugosz, Danzig was a town largely Polish, and that German methods of dealing with their Eastern neighbours have not changed since six centuries. And if we consult the documents of the case brought before the Holy See in consequence of this outrage by Ladislas the Short, King of Poland, we read statements vividly reminiscent of reports issued nowadays by German news agencies.

Clement V, having by a Bull dated Avignon, June 19th, 1310, drawn up a long list of charges against the Teutonic Order, in which he denounced among many

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Danzig, City of Polish traditions and memories: the fountain of Neptune with iron gate decorated with Poland's eagle

¹ Dlugosii Joannis canonici Cracoviensis Historiae Polonicae, libri XII. Cracoviae 1876, III, p. 44 s.

other offences the massacre of more than ten thousand people in the city of Gdansk, the procurators of the order alleged that "the mentioned citizens destroyed the houses of the town of their own free will and went to live in other parts."¹

When these bloody events took place, Danzig already looked back on an existence of about three centuries under the sovereignty of the Kings of Poland, at one time supplanted by the rule of local dukes, and the blood-bath of 1308 marked the beginning of German domination in Danzig.

For a century and a half the city remained subject to the rapacious Teutonic Order. Even the complete rout suffered by these strange Crusaders at the hands of the united forces of Poland and Lithuania at Tannenberg changed nothing in its lot. But about the middle of the fifteenth century, a "Prussian League" having been formed by the cities and the nobility of Pomerania, it appealed to the ancient Sovereign of the land against the Teutonic oppressor. A twelve-years war was waged in which Danzig took a most active part, and the Order having succumbed, Danzig, with the whole of Pomerania, was restored to the Polish Crown. The city received from Casimir Jagellon the fullest measure of self-government and entered on a period of great prosperity.

The Polish King widened the basis of the municipal government by erecting a Third Order or Council representing the population at large. And this remained characteristic of Polish policy towards Danzig in that the successive Kings, whether Sigismund Augustus, Sigismund III or Sobieski consistently sought support from the people as against the merchant oligarchy.

The loyalty of the great seaport town towards the Polish Crown proved to be unshakeable in the hour of trial. The Swedes twice attempted to draw it over to their side under Gustavus Adolphus and under Carolus Gustavus. Not only were these proposals discarded, but the refusal was upheld arms in hand, the King of Poland at the same time receiving important war loans. In the disastrous "flood" of invasion which broke over Poland in the middle of the seventeenth century, Danzig was the only post in Polish territory besides the famous monastery of Czestochowa which never surrendered to the invader. In 1658 the Diet carried a special bill of thanks to the faithful and generous city.

During the Seven Years War Danzig, with great difficulty, avoided occupation first by the Prussians and later by the Russians. Having, however, secured his prey in Silesia, Frederic II proceeded to carry out his further plans of aggrandisement with means more powerful and direct. Thus he became the originator of the First Partition of Poland. By that Act he seized not only Royal Prussia but also a large stretch of country to the South on the river Notec and united his Eastern to his Western possessions. But in a major point he did not obtain satisfaction. Catherine II, who had views rather on the whole of Poland than on any particular parts of it, would not consent to the annexation of Danzig by Prussia.

¹Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum I. Posnaniae 1890, pp. 423 and 428.

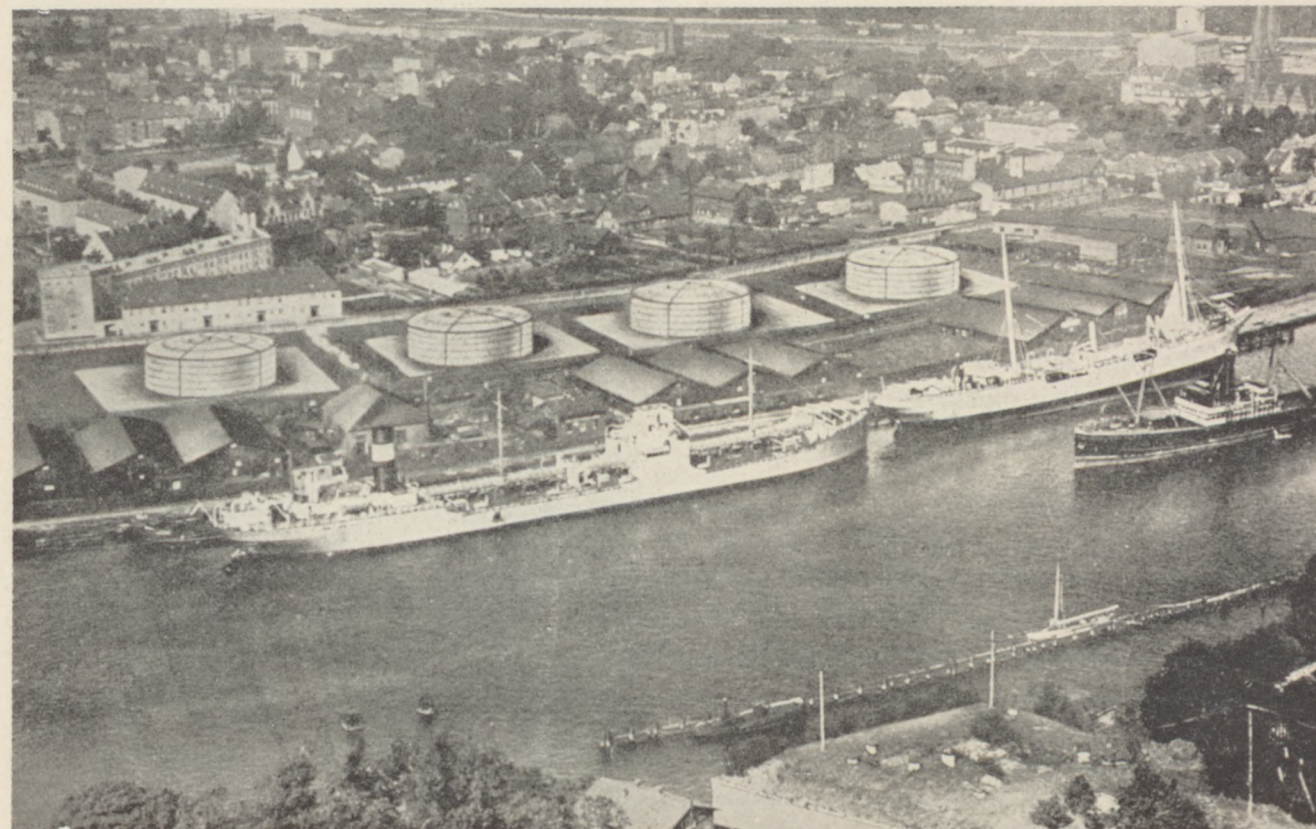
THE VERSAILLES PEACE CONFERENCE AND POLISH CLAIMS TO DANZIG

"By far the greater part of Polish trade must pass by way of the Vistula and the port of Danzig. Surely, if any nation has a claim to direct contact with the outer world it is the nation which is certainly the largest and perhaps the most highly developed of all the new nations established or reestablished by the Peace. Nor is this merely an economic question. If a powerful nation like Germany, whose history has not shown her to be overscrupulous, is to control the main outlet of Polish trade, she will in the end make Poland a mere vassal. It is bad enough that the corridor given Poland should be so inadequate in comparison with her economic needs, and it is a regrettable necessity that both sides of that corridor should be held by a hereditary enemy. Poland may, however, be able to live with German fingers on either side of her windpipe. She cannot live with a German finger in her throat. For the Polish nation the possession of Danzig in some form or other is a matter not of mere economic convenience but rather of life and death.

On the other side it is impossible to claim that the retention of Danzig is essential to the existence of the German State. So far is this from being the case that it has been a deliberate German policy to restrict the development of Danzig, with the result that a city, which has a situation not incomparable to that of Hamburg, remains considerably smaller than the East Prussian garrison and university town of Koenigsberg, a result which is obviously not due entirely to the Russian system of tariffs. The German interest is therefore, primarily one of national sentiment, and there is no doubt that, as a result of the historic connection of Poland with the town, her sentiment for Danzig is as strong as that of Germany. It is only by artificial means that Danzig can be prevented from becoming what nature intended it to be—a Polish port."

(Conf. A History of the Peace Conference, ed. by the late Prof. Temperley, pp. 258-259.)

Frederic knew and said that: "whosoever possesses the mouth of the Vistula and the city of Danzig will be more master of Poland than the King who reigns there." His plans being frustrated for the present, he imme-



Danzig Harbor, general installation and main oil depot of the Polish Petroleum Company

diately undertook a fierce struggle for the city by other means. The Port of Danzig was seized by the Prussians under a far-fetched pretext, and both from there and from a Customs boundary established on the Vistula in the newly acquired territory a ruthless economic war was waged against Danzig. It lasted as long as the reign of Frederic II and was continued by his successor. It is significant that these efforts remained vain and that the people of Danzig stood up to this pressure and their ensuing impoverishment with astonishing endurance and countered most tenaciously all attempts at detaching them from Poland. When at last the fate of Danzig was sealed by the Act of the Second Partition of Poland they still followed their old tradition and rose against their Council and against the Prussian troops. It was by force of arms that Prussian domination was established in Danzig.

During the Congress of Vienna the Senate made most strenuous efforts to preserve the union of Danzig with Polish lands, but was not successful, and Prussian sovereignty was definitely extended to the once proud city. In this way Danzig entered upon the long period of peace which followed the Congress of Vienna as a somewhat insignificant provincial town. The contrast between a grand and glamorous past, to which the very stones of the city bore witness, and the gloomy efficiency

and monotonous routine of Prussian administration was nowhere more striking. Through all that period, extended over a century, Danzig remained a monument of a vanished order of things. Its economic importance declined relatively and even absolutely as compared with the paramount situation it had enjoyed at the mouth of the Vistula in former times. Whereas the export of wheat from Danzig through the Sund in the prosperous years of the seventeenth century had attained about 250,000 tons, the average for the years 1814-30 was approximately 72,000, and between 1831-36 only 42,000 tons. In 1819, in 1821 and 1822 hunger riots broke out in Danzig, whose prosperity was now entirely dependent on the state of economic relations between Prussia and the Russian Empire.

This state of things also found expression in the figure of population, which in 1817 sank as low as 48,000 and it was only in 1864 that Danzig again reached 78,000, which is the number of inhabitants it had already attained in the seventeenth century. Even when the Kingdom of Prussia first and the German Empire hereafter entered on their career of extraordinary prosperity and rapid economic development the share of Danzig in the fruits of this evolution was not what might have been expected. Not only was the city cut off from its natu-

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POLAND SPEAKS . . .

DECLARATION made at the Interallied Conference in London on Sept. 24, 1941 by the acting Foreign Minister of Poland, Edward Raczynski.

"The Polish Government welcomed with deep satisfaction the close solidarity of the two great democracies that made it possible for the President of the United States and the British Prime Minister to proclaim publicly a joint British-American programme of war and peace aims. The Polish nation, just as other nations of the European continent, will regard this declaration, together with British-American solidarity symbolised therein, as a guarantee of allied victory and of the freeing of Europe from the German yoke."

"The Polish nation which consistently rejected and rejects all German suggestions of collaboration with the Nazi regime, and which was the first nation to oppose the mighty military power of Germany at a tremendous cost in masses of victims in cultural achievements of many generations and in material wealth, that resulted in an enormous setback in the development of the country as compared with other continental nations, has undoubted the right to expect just retribution for the wrong inflicted upon it."

"The Polish Government are confident that none of the illegal acts perpetrated by Germany on the territory of Poland will be recognised by the victorious democracies; this will finally convince German nation that aggression doesn't pay."

"In particular the Polish population of the Western provinces so ruthlessly transplanted must be given the possibility of immediate reintegration in the land of their ancestors, and the German settlers installed in Polish homesteads must be sent back to the Reich."

"The Polish Government has profound faith in the sense of justice of Great Britain as well as of the United States and is therefore persuaded that Poland—the first country to stand up to the German onslaught, staking in this struggle her territorial integrity—cannot emerge from this war with territory reduced in strength and importance. The future frontiers of Poland should safeguard the country's security as a part of the general security of Europe—they should assure Poland's vital need of a wide access to the sea, adequately protected from foreign interference, as well as her economic development in proportion to the size of her population."

"Poland's free access to the sea was stipulated in point thirteen of President Wilson's fourteen points, as a guarantee of our country's independence which should this time be made really free and secure."

"The Roosevelt-Churchill declaration, as it is understood by the Polish Government, places security against another war and achievement of economic prosperity in the forefront as principal aims of new democratic order. These aims are also those of Poland."

"The British Prime Minister in his eloquent broadcast speech of August 24th gave us the assurance that Great Britain and the United States do not wish to repeat the mistake of 1918, by believing that this war is certain to be the last."

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Danzig, one of the numerous arched passages surmounted by the arms of Poland

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ral sphere of commercial activity by the Russian frontier, but there seemed to subsist in governing circles in Berlin a residue of resentment or misgiving about this city which had been so unwilling to become Prussian. The Danish toll in the Sund was paid by the Prussian State for ships bound for Stettin since the Congress of Vienna. Not so for ships going to Danzig. Hamburg was linked to Berlin by rail in 1846, but Danzig did not become connected with the Prussian railway system till 1869. This system running entirely parallel to the Baltic coast as well as the canal of Bydgoszcz, deepened in the "sixties," diverted towards the West many cargoes, which would otherwise have gone to Danzig. Although as years elapsed the old thoughts of discrimination against Danzig doubtless disappeared, making way for the tender care of the Prussian Government for the Eastern Provinces threatened by the "Polish danger," the outbreak of war in 1914 found Danzig's total sea-borne traffic equalling one-tenth of that of Hamburg, one-third of that of Stettin.

" . . . whosoever possesses the mouth of the Vistula and the City of Danzig will be more master of Poland than the King who reigns there."

Frederic II, King of Prussia.

The "Polish question" was in those days carefully kept out of all international discussions, but history and geography continued to convey their teachings to attentive minds. Bismarck certainly belonged to this category, and Poland appears to have been one of those political nightmares from which he habitually suffered. When no more in power he headed a great anti-Polish movement. On September 23rd, 1893, he received a delegation of his new followers and then told them textually: *"For a Polish State with Warsaw, Danzig is a greater necessity than Poznan."*¹

DANZIG AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

If such was the opinion of Bismarck, no wonder that when the end of the Four Years War came in sight the representatives of Poland in Europe and America, when explaining to Allied Governments what they considered to be the essential conditions of their country's restoration, laid the greatest stress on the necessity of returning to the old tradition and including Danzig in Poland's re-established frontiers.

When the Peace Conference in Paris assembled and a "Polish Commission" was appointed under the chairmanship of M. Jules Cambon, this Commission, when instructed to report on the frontiers between Poland and Germany, unhesitatingly recommended the inclusion of Danzig in the Polish State (March 12th, 1919).² A special conference of British and American experts assembled on February 21st, had been of the same opinion.³

The Inter-Allied Commission, under the chairmanship of M. Noulens, which in the meantime had visited Poland, on April 17th unanimously issued the same recommendation.⁴

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¹ Bismarck. Gesammelte Werke, ed. by Wilhelm Schüssler. Berlin, 1930, vol. XIII, p. 544.

² Conf. A History of the Peace Conference, ed. by the late Prof. Temperley, vol. VI, p. 259.

³ Conf. David Hunter Miller, Diary, vol. XIX, p. 85.

⁴ D. H. Miller, p. 85.

"For a Polish State with Warsaw, Danzig is a greater necessity than Posnan."

Bismarck.

HITLER'S "EUROPEAN CRUSADE" ONLY A BLUFF!

"GERMANY'S struggle against Moscow has become the crusade of Europe against Bolshevism," stated the *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz* on June 27, and the entire German press at once took up the cue and began to elaborate the ideological issue. "Germany and her Allies" was the new phrase introduced into the communiqués to describe the belligerents, and, though Italy figures as one of the allies, the Axis designation has now been dropped.

ITALY—A few hours after Hitler's proclamation to the German people had been read by Goebbels over the wireless, Mussolini announced in a communiqué of the Stefani Agency that Italy had been at war with the Soviet Union from 5:30 a.m., June 22. As usual, Fascist press comment was pompous and diffuse; for a while it was contradictory. Thus, Virginio Gayda wrote in the *Giornale d'Italia* on June 24: "This war is not an armed conflict of political ideologies." Alfredo Signoretti, in the *Stampa*, gave two reasons for Italy's immediate participation: absolute solidarity with Germany and the deep anti-Bolshevist spirit of the Italian people. But no sooner was the *mot d'ordre* given in Berlin than the Italian press switched over to the "crusade" slogan. On July 3, at Mantua, Mussolini reviewed the three Italian mechanised divisions "chosen to be sent to the Russian front." In a farewell speech to his "Blackshirt Legion" he said:

"The struggle for which we have prepared for years has entered upon its final stage; the drama is at its fifth act. Henceforth the alignment is complete. On one side Rome, Berlin and Tokyo; on the other London, Washington and Moscow. We have not the slightest doubt about the issue of this great battle. We shall triumph because history teaches that peoples who represent the ideas of the past must give way before the peoples which represent the ideas of the future.

RUMANIA and FINLAND—The German proclamation of June 22 mentioned only Rumania and Finland as Germany's allies in the war against the Soviet Union. Although their desire to regain the lost territories is understandable, their action in allying themselves with Hitler in a war of aggression cannot be justified on any grounds. Marshal Mannerheim's order of the day, issued on the outbreak of hostilities, foreshadowed a "Greater Finland" stretching from the shores of the White Sea to Lake Onega. *Conducator* Antonescu saw within his reach the *Moldova Transnistria*, the territory east of the Dniestr. Dazzled by Hitler's promises, these two countries have thrown in their lot with Germany.

SLOVAKIA and HUNGARY—While the Finnish and Rumanian Governments had some show of reason for their decision, the Hungarian and Slovak Governments acted like madmen in declaring war on the Soviet Union. The clowns of Bratislava

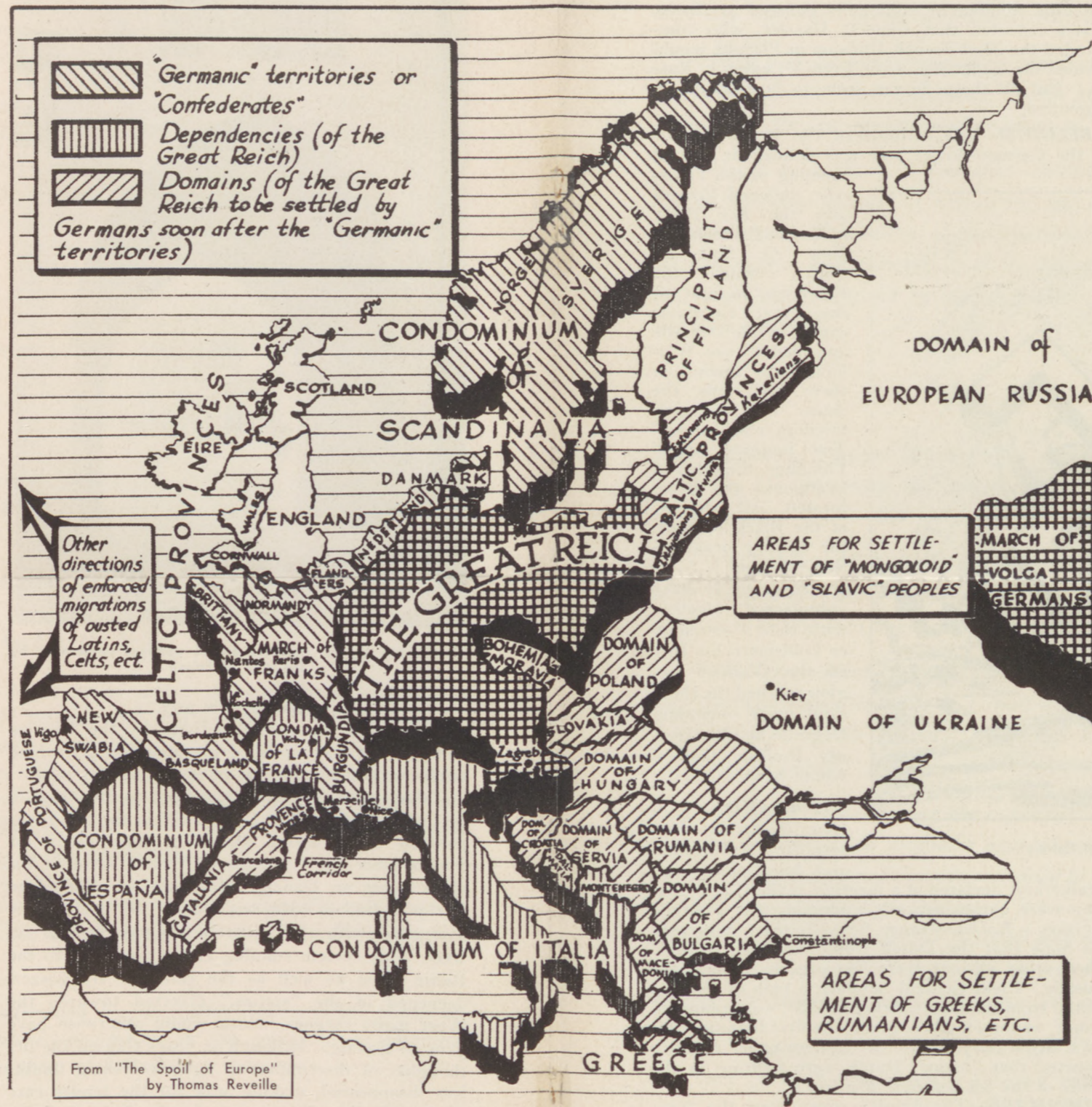
must, of course, obey the orders of Berlin, but the action of proud Admiral Horthy was rather unexpected. He has proved himself to be a Danubian Darlan. A year ago some political observers had illusions that this old gentleman was wise. Some people grow wiser with age, others join the Axis.

On June 24, Dr. Tuka Béla, Slovak Prime Minister, received Herr Ludin, the German Minister in Bratislava, and informed him that the Slovak Government had entered the war against Soviet Russia. Father Josef Tiso, the President of the State, issued a proclamation boasting of the contribution of the Slovak nation towards the protection of European culture, and sent a telegram to Hitler assuring him of "the loyalty of the Slovak nation" and of their "unshaken belief in victory." Sano Mach, the Minister of the Interior, said in a broadcast: "Benes planned to make Slovakia the springboard of a Bolshevist attack against Europe. Our entry into the war is therefore the most natural development. What about the argument of Slavism? There is no question of Slavism. If it existed, all the Slav nations would long have been in the forefront of the fight against the Jewish Bolshevism, that great enemy of Slavism." The "Slovak Army," consisting probably of not more than one division, crossed the Carpathians on July 2 and followed the advancing Germans into the Ukraine. Two weeks later rumours were spreading that the Slovaks had suffered heavy losses. General Catlos, Minister of War, issued a denial, stating that the Slovak losses amounted to only 29 wounded.

CROATIA — On June 15, the day on which Pavelic, the Croat *Poglavnik*, joined the Tripartite Pact, Signoretti, writing in the *Stampa*, reached the height of ridicule when he compared the Venice meeting to the Inter-Allied Conference at St. James' Palace in London. At the latter were "phantoms who represented no people"; at Venice there was reunion of representatives of "living, burning peoples, bound in brotherhood by a common aspiration." Two days after the German attack on the Soviet Union, Pavelic and his "foreign minister," Lorkovic, declared war on Moscow, and "General" Kvaternik appealed to the youth of Croatia to join the Legion for the fight with "the enemy of European civilisation." So far nothing has been heard of the response of the young Croats.

BULGARIA—Bulgaria is the only signatory of Tripartite Pact which has not broken off diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. The explanation for this anomaly is that the Bulgarian peasants are overwhelmingly pro-Russian, and they make up 80 per cent. of the nation, and, therefore, of the lower ranks of the army. This fact was ignored in 1915 by King Ferdinand. King Boris is following the policy of his father, though with one difference: he agreed to kick Yugoslavia and Greece when they were down, but he is afraid of declaring war on Russia. Germany, however, refuses to consider the subtleties

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From "The Spoil of Europe" by Thomas Reveille

EUROPE !! — IF HITLER'S DREAM CAME TRUE

of Bulgarian diplomacy and has demanded two Bulgarian divisions against the Soviet Union. This has provoked a crisis in the Bulgarian High Command. Several generals have been dismissed because they declared they could not answer for the conduct of their men in the event of their being ordered to fight against Russia.

SPAIN—Such were the reactions to the German-Soviet war in the countries riveted to Germany. Spain has not joined the Tripartite Pact, but the Government-controlled press applauded Hitler's latest aggression and swallowed the "ideological" bait. Only the *Falange*, however, showed any genuine enthusiasm, and started recruiting volunteers ready to die in Russia by the side of the Germans. The latter claim that one division of Blue Shirts is now on the way to the front, and that a further two are being completed. The facts seem to be that General Muñoz Grande has been appointed commander of the first division by the *Caudillo*, and that one thousand Spanish volunteers have arrived at Stuttgart.

V

Let us see how the occupied and conquered countries have responded to the German call.

FRANCE — Eight days after the "crusade" had begun the Vichy Government broke off the diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. on the ground that it had "convinced" itself that the Soviet diplomatic and consular agents in France were exercising an *acton attentatoire à l'ordre public et à la sécurité de l'Etat*. "In taking this initiative," wrote *Le Temps* on July 2, "France lines up with the policy of no other Power. She is inspired solely by what French interest requires." While Vichy comment showed some measure of independence, the ideological *bavardage* in the Paris press came straight from the Nazi fountain-head. Jacques Doriot, leader of the *Parti Populaire Français*, advocated in his *Cri du Peuple* the idea of a French Legion to fight Soviet Russia. He was supported by Marcel Déat in the *Oeuvre*, Jean Luchaire (now editor of the *Matin*) and Jean Fontenoy, chief propagandist of the *Rassemblement National Populaire*, which apparently is still alive. "Cagoulard" Deloncle formed a special Committee

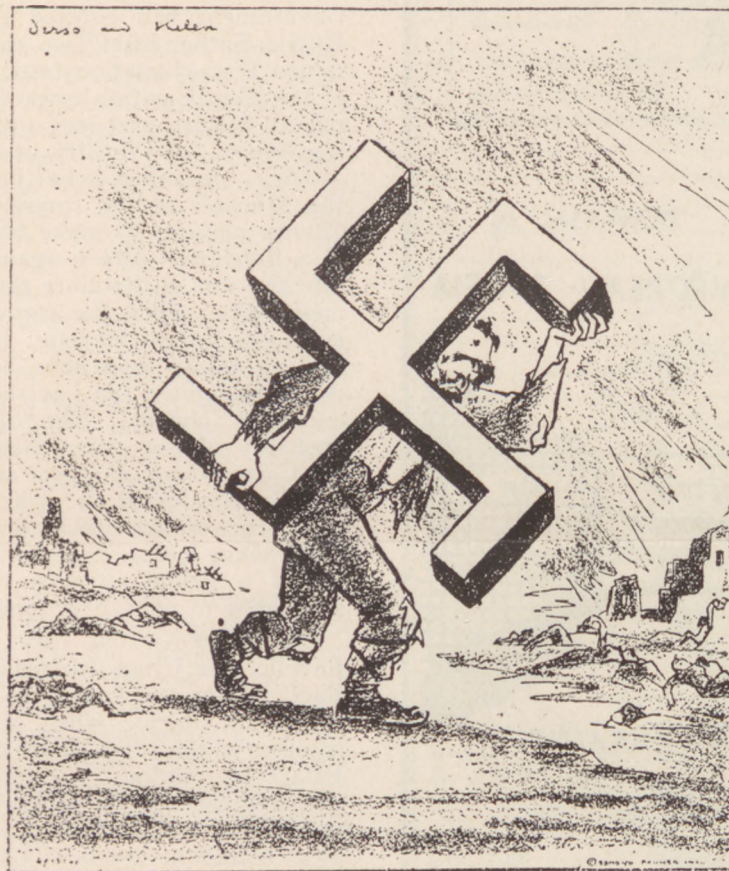
(in the old office of the *Inturist*) and, on July 18, staged at the *Vélodrome d'Hiver* a meeting with an audience which Radio-Paris claimed numbered 18,000. On July 29 the Transocean Agency gave the total number of volunteers enlisted as 25,000. *Oeuvre* reported that General Hassler, who commanded the 22nd French Division in 1939-40, would assume the leadership of the French Legion in Russia. But all these figures seem to be greatly exaggerated.

BELGIUM—The attitude of the Belgian Nazis to the German-Soviet war was defined at a joint meeting of the *Vlaamse Nationaal Verbond* and the Rex Party held in Brussels on June 23. Staf De Clercq urged the Flemings "to fight for the great Germanic cause," while Degrelle appealed to the Walloons to throw in their lot with the cause of "Europe's freedom and future." Two Legions, one of Flemings, the other of Walloons, are being formed. All members of the Black Brigade, the fighting organization of the V.N.V., are reported to have volunteered, together with their Commander Tollenare. On July 26 the Walloon Legion reached the thousand mark, including Degrelle and his Deputy, Rouleau, both of whom have enlisted.

HOLLAND — On June 27 Anton Mussert, the N.S.B. leader, and his Deputy van

Geelkerken, declared at a meeting at the Hague that they were enthusiastically endorsing the Führer's decision. *Reichskommissar* Seyss-Inquart expressed the hope that the Dutch would not "lag behind" when other nations were "so eagerly joining the crusade." Lieut-General Seyffart, a man of 69, who retired from the Dutch Army in 1934, was appointed C-in-C. of the Dutch Legion. The first battalion left for Cracow on July 26. A German paper recently reported that "many" Dutch were fighting in the ranks of the S.S.-*Standarte Westland*.

DENMARK—The Danish press gave the "crusade" a cautious welcome. "Can any Scandinavian country fail to understand the position which Finland has taken up by the side of Germany, Italy and Rumania?" asked Jakob Krønika in *Nationaltidende* (Please turn to page 10)



Not the Crusade but Calvary

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"It follows that prevention against aggression, and the outbreak of a third world war will remain as major problem of the postwar period. Remedial measures against a new war should be varied, as were also the causes of the outbreak of the two wars.

"Point 8 of the joint Declaration concerning the disarmament of the nations guilty of aggressions represents an important guarantee. It can however hardly remain as the sole guarantee. The experience of the last twenty years is there to prove it.

"It will be necessary to find other effective additional guarantees. Both the solution of the problem of European security as well as the task of assuring the prosperity of Europe is unthinkable without close collaboration of the continent with the British Empire and the United States. Continental nations will assuredly see in the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration, new proof that the two democracies are determined to maintain their interest in the continent after victory over Germany has been achieved.

V V V

JAN Masaryk, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia at the Inter-Allied Conference in London, September 24, 1941 made the following joint statement on behalf of the Czechoslovakia and Polish Government.

"The Polish and Czechoslovak Governments animated by the spirit of solidarity that inspired their joint declaration of November 11, 1940 on the necessity of establishing a post war confederation between the two countries make following joint declaration:

"The Governments of the Republic of Poland and of the Republic of Czechoslovakia declare that they are determined to assist in a spirit of close and friendly collaboration in the realization of the principal aims of the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration, namely the security against a third war and economic prosperity of the world.

"Moreover, remembering the experience of the Polish and Czechoslovak nations, which have suffered so much from insatiable aggressiveness of Germany, both Governments are of opinion that safeguards against a third German war must be sought not only in complete preventive destruction of the means that Germany might use in future, in another attempt at realization of her aggressive plans, but also in furnishing effective political and material guarantees and in offering necessary economic assistance for reconstruction of the despoiled economies of the nations that were and may again become the object of initial aggressive acts on the part of Germany.

"The two governments are convinced that the carrying out of the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration in a spirit of justice which does not admit of uniformity of treatment for those guilty of provoking world wars and of the victims of those wars, will lay the foundations of a new order in Europe, based upon a permanent system of general prosperity and of social justice. The Achievement of this aim will convince the nations of the continent that their sufferings during the world war 1914-1918 and during the present war were neither unavailing nor fruitless.

"Germany will be Germany only when it is Europe as well. . . . We, as the true chosen people, shall become the masters of the earth."

Hitler.

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on June 24. Lieut.-Colonel Krysing, of the Danish Army, appealed in the pro-Nazi *Fædrelandet* (June 29) for a Free Corps *Danmark* to fight Bolshevism by the side of the Finns. "Since April 9, 1940, it has been a hard job to be a soldier in Denmark," he said, "now Germany is giving us a chance to retrieve the honour of Danish arms." A few hundred volunteers have enlisted.

NORWAY—At last we have a clear ideological front," wrote Quisling's *Fritt Folk* on June 23. "The two major opposing forces today are Bolshevism and the Nordic-European principles," stated Gulbrand Lunde, Quisling's Minister of Propaganda. This was the line taken by the German-controlled press. The "so-called patriots" looking towards London, King Haakon and the Nygaardsvold Government were again attacked. On June 30 *Reichskommissar* Terboven, in a proclamation to the Norwegian people, solemnly announced that Hitler "has granted permission to form a Norwegian division to fight in Finland." Vidkun Quisling, speaking at a meeting of the *Nasjonal Samling* in Oslo on July 4, said: "Who is not against Bolshevism is for it." The results of the recruiting propaganda seem to be poor, though a few hundred Norwegians and Danes are already serving in the *S.S.-Standarte Nordland*.

CZECH PROTECTORATE — The German aggression against the U.S.S.R. was interpreted in the Nazi-controlled Czech press as "a judgment upon Moscow for its betrayal of Europe." The statement issued on June 24 by President Hacha reads as follows: "The Führer's decision to square accounts with Bolshevism is an historic milestone in the effort to reconstruct Europe. This resolve found us Czechs prepared spiritually, as we have

"By the will of the Fuehrer, you are to be a nation of peasants and workmen. We do not need a Polish educated class. The Reich has an abundance of educated men of her own."

From the recent speech of Dr. Frank, Governor General of Poland.

always been when, in the fateful hours of our history, we have to decide on our future attitude. We are opposed to every orientation that is foreign to our historic and cultural development and mission. Faithful to our past, we have decided in favour of Europe and social justice. We are convinced that the ever-victorious military might of Germany will show the whole world what lies behind the facade of Bolshevism. There is only one law, one duty, for the Czech people—namely, in a spirit of quiet and absolute discipline to work with redoubled energy at the task of providing the food and the arms for the Great German Reich." Two days later Fousek, the leader of the *Národní Soudnoceství* (National Solidarity Party), issued a proclamation asking his followers (numbering some 2,000,000 on paper) to "protect good Czech citizens against the destructive influence of those who take unfair advantage of the sentiments of blood relationship in order to undermine national unity." Nevertheless, *Reichsprotektor* von Neurath has not asked Messrs. Hacha and Fousek to form a Czech Legion to fight in Russia.

POLAND—Poland, the last on our list, has not produced a Quisling, and her people continue to maintain an uncompromisingly hostile attitude towards the enemy of Europe. Although at the time of the German attack on Russia Hitler's satrap Hans Frank forced himself to say that "the Poles have proved to be a trustworthy element, especially the workers and the peasants," and though he promised them a "better future" he has not found a single Pole ready to "collaborate." The rumours that the Conservative politician Wojciech Rostworowski (who must not be confused with his namesake, the deceased member of the Hague Court of International Justice) has agreed to form a "Polish Government" have not been confirmed.

V

After two months of ceaseless propaganda, designed to transform the German imperialist war against the U.S.S.R. into "European crusade," the leaders of the Third Reich have been forced to admit the failure of their efforts. There are signs that they are now revising their tactics. Indications of a new note in the German propaganda can be gleaned from the *Scharze Korps*, the weekly organ of the S. S. and of the Gestapo, which on July 24 wrote:

"It is absolutely wrong to assume that Germany is fighting Russia to liberate Europe from Bolshevism. The German nation was never obliged to take up a kind of crusade against Bolshevism and it is not intended to sacrifice thousands of the best young Germans to save other nations from Bolshevism. We are not fighting to save culture, civilisation or democracy, but merely to save Germany."

Thus the writer frankly admits that the "crusade" stunt was invented to provide German imperialism with cannon fodder.

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All these recommendations, however, failed to convince certain influential and probably prejudiced members of the Peace Conference, and a compromise had to be sought for, and it is this compromise which figures in the Treaty of Versailles.

In virtue of Article 102 the Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertook to establish the town of Danzig, together with the rest of the surrounding territory ceded by Germany as a Free City placed under the protection of the League of Nations. The High Commissioner of the League of Nations was entrusted with the duty of dealing in the first instance with differences arising between Poland and the Free City. According to Article 104 the Principal Allied Powers "undertook to negotiate a Treaty between the Polish Government and the Free City." This Treaty was to contain the following capital points:—

(1) To effect the inclusion of the Free City within the Polish customs frontiers.

(2) To ensure to Poland without any restriction the free use and service of all waterways, docks, basins, wharves and other works within the territory of the Free City necessary for Polish imports and exports.

(3) To ensure to Poland the control and administration of the Vistula and of the whole railway system within the Free City, and of postal, telegraph and telephone communication between Poland and the Port of Danzig.

(4) To ensure to Poland the right to develop and improve the waterways, docks, basins, wharves, railways and other works and means of communication . . . as well as to lease or to purchase through appropriated processes such land and other property as might be necessary for these purposes.

(5) To provide against any discrimination within the Free City of Danzig to the detriment of citizens of Poland and other persons of Polish origin or speech.

(6) To provide that the Polish Government should undertake the conduct of the foreign relations of the Free City and the diplomatic protection of its citizens.

These provisions to be imposed on Danzig in favour of Poland were to form a substitute of the "free and secure access to the sea," of which President Wilson had spoken in his "Thirteenth Point." But the difference was very great and remained so. The working of this (Poland's only port) was to be dependent on an elaborate international machinery coordinating the rights of three different agencies: the Free City, Poland and the League of Nations. This arrangement had to be devised because its authors did not credit Poland with the capacity of organising a stable and efficient administration, but eventually they put upon her a task which would have been embarrassing for the departments of any old and experienced government.

"We . . . Knights and Councillors of Danzig, plenipotentiaries, delegates from the Confederation of Prussian territories, declare that . . . having taken into consideration all the oppression, coercion, and violation of freedom which we have suffered most unjustifiably at the hands of the Prussian Crutched Knights for many years, we have decided, by a resolution of all our elders and the whole of our community, knights and leading townsmen, to renounce our obedience to the Grand Master and the Prussian Order and to repel force with force, and we declare our feudal allegiance to our Most Serene Master and Lord, Casimir King of Poland . . . (From the document by which the Estates of Prussia and Danzig expressed their wish to be joined to Poland in 1454.)"

DANZIG AFTER THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

The representatives of the Free City were in the habit of alluding to the Prussian period as a time of unmingled prosperity and exemplary economic balance. But the average of goods cleared in Danzig in the three most prosperous years of the Prussian period was 2,500,000 tons.

The lowest level of traffic in Danzig was recorded in 1922, when the total volume only attained 970,000 tons. But in the following years it rose rapidly: in 1923 it was 1,718,000, in 1924 it attained 2,374,000, and amounted to 6,300,000 in 1926. In 1928 it reached 8,616,000 and remained above 8,000,000 tons in the three following years, a figure considerably surpassing the triple of the best pre-war years. The economic crisis only told on Danzig in 1932, when the total of cargoes cleared fell to 5,476,000. This figure remained near the average of the following years till 1936, but in the last two years before the present war broke out, 1937 and 1938, the total of Danzig trade was again over 7,000,000 tons.

In 1912 the number of ships which entered the Port of Danzig was 2,992, with a total tonnage of 970,000 N.R.T. In 1938 the corresponding figures were 6,601 ships and their tonnage 4,768,000 N.R.T., which means that the tonnage cleared in Danzig increased five-fold since the Prussian days.

The new order of things as provided by the Peace Treaty was not yet established in Danzig when it became startlingly apparent how very precarious Polish rights in that city might become, especially at moments of emergency when the very existence of the State would depend on their being exercised without hindrance. At the end of July, 1920, when the Polish armies on the whole front were in retreat before the Russians, shipments of ammunition for Poland arrived in the harbour of Danzig. But the dock labourers refused to unload the munitions and threatened to proclaim a general strike of harbour workers if Polish workmen were brought in to do it. Fortunately for Poland, Danzig at that moment was garrisoned by British troops who, under orders

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from General Sir Richard Haking, unloaded the munitions which were subsequently transferred by barge to Polish territory.

After a hundred years of Prussian domination and severance from Polish lands, Danzig was no more the important emporium it had still been in the eighteenth century. Its population had begun by declining markedly, and when in the later years of that century the general increase of population in European countries had found its expression also in the figures concerning Danzig, the character of that city's inhabitants underwent a far-going change. While its sea-port scarcely could claim more than a second-rate importance even among the harbours of the Baltic, Danzig had become (in 1878) the capital of the province of Western Prussia, then the seat of the command of the XIII Army Corps and been endowed with a series of offices and institutions characteristic of a big Prussian administrative centre: a district postmaster's office, a treasury office, a school board, a board of public health, a regional railway administration, a record office, a series of schools, including a college of engineering. This brought about a strong flow of immigrants from all parts of Germany, most of whom continued to draw their income from the Prussian State or from other sources not connected with Danzig.

The authors of the Treaty of Versailles did not fail to understand that, if a "Free City" was to be established in Danzig, something definite would have to be done to dissociate its inhabitants from their former dependence on Germany, and a special article of the Treaty (105) declared that all persons resident in the territory assigned to Danzig would *ipso facto* lose their German nationality. But this text remained a dead letter, as it was not provided with any effective sanctions and both Danzig and Germany were only too eager to deprive it of any practical meaning.

In 1926 there were in Danzig 9,100 regular officials, not including persons temporarily engaged in government work, a figure very high for a municipal republic of 400,000 inhabitants. In addition to that, 16,000 retired German army officers and civil servants, as well as 30,000 people receiving old-age and invalids' pensions, resided in Danzig, the vast majority paid, not by the Free City, but by Germany, which transferred to Danzig about \$5,000,000 yearly to meet these obligations.¹ At the same time the Polish minority in Danzig, which was not large, appeared to be decreasing instead of growing in numbers, although Danzig belonged to the Polish Customs area and was drawing most of its profits from Polish trade. In 1920 the number of Polish votes cast in Danzig were 9,000, ten years later only 6,000.

A group of population which grew in numbers

¹ Morrow, p. 165, note.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

in spite of all obstacles was that of "Polish-speaking foreigners." In 1929 they were 19,660,² ten years later they were estimated at about 30,000. But these were Poles residing in Danzig only on toleration and mostly engaged in unskilled labour. Among the obligations solemnly imposed on the Free City by the Peace Treaty (Art. 104, p. 5) was that of abstaining from any discrimination "to the detriment of citizens of Poland and other persons of Polish origin or speech." But this principle remained in the sphere of pure theory. The same obligations were formulated in the Paris Convention between Poland and Danzig (Art. 33) in a way admitting endless argument, while in the Constitution of the Free City, Danzig was allowed to bestow on its authorities rights amounting to discretionary powers in the question of naturalisation. The practice of expelling Polish citizens from Danzig and of refusing to register Polish firms, was one of the first subjects of Polish-Danzig controversy. On December 30th, 1922, the freedom of economic enterprise in Danzig was further reduced by a law forbidding the acquisition of real estate without a special permit, which could be refused without reasons being given.

Although certain points connected with the treatment of Polish nationals in Danzig ended in being settled by way of agreement between the two Governments, nevertheless the legislative measures which Danzig adopted were the artificial means to prevent that gradual assimilation of the city to its new background and that progressive alteration in the character of its inhabitants which would have undoubtedly taken place under similar conditions in any other part of the world. For Poland this meant that she was deprived of the possibility of drawing full advantage from the fact that she now had a sea-port at her disposal. To achieve that end, complete liberty of settlement, of acquiring property and of founding commercial enterprises would have been necessary. Discouraged by the endless difficulties which they encountered at every step in Danzig, the Poles soon arrived at the conclusion that their best answer to the game played by the Free City would be to found a harbour in which they would enjoy the full right of sovereignty denied them in Danzig. This trend of thought led to the foundation of Gdynia.

NOTHING NEW IN HITLER'S PLAN

Centuries ago Tacitus wrote:

"The Germans make war with the sole object of looting."

And Frederick the Great advised:

"If you want to invade some territory, it is of no use preparing some previous justification. When once your military action is completed, look for historians willing to establish the equity of your pretensions."