LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FREE CITY OF DANZIG

DANZIG = POLISH RELATIONS

SPECIAL REPORT BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
DATED AUGUST 15TH, 1931, AND SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT
DATED AUGUST 20TH, 1931.¹

Note by the Secretary-General.

In conformity with the Council’s resolution of May 22nd, 1931, the High Commissioner has submitted to the Council of the League of Nations a special report, dated August 15th, 1931, with six annexes, and a supplementary special report dated August 20th, 1931, on the situation in Danzig. The Secretary-General has the honour to communicate these reports for the consideration of the Council.

REPORT BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

[Translation.]

Danzig, August 15th, 1931.

At its meeting on May 22nd, 1931, the Council of the League of Nations invited me “to submit a further report on the situation for the next session of the Council.” I accordingly have the honour to follow up my report of April 25th, 1931, by submitting the present report to the Council.

On my return to Danzig at the end of May, I soon noted that the agitation caused by the deplorable incidents between Danzig citizens and Poles which occurred during April and to which I considered it my duty to draw the Council’s attention in a special report had subsided to some extent. Unfortunately, I found that the general situation at Danzig was not so satisfactory: disturbances owing to party strife still continue. During the month of June, particularly violent clashes occurred between the organisations of the extremist parties even in the centre of the town, and, if they had spread, they would have constituted a very serious menace to public security.

Since June 4th, I have made further representations to the Senate of the Free City, as suggested by the Council in Point II of its resolution of May 22nd, and have drawn the Senate’s special attention to the regrettable consequences which might have resulted from the circumstances to which I have just referred, and to the necessity of taking without delay appropriate measures to check further developments of this kind.

On June 30th, 1931, after a lively discussion in the “Volkstag”, the Senate obtained the necessary powers to enact a series of measures designed to ensure the maintenance of public order in the Free City (Ernächtigungsgesetz); this law is to remain in force until January 1st, 1932. On the same day, another law was passed introducing certain restrictions in regard to the Press (Gesetz zur Sicherung der öffentlichen Ordnung) (Appendix I).²

In a letter dated July 3rd (Appendix II), the Senate of the Free City communicated to me the decrees which it had just promulgated under the authority of the above-mentioned law conferring upon it full powers (Appendix III).³

¹ For the preceding report, see document C.285.1931.1.
² Note by the Secretary-General. — Appendices I and III are kept in the Archives of the Secretariat and may be consulted by the Members of the Council.
³ S.d.N. 605 (F) 345 (A) 9/31, Imp. Kundig.
I think there is no need for me to analyse the laws and decrees in question; it will be sufficient if I refer to the summary of them given by the Senate itself; this summary appears as a sub-
appendix to Appendix II.

In my reply of the same date to the President of the Senate, I emphasised that, although
more general restrictions relating to the abuse of uniforms at Danzig would have been desirable
from several points of view, I could only take note of the Senate’s communication in the hope
that these measures would have practical results. In my special report of April 25th last, I had
brought this abuse to the notice of the Council and, on May 22nd, the latter had requested me
to make further representations to the Senate on the subject, which I did on June 4th.

It should be noted that, while the Senate felt that it must take into account the opinion
expressed both by the representatives of the parties and by the police authorities in favour of
the wearing of uniforms inasmuch as they facilitate the supervision and control of the members
of the parties themselves, the new measures adopted by the Senate in this connection impose
considerable restrictions on citizens wearing uniform as compared with the rights enjoyed by
other citizens.

It must also be admitted—and I have great satisfaction in informing the Council of this
fact—that the measures adopted by the Danzig Government have so far proved effective in
maintaining an adequate degree of safety and public order in the territory of the Free City.

I am also happy to be able to inform the Council that the improvement in the relations
between Danzig and Poland, which I noted on my return from the Council session held in May,
has continued—a fact which the Press of both parties has commented on with satisfaction.
Unfortunately, the personal relations between M. Ziehm, President of the Senate of the Free City,
and M. Strasburger, the representative of the Republic of Poland, have not yet been satisfactorily
defined, but there is reason to hope that they will not affect the treatment of matters of public
interest and that it will be possible to examine in a calm atmosphere, and consequently in a more
conciliatory spirit on both sides, the problems inherent in the special situation of Danzig, which
inevitably give rise at times to considerable divergences in the initial views of the parties.

I need not draw the special attention of the Council to certain incidents which have occurred
between Polish citizens and Danzig nationals and which have been reported to me, because, in
my opinion, they are incidents which, though deplorable, are inevitable in all large towns, and
also because they are not sufficiently important to have any general consequences.

On the other hand, somewhat grave consequences might have arisen as a result of an unfor-
tunate dispute between the authorities of the Free City and the Polish authorities with regard
to the dispatch to Danzig territory of detachments of Polish warships in the port of Danzig. While the Polish naval authorities maintained that it
was not necessary to obtain the consent of the Danzig authorities to the sending of detachments
ashore, the latter contended that Polish naval authorities, like other foreign naval authorities,
should comply with the Senate’s recent decree to the effect that, by analogy with similar provisions
in force in all other ports, the landing of detachments should be subject to the previous consent
of the territorial authorities responsible for the maintenance of public order. I was asked to
intervene and it was thus possible for me to bring the dispute within the framework laid down
by the procedure in force for disputes between Poland and Danzig (Article 39 of the Paris Treaty
of November 9th, 1920). An attempt has been made to establish a certain connection between
this question and the more general question of the protection of the persons ashore, which
are well known to the Council and which has been outstanding since the Free City denounced
its agreement of 1928 with Poland. The parties are continuing their negotiations, but it seems
hardly likely that a direct agreement will be reached.

I would mention, as undoubtedly harmful to friendly relations between Danzig and Poland,
certain demonstrations organised in the territory of the Free City by the parties of the Right,
both Germans and Danzig nationals, during which nationalist aspirations for the return of Danzig
to the Reich have been expressed more or less forcibly. On the Polish side, these demonstrations
are regarded as evidence of the tendency to direct the general policy of the Free City towards
Germany rather than towards Poland, while at the same time economic privileges are demanded
from Poland and its hinterland.

Before terminating this rapid survey, I would draw the Council’s attention to the financial
and economic situation of the Free City, which is such as to give rise to serious anxiety in the
near future. I wish to mention this important aspect of the situation in Danzig, which has a
direct influence on relations between Poland and Danzig, because, on the Danzig side, the tendency
is to throw a large part of the responsibility on Poland.

Without going into the details of the statement which the Senate of the Free City has asked
me to attach to the present report (Appendix IV), because the majority of the Danzig complaints
are to form the subject of an exchange of notes between the two Governments and because
account must also be taken of any arguments that may be advanced by the Polish Government
(which has not sent me a similar statement on the situation at Danzig), I will confine myself
only to the problem of unemployment, which, with the approach of winter, is already assuming
a very serious aspect. It is likely to constitute a grave menace to public order and, in any case,
to disturb relations between Danzig and Poland.

I have already had the honour to draw the Council’s attention to this problem in my annual
reports for 1930 and 1931, in which I mentioned the negotiations which took place under my
chairmanship at Warsaw in January 1930, but which unfortunately did not result in a definitive agreement, although the two Governments reached an agreement on principle. I attach as an appendix a copy of two notes which I have recently received in this connection from the two Governments concerned (Appendices V and VI). I consider it highly desirable that an agreement should be reached before the winter on the bases laid down at Warsaw, in accordance with which the Polish Government, having regard to the particularly difficult situation of the Free City, agreed provisionally to limit the influx of Polish labour into Danzig, where it has very serious effects on the Danzig labour market.

I have great satisfaction in informing the Council of the conciliatory spirit displayed in the last Polish note (Appendix VI); there is therefore reason to hope that the goodwill thus shown by the Government at Warsaw will lead to practical results in the near future, especially as the Senate of the Free City for its part is prepared to guarantee that the restrictions imposed in regard to the influx of Polish labour into Danzig will also be strictly applied to any other labour of non-Danzig origin.

(Signed) M. Gravina.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

[Translation.]

Danzig, August 20th, 1931.

In continuation of my report of the 15th instant, I have the honour to inform the Council that, as anticipated in that report, the direct negotiations entered into between the representatives of the Governments of the Polish Republic and of the Free City of Danzig regarding the question of the port d'attache—the agreement concerning which lapsed on July 1st and was denounced by the Free City—have not led to an agreement within the prescribed time-limit ending on August 15th.

In a note dated August 14th, a copy of which was forwarded to me, the Senate of the Free City proposed to Poland to extend the time-limit laid down for the negotiations by one month—i.e., up to September 15th, 1931. It added, however, that, if the negotiations did not reach any result within that period, it would consider any use of the Port of Danzig by Polish warships which was not in strict conformity with the international regulations in force for the admission of foreign men-of-war, as "direct action" within the meaning of the Council's resolution of March 13th, 1925. I think it is my duty to inform the Council that it is unfortunately highly improbable that any agreement will be reached between the two parties regarding this thorny question, with which the Council itself has so often had to deal and which from the legal point of view must still be considered as open.

I feel I must draw the Council's attention to the unfortunate consequences which are likely to arise for Danzig-Polish relations out of this new dispute, which will doubtless be further embittered by the animosity of public opinion and of the Press of both countries, and will in all probability break out as soon as the time-limit expires on September 15th, if, as is to be feared, the parties have not reached an agreement by that date. In drawing the Council's attention to these unfortunate consequences, I believe I am rightly interpreting the duties of my office which I consider to be to do everything in my power to forestall and prevent such consequences.

If, on the expiration of the time-limit (September 15th) Poland, relying on the right claimed by her to a port d'attache at Danzig (a right which is denied by the Free City), continues to use the Port of Danzig without complying with international regulations, it is clear from the Senate's note of August 14th that the Free City will apply to the High Commissioner for a decision that Poland is thus taking "direct action".

There are two considerations which raise serious doubts in my mind in this connection. The first is that, from a thorough study of the voluminous files relating to the question of the port d'attache, I conclude that the Council desires to reserve to itself the definition of the question of principle which I might perhaps implicitly prejudge if I had to take a decision on the question of "direct action".

The second is that, in my opinion, the resolution of March 13th, 1925, implies that the Council has in principle reserved the competence to judge of "direct action", and that this competence is conferred upon the High Commissioner only provisionally and in cases of urgency subject to the final approval of the Council.

I feel therefore that I must request the Council to signify, in the very likely case of the Danzig-Polish negotiations breaking down and of the Senate of the Free City requesting me to declare that "direct action" has been taken, whether the Council considers that such "direct action" has been taken or not.

(Signed) M. Gravina.
Appendix I.

"DANZIG GESETZBLATT", No. 32, of July 2nd, 1931.

(This document is kept in the Secretariat.)

Appendix II.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE DANZIG SENATE TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

[Translation from the German.]

Danzig, July 3rd, 1931.

Further to my letter of June 26th, 1931, I have the honour to inform you as follows:

A law for the safeguarding of public order passed by the Volkstag provides for stricter measures with a view to preventing incitement by the Press.

Further, by a law enacted by the Volkstag, the Senate has been empowered to issue more severe and restrictive provisions relating more particularly to matters concerning associations and the carrying of arms. The law conferring these special powers is strictly in accordance with the Constitution; it was expressly stated that no modification whatsoever should be made in the provisions of the Constitution. Such laws have already been passed by the Volkstag on different occasions.

The legal regulations framed in virtue of the above-mentioned law are being issued by the Senate. These will be forwarded to you as soon as they are published in the Legal Gazette.

As the regulations in question refer to a larger number of existing provisions, it is by no means easy to understand them without some knowledge of the latter; the Senate accordingly yesterday published a Press communiqué reproducing the contents of the new regulations in a clear and intelligible form. I am forwarding the Press communiqué as it appeared in the Danziger Neueste Nachrichten.

With reference to the resolution passed by the Council of the League of Nations on May 22nd, 1931, I beg to draw attention more particularly to the following:

1. The above-mentioned law for the maintenance of public order contains provisions with a view to safeguarding the Free City's form of Government as established by the Constitution.

2. The legal regulations forbid the wearing of special uniform by foreign political organisations. The Senate does not consider it expedient to issue a general prohibition applicable to organisations belonging to the Free City. Apart from the fact that both the Right and, more particularly, the Left organisations have made urgent representations that such a prohibition should not be pronounced, there are important practical reasons for abstaining from any general prohibition of this nature.

Within the small circles of the Free City of Danzig, members of the political organisations all recognise one another without any particular uniform. Experience obtained outside the Free City of Danzig in regard to a general prohibition to wear special uniform showed that such a prohibition was not effective in preventing serious collisions between different political groups; on the contrary, despite the prohibition, serious excesses and even political assassinations took place on more than one occasion.

The danger of collisions lies in the carrying of weapons by the political organisations. The Senate has accordingly issued severer and more restrictive provisions, particularly for organisations which wear a special uniform. I might mention the provision under which members of political organisations are prohibited from carrying arms (fire-arms, cutting and thrusting weapons) when wearing the special uniform of their organisation or any part of such uniform. Persons contravening that provision are liable to heavy penalties.

The Senate considers that, in the present circumstances, the provisions in question are suitable and adequate for the purpose of effectively preventing collisions—between political organisations—which constitute a menace to public safety, peace and order.

(Signed) Dr. Ziehm.

Sub-Appendix.

EXTRACT FROM THE DANZIGER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN, OF JULY 2ND, 1931.

[Translation from the German.]

MAINTENANCE OF ORDER IN DANZIG.

The main provisions of the regulations issued by the Government are as follows:

Circumstances in which Associations may be dissolved.

The severity of certain provisions of the German Law on Associations is increased, within the limits allowed by Articles 84 and 85 of the Constitution, by the legislative decrees modifying
this Law. In particular, the dissolution of associations, which as a general rule was only permissible when the latter were guilty of offences against the criminal law, will be possible whenever the committee of an association is privy to the discussion of certain offences in a manner which may be regarded as constituting an incitement to commit such offences. These latter are as follows: high treason, attempts to bring the Constitution of Danzig into discredit or contempt, slander or abuse of the Government or of a member of the Government, public incitement to disobedience to the law, serious "breach of the domestic peace", "breach of the public peace" and attempts to bring public institutions into contempt. An association may also now be dissolved if its committee or any members of the committee are privy to the unauthorised possession or bearing of arms by more than three members of the association.

Restrictions on the Right of Assembly.

Paragraph 11 of the German Law on Associations provides that no person may appear armed at a public meeting or in a procession without the permission of the authorities. The Senate's Legislative Decree defines the word "armed" as follows: "Any person present at a meeting shall be deemed to be armed if he bears or holds in readiness any object capable of being used by such person for inflicting wounds either in attack or defence. This category includes pistols for the firing of blank cartridges, also together with the bludgeons hitherto in common use in militant organisations."

The severity of the punitive clauses of the German Law on Associations has been increased in such a way as to make any person, who does not immediately leave the scene of a meeting which has been broken up, liable to a term of imprisonment not exceeding one month and a fine not exceeding one thousand gulden, or to one or other of these penalties.

A penalty of not less than one month's imprisonment, to which may be added a fine not exceeding three thousand gulden, is inflicted upon any person organising a meeting or procession in defiance of a prohibition or order or without having made the declaration required by Article 84 of the Danzig Constitution, or who deliberately disregards the terms of such declaration. The same penalties apply to speakers at such meetings, while those present are liable to a term of imprisonment not exceeding one year and a fine not exceeding one thousand gulden, or to one or other of these penalties.

Any person guilty of active membership in an association which has been dissolved in accordance with paragraph 2 of the German Law on Associations, or who supports such an organisation in any other manner, or who perpetuates the organisation set on foot by such an association, shall be liable to a term of imprisonment not exceeding three years and a fine not exceeding one thousand gulden. Any alleged new association which, in fact, is merely a continuation of one which has been dissolved shall be treated as such.

The penalty for appearing armed in a meeting or procession without authorisation is considerably heavier than formerly, as persons guilty of this offence are liable to a term of imprisonment of not less than three months, to which may be added a fine not exceeding three thousand gulden. It is further provided that weapons may be confiscated whether the property of the guilty person or not.

Persons entitled to possess Arms.

The Legislative Decree relative to arms contains entirely new regulations concerning the bearing of arms. The police order which until now regulated this question has been superseded by the Senate's new Legislative Decree relative to arms. The first of the thirty-five paragraphs of this Decree defines the terms "fire-arms", "ammunition", "arms depot", "ammunition depot", and "weapons for cutting and thrusting". The manufacture of fire-arms or ammunition for commercial purposes must be authorised by the Senate. The Law on the Manufacture, Sale and Storing of War Material of May 17th, 1922, is unaffected. According to paragraphs 5 and following, authorisation must also be obtained for trading in fire-arms or ammunition. Paragraph 8 forbids the lending of money on the security of fire-arms and ammunition by public or private pawnbroking establishments. With a view to the special supervision of fire-arms, paragraph 9 requires that fire-arms shall not be offered for sale or transferred to others, unless they bear the stamp or registered trade-mark of the manufacturer or dealer, together with the manufacturer's serial number. Paragraph 10 makes the acquisition of fire-arms and ammunition subject, as a general rule, to the possession of a permit for the acquisition of arms or ammunition. The acquisition of fire-arms or ammunition by inheritance is dealt with in paragraph 14 of the Decree. In this case, the local police must be notified within six weeks.

Any person bearing fire-arms outside his dwelling is required to be in possession of a gun licence. Such licences may be granted either for the whole territory of the Free City of Danzig or for one limited area, or even for stated occasions and localities. In general, gun licences are valid for one year, subject to revocation. The validity may also be limited to a shorter period.

Any person keeping fire-arms in his home, place of business or enclosed property requires a permit to possess arms. Such licences are valid for an unlimited period, subject to cancellation. An exception is made in the case of air-guns with non-rifled barrels. As a general rule, permits for the acquisition of arms and ammunition, gun licences, or permits for the possession of arms, may only be issued to reliable persons who can prove that such are necessary to them.

Paragraph 17 requires all persons in unauthorised possession of fire-arms or ammunition to hand over such arms and ammunition without delay to the local police authorities. The latter shall give receipts for all articles thus handed over.
Paragraph 20 provides that annual hunting permits entitle holders to acquire hunting weapons and revolvers within the limits indicated on the permit, and also to acquire the necessary ammunition. The same paragraph further provides that the hunting-permit authorises the holder to carry weapons while hunting or for the protection of the hunting-grounds, or for practice shooting, as well as on all journeys directly connected therewith. The gun licence, within similar limits, authorises the carrying of a pistol, and under paragraph 25, of cutting or thrusting weapons.

Paragraph 21 deals with the importation of fire-arms and ammunition. Paragraph 22 deals with the possession of an arms or ammunition depot not connected with a business enterprise authorised in accordance with the Decree or not belonging to one of the authorities specified therein. In this case also, an official authorisation is required and is only issued to reliable persons. Paragraph 23 forbids the manufacture of specially dangerous fire-arms, such as the so-called poachers' guns—i.e., guns concealed in sticks, umbrellas, etc. Similarly, fire-arms fitted with silencers or with reflectors are prohibited.

Prohibition of the Possession of Weapons by Militant Societies.

The bearing of cutting or thrusting weapons by any person outside his dwelling, place of business or enclosed property is prohibited.

Under paragraph 26, members of political organisations wearing the uniform of their organisation or any part thereof are prohibited from bearing fire-arms or cutting or thrusting weapons, even if in possession of a gun licence or annual hunting-permit.

The Senate may make exceptions to this rule when such a course is justified by special circumstances. Of the punitive clauses, paragraph 29 is especially important. It provides that any person appearing armed in a public place in the company of others and for political objects shall be liable to a term of imprisonment of at least three months. Any person bearing fire-arms or cutting or thrusting weapons without authorisation and using them to commit or threaten acts of violence against another shall be liable to a term of imprisonment of at least six months, to which may be added a fine not exceeding 3,000 gulden, unless the offence is punishable with a heavier penalty under other provisions.

Paragraph 31 contains a transitional clause providing that any person in possession, when the Decree comes into force, of a business or arms or ammunition depot in respect of which the Decree requires official authorisation shall apply for such authorisation within one month of the coming into force of the Decree. Those failing to comply with this provision shall be prosecuted. Persons in possessing of firearms or ammunition when the Decree comes into force, without having obtained the authorisation required therein, shall be liable to prosecution within three weeks of the coming into force of the Decree.

Provisions relative to Preventive Arrest.

Another legislative Decree issued by the Senate modifies sentence 2 of paragraph 6 of the Law for the Protection of Personal Freedom, of February 12th, 1850, and provides that police custody of detained persons (Schutzhaft) shall not exceed three weeks, and shall not be renewed within a period of three months. In districts under the control of the State Police, decisions regarding the holding of persons in custody shall be taken by the Police President, and in other districts by the head of the Administration (Landrat). Persons thus detained shall be entitled to appeal to the Senate.

Prohibition of Uniforms in the Case of Foreigners only.

Another legislative Decree prohibits and punishes the wearing of uniforms by members of foreign political organisations. Exceptions can only be authorised by the Senate. For the purposes of this Decree, foreign organisations include those affiliated to the same central associations as organisations existing in Danzig itself, but the headquarters of whose local union, district group, etc., are situated outside the territory of the Free City.

All these decrees come into force on publication in the Legal Gazette.

Appendix III.

"DANZIG GESETZBLATT", No. 33, OF JULY 3RD, 1931.

(This document is kept in the Secretariat.)
Appendix IV.


[Translation from the German.]

Danzig, August 14th, 1931.

At its meeting on May 22nd, 1931, the Council of the League of Nations, after hearing a report by Mr. Henderson, Rapporteur, addressed to Danzig and Poland an urgent request: "to take such action as may be required in order to re-establish a spirit of confidence and co-operation in the relations between Danzig and Poland and to calm public opinion in both countries".

The Council at the same time requested the High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig: "to submit a further report on the situation for the next session of the Council".

Both before and during the last session of the Council the Government of the Free City of Danzig maintained, in reply to Polish complaints, that nothing had ever been done to interfere with the exercise in Danzig of Poland's economic rights under the treaties or with the exercise by any Pole of his activities in Danzig as guaranteed by treaties, subject to compliance with the laws of the land.

We maintained further that the Danzig authorities, particularly the police and judicial authorities, by reason both of their strength and their fairness and impartiality, offer an adequate guarantee that Poles in Danzig shall suffer no injustice. We also pointed out that, as regards the complaints brought forward by Poles on account of the alleged insufficient protection of Polish nationals in Danzig, practically every case was of a trilling nature.

The Danzig Government adheres to the view that the legal provisions hitherto applicable in Danzig are quite adequate in normal circumstances to ensure the complete maintenance of public security, peace and order. Nevertheless, as further evidence of its willingness to do everything on its side to comply with the Council's appeal, it issued, shortly after the last session of the Council, a series of laws and decrees and adopted various measures which it communicated to the High Commissioner of the League of Nations.

The laws and decrees in question contain stricter provisions with a view to preventing political incitement by the Press. Stricter provisions have also been issued for matters relating to associations and the carrying of arms. In the case of political organisations which have a special uniform, the carrying of arms (fire-arms, weapons for cutting and thrusting) is, for example, prohibited. Lastly, the laws and decrees contain provisions for the maintenance of the form of Government of the Free City as established by the Constitution.

Since the promulgation of these laws, the disputes between the political parties which cannot be entirely avoided in Danzig, any more than in any other State—particularly in view of the present economic difficulties—have become more peaceful in character. The Danzig population has observed towards Poland the attitude which the Danzig Government, in the interests of good relations with foreign countries, recommended in its proclamation of April 16th, 1931. In that proclamation, the Government had exhorted the population to show self-restraint and to respect the convictions of others.

Offences against the laws have been punished severely and swiftly, irrespective of persons, by the means laid down in the laws—whenever feasible—by a summary procedure before the so-called Schnellrichter.

Generally speaking, it may be said that everything has been done by Danzig, in accordance with the wishes expressed by the Rapporteur to the Council in May 1931, to maintain peace in Danzig and to ensure good relations with Poland. Even the Polish Press said that in justice it must be acknowledged that the Danzig Government had taken successful measures to calm the population.

The fact that it has, nevertheless, not yet been possible to ensure continuous co-operation between Danzig and Poland since the last session of the Council is attributable, in the Danzig Government's view, to the regrettable circumstance that the Poles have not shown to an adequate extent either the understanding or the conciliatory spirit which are a necessary condition for successful co-operation between the two States.

The Polish Government—and, following its example, large sections of the Polish population—have thought fit, in a great variety of ways, even since the May session, to take certain measures detrimental to Danzig and have failed to give evidence of the desired spirit of conciliation. The measures in question are of an economic and financial character; further, the attitude of the Polish Press has not been such as to contribute towards any relaxation of the tension—on
the contrary, it was calculated to accentuate differences of opinion. Again, unrest among the population was caused by various acts on the part of the Poles.

I. A particularly serious difficulty in the relations between Danzig and Poland is due to the economic injury suffered by the Free City as the result of measures taken by the Polish Government. Unfortunately, no alleviation or improvement has been perceptible in this respect since the session of the Council in May. An impression has, on the contrary, been created in the Danzig population that the Polish Government, by its economic measures against Danzig, has been deliberately aiming at injuring the trade and industry of Danzig and at the same time at weakening, in this way, the resistance of the Danzig population to Polish political aims. It is incomprehensible otherwise that the Polish Government, which, in view of the Customs and economic union, has it in its power to grant Danzig all kinds of economic facilities, should bluntly reject all suggestions of the Danzig Government to this effect, and should on the contrary keep contriving new measures which are bound seriously to injure Danzig's trade and industry. The repeated attempts of Danzig—more particularly through the commercial senator—to bring about an exchange of views on all questions still pending have proved abortive. Poland has made no use of this opportunity, but has, without any real grounds, postponed negotiations indefinitely, especially on the subject of the exceptional importation of specific goods, of so-called quotas, which are indispensable for the economic life of Danzig. The Danzig Chamber of Commerce has exerted itself in the same direction as the Danzig Government. As evidence may be mentioned the fact that it not long ago issued a warning in a public proclamation not to reply to the extensive boycotting of Danzig goods in Polish circles by a counter-boycott of Polish goods in Danzig. Economic co-operation, as provided for in the treaties, is a preliminary condition for regular political relations between Danzig and Poland. The unjust exclusion of Danzig trade from the Polish hinterland, the confiscation of Danzig goods in Poland—contrary to the spirit of the treaties—the steady increase in the boycotting movement, are bound to create in the particular circles affected in Danzig a state of discontent which may have most serious consequences. If normal relations are to be established between the two States, dependent upon one another as the result of the treaties, it is essential first and foremost to eliminate the economic pressure still brought to bear by Poland on Danzig. The Danzig Government has had to submit a few specially weighty questions to the League organs for decision. It desires that the League may give special consideration to these questions.

We would refer also, in connection with the economic injury suffered by Danzig through measures taken by the Polish Government, to our note H.I. 31 of March 25th, 1931, to the diplomatic representative of the Polish Republic in Danzig, a copy of which we communicated to the High Commissioner of the League of Nations in Danzig.

In connection with the economic injury suffered by Danzig, mention should be made primarily of the application of the Danzig Government dated May 9th, 1930. That application was designed, in view of the constantly increasing diversion of the Danzig port traffic to the Polish port of Gdynia, to ensure observance of the obligation laid upon Poland to make "full use" of the port of Danzig, in virtue of the decision of the High Commissioner dated August 15th, 1921. The latest official statistics show a further considerable diversion of traffic from Danzig to Gdynia. The measures recently adopted by the Polish Government to develop Gdynia to the detriment of Danzig are calculated considerably to endanger co-operation between Danzig and Poland. Danzig looks forward with confidence to a speedy and final settlement of this dispute. Further information concerning the increasing injury suffered by Danzig through Gdynia will be found in the annex.

Further, Danzig-Polish relations suffer as the result of a series of railway disputes which have been pending for the last two years, and in which unfortunately no agreement has yet been reached.

II. Again in financial matters, the Polish Government has unfortunately done nothing since the May session of the Council to alleviate the position of Danzig. As a result of numerous treaty stipulations, and more particularly the existence of a Customs Union between Danzig and Poland, the Polish Government is in a position seriously to damage Danzig's finances in many ways.

The Polish Government consistently refuses, despite its treaty obligations, to invite the opinion of Danzig when making important changes in Customs legislation and the Customs tariff, although it invariably consults Polish economic circles beforehand. It is abundantly clear that such a procedure is contrary to the spirit of a Customs union, and that it is extremely detrimental to Danzig's economic interests. From the standpoint of Danzig economic circles, which are frequently faced with sudden tariff amendments and are generally informed of these only after the event, this system involves very considerable legal uncertainty. That uncertainty is further aggravated by the nature of the legal redress. Decisions in regard to complaints submitted to the Polish Ministry of Finance are uncertain and the grounds for them are hardly ever given. Time and again, no decision is given until months have passed. It has frequently happened that Danzig firms could not obtain authorisation for reduced rates for specific goods, whereas authorisation was granted to Polish firms.

Poland's Customs policy has had the effect of still further reducing Danzig's income during the last few months. In particular, Danzig's share in the Customs receipts suffered from the fact
that the Polish Government unjustifiably deducts so-called export bounties from the gross Customs receipts, and only reckons Danzig’s share in the Customs receipts afterwards. Special action in connection with this dispute has been taken before the High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig.

Apart from these measures to the detriment of Danzig in Customs matters, the finances of the Free City are suffering from the fact that the Polish Government only fulfils very tardily certain financial obligations imposed on it by treaty. Poland is still in arrears as regards payments in respect of dwelling-house tax and land values tax alone to the amount of 225,000 Danzig gulden, with the accumulated interest. No further evidence is needed to show that such measures have a very unfavourable effect on the small budget of the Free City, and that they are not calculated to promote co-operation between Danzig and Poland as recommended in the Council resolution of May last. Here again, however, it is obviously not the fault of Danzig if causes of friction still remain.

Danzig has to bear another serious financial burden owing to the establishment in the Free City of a Polish postal service side by side with the Danzig postal service. The resultant loss amounts to upwards of 1.2 million Danzig gulden a year. This is due chiefly to the fact that a considerable part of the postal matter despatched from Danzig is carried by the Polish service. Poland, in her postal service in the Post of Danzig, not only undercuts the rates of the Danzig postal administration, but her charges are actually in some cases lower than in the postal service in Poland itself, so that it would be perfectly true to speak of the Polish post office carrying on a rates war against the Danzig post office. There has unfortunately been no change in the position during the last few months.

Further, it has been found impossible to prevail upon Poland to conclude an agreement with the Danzig postal administration regarding the adoption of various branches of the service, such as payment on delivery and the system of orders for collection. Poland consistently refuses, moreover, although the system is in force between Poland and a number of countries, to establish the money transfer system with Danzig. Friendly co-operation between Danzig and Poland in postal matters is rendered particularly difficult owing to the fact that, not only private circles in Poland, but also Polish postal employees, do everything to bring about and further a systematic boycotting of the Danzig post by the Polish public.

III. One of the most important points which affect relations between Danzig and Poland is the refusal of the latter to do anything as regards the question of relieving Danzig labour market of Polish nationals. While, owing to the above-mentioned economic boycott and other measures detrimental to Danzig, the position on the Danzig labour market is growing steadily worse, Poland consistently refuses Danzig the right to employ Danzig labour in preference to other labour. While every other country in the world is able at times of serious unemployment to prevent the immigration of foreign labour, Danzig can do nothing as Poland disputes this right.

No further proof is needed to show that such conditions contribute very considerably to embitter the Danzig population, and Poland’s opposition to a settlement—such as is found in every other country in the world—is not calculated to promote useful co-operation between Danzig and Poland. It would be easy for the Polish State in this particular connection to give evidence of its goodwill as the position of the Danzig labour market would not be appreciably aggravated if Poland took over the Polish workers from Danzig.

The figures given in our note of July 2nd, 1931, to the High Commissioner show what tremendous economic damage Danzig is suffering and how even the most carefully framed budget is bound to come to grief. A settlement before the coming winter appears to be absolutely necessary.

IV. The Polish Press, moreover has unfortunately done nothing during the last few months to exercise a restraining influence on the Polish public; on the contrary, the relations between Danzig and Poland were further embittered by a Press campaign of irresponsible agitation against Danzig. For example, according to a report from Warsaw dated June 16th, 1931, a violent poster against Danzig was displayed in the streets of the Polish capital, and, not only did the Government do nothing, to judge by the result, but the poster was reproduced, with words of approval, in a Government organ. Nor are appeals for the boycotting of Danzig goods and Danzig watering-places, on June 29th, for example, an Ex-Combatants’ Union published an appeal in Warsaw, signed by the President, calling for the boycotting of Danzig and of the Danzig seaside resorts in particular.

V. Moreover, certain military measures in Polish territory on the frontier of the Free City, during the last few months, have contributed not a little to produce unrest among the Danzig population, as has the concentration of armed Polish organisations in the immediate neighbourhood of the Danzig frontier. It has to be borne in mind that the Free City of Danzig, as a small State without any military forces of its own, is very susceptible to any threat arising out of military measures. This anxiety on the part of the population will be the more readily comprehended when it is remembered that the report of the High Commissioner to the Council, dated April 25th, 1931, stated that, in the present circumstances, the High Commissioner was not called upon to take action under paragraph i of the Council resolution of June 22nd, 1921”, and that a large section of the Danzig population assumed, despite Polish denials, that
Poland, at the beginning of the present year, had actually expressed the intention of sending Polish troops to Danzig.

In view of military threats of this nature, the Danzig Government feels it its bounden duty to direct attention to the dangers that might so easily ensue. The Council of the League of Nations, in its resolution of November 17th, 1920, made the following explicit statement:

"The 'protection' of the Free City by the League of Nations would appear to mean that the League of Nations shall undertake to respect and maintain against all foreign aggression the territorial integrity and the political independence of the Free City of Danzig in the same way as it does for all Members of the League of Nations under Article 10 of the Covenant."

Demonstrations such as those mentioned above might easily result in a situation calculated to jeopardise the "territorial integrity and the political independence" of the Free City.

As regards military measures, the Danzig-Polish relations since the last session of the Council have been specially aggravated by the fact that on July 1st last, after the expiry of the Agreement concerning the acceptance of Polish warships to the port of Danzig, Poland suddenly and without any special reason sent patrols of Polish sailors through the streets of Danzig and thereby created, as will readily be understood, great excitement among the Danzig population. The latter regarded those measures as highly provocative, and the Government of the Free City was obliged to apply to the High Commissioner of the League of Nations for a decision under Article 39 of the Paris Treaty of November 9th, 1920.

It is clear from the foregoing observations that one cannot yet speak of any real stability in Danzig-Polish relations. Danzig has not yet been able to perceive, especially in economic matters, any evidence of understanding or a spirit of accommodation on the part of Poland in regard to Danzig's difficult position. The Danzig Government proposes, in this connection, to confine itself to a further reference to the passage in the report of the High Commissioner, dated April 25th last, which reads:

"... Polish policy has not succeeded in securing to a sufficient extent the support of those currents of opinion in the territory of the Free City which were definitely in favour of effective economic co-operation between Danzig and Poland. I have personally had opportunities of observing that a regrettable change has taken place in this respect among influential representatives of business, financial and industrial circles in the Free City, and this change is attributed by them not so much to the general economic depression as to disillusionment in consequence of the failure of their efforts to establish a form of co-operation between Danzig and Poland which would be advantageous, not only to Poland, but also to Danzig.

The Danzig Government feels compelled to state that, if the Polish Republic persists in its attitude of refusal—one might even say its threatening attitude—towards the Free City of Danzig, this is bound to constitute a serious menace to the political independence and to the territorial integrity of the Free City, as laid down in the Treaties. The Danzig Government notes with regret that in this part of Europe the position is by no means such as to accredit the efforts of the League of Nations to ensure peace between States. No fundamental improvement can be possible until the Polish Government gives evidence of a consistent effort to refrain from anything that might disturb Danzig-Polish relations, until it takes into account in its decisions the interests of the Free City, which depend to so large an extent—especially in economic matters—on co-operation with Poland, and until it not only gives assurances of a friendly attitude towards Danzig but also gives evidence of that friendly attitude in all its acts.

Sub-Appendix.

GDYNIA VERSUS DANZIG.

Every month, the competition between the port of Gdynia and the port of Danzig becomes more obvious—and more obviously to Danzig's disadvantage. The official statistics for the ports of Danzig and Gdynia furnish undeniable evidence that, even during the first six months of 1931 the traffic in Gdynia registered a big increase, whereas in Danzig it remained at a standstill if it did not register a decline. Compared with the same period during the previous year, fifty vessels fewer—totalling 27,443 net-register tons—put in at the port of Danzig during the first six months of 1931, while, during that same period, the increase in the number of vessels putting in at the port of Gdynia was 409, totalling 290,498 tons—i.e., an increase of 33 per cent.

Whereas the maritime goods traffic via Gdynia increased during the first six months of 1931, compared with the same period for the previous year, by 688,959.1 tons—i.e., approximately 43 per cent—the maritime goods traffic of Danzig simply maintained the figures for the first half of 1930, and that only owing to the fact that—more particularly in June—the export of bulk-goods of small value, such as coal, increased, so that, quantitatively, the big drop in Danzig's export traffic was made up for.
In order to form a correct idea of the competition of Gdynia with Danzig attention should be directed, not only to the fact of the diversion of traffic from Danzig to Gdynia, but also to the nature of the commodities thus diverted, as shown in detail in the tables hereunder.

Under the pressure of the economic crisis in Poland, maritime imports into Poland have suffered a further set-back. It is significant, however, that this set-back affects only the port of Danzig and not the port of Gdynia. While the maritime imports via Danzig were 165,057 tons—i.e., 32 per cent—lower than during the first six months of 1930, there was an increase in the imports via Gdynia of 71,244 tons—i.e., 35 per cent.

For example, the scrap-iron imports via Danzig have dropped by a further 14,000 tons, whereas, via Gdynia, they have increased by about 78,000 tons, amounting to 173,667 tons, or thirty-seven times the amount handled in the port of Danzig. Again, imports of artificial fertilisers via Danzig have dropped by close on one-half, whereas via Gdynia they have increased by over 6,000 tons.

Moreover, commodities which during the first six months of 1930 were still being imported exclusively via Danzig have now been diverted to Gdynia. While the net imports via Danzig have dropped, that commodity has now been imported for the first time via Gdynia. The cotton imports via Danzig have also dropped since such imports began to be conveyed via Gdynia. Tobacco imports via Danzig have dropped by 2,869 tons, whereas, via Gdynia, they have risen by 2,132 tons. Although there has been a considerable increase in the import of unhulled rice into Poland, this increase has been exclusively to the advantage of the port of Gdynia. During the first six months of 1931, more than 42,000 tons of unhulled rice were landed at Gdynia whereas at Danzig not a single ton was handled.

Further, in the matter of exports, the competition of Gdynia is becoming more and more threatening to Danzig. For example, bacon exports via Danzig dropped from 11,406 tons during the first six months of 1930 to 1,734 tons during the same period of the present year, whereas the export of that commodity via Gdynia increased from 223.4 tons to no less than 25,364 tons. These figures are a clear indication that the total bacon exports from Poland go through Gdynia, while the port of Danzig has kept only such exports as represent the output of Danzig bacon factories. The exports of eggs via Danzig have dropped by 1,561 tons; the exports via Gdynia have risen by 1,840 tons. Butter exports via Danzig have dropped by 1,556 tons, and via Gdynia have increased by 55 tons. While exports of raw sugar via Danzig have dropped 29,000 tons, the figures for exports via Gdynia have not only been maintained, but have even risen slightly. During the first six months of 1931, the zinc exports via Gdynia, amounting to 9,586 tons, were almost two and a-half times as much as via Danzig. During the same period, approximately 18,000 tons of rye were exported via Gdynia—for the first time—whereas there was a marked decrease in rye exports via Danzig.

Further commodities are systematically being diverted to Gdynia. The Polish official statistics mention among the goods imported via Gdynia, during the first half of 1931, 951.6 tons of herrings, and, among exports, wood and wood wares totalling 7,448.4 tons. Even these branches of trade, which have for hundreds of years been associated with the port of Danzig, are thus in danger of being diverted to Gdynia. Every month, the list of goods imported and exported via Gdynia grows longer, and every month brings out more clearly Poland's efforts to divert to the port of Gdynia more valuable commodities. The fact that, despite an increase of more than 500,000 tons, the proportion represented by coal in the exports via Gdynia, during the first six months of 1931, dropped by 3 per cent is significant as showing the increasing importance of that port in the handling of more valuable commodities.

As regards this increase in the activities of Gdynia—at Danzig's expense—it may be mentioned that Danzig is, as in the past, in a position to take over without difficulty the whole traffic of the port of Gdynia, without its being necessary to take advantage of the recognised possibilities of further extending the port of Danzig.

The following figures may be quoted in illustration of the foregoing statements:

I. RELATIVE SHARES OF DANZIG AND GDYNIA IN THE MARITIME GOODS TRAFFIC OF POLAND.

The percentages of the total maritime goods traffic of Poland over the maritime frontier of the Danzig-Polish Customs territory are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Danzig</th>
<th>Gdynia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>81.49</td>
<td>18.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>75.20</td>
<td>24.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>69.37</td>
<td>30.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the first six months of 1931</td>
<td>62.87</td>
<td>37.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. Shipping during the First Six Months of 1931.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First six months of 1931</th>
<th>First six months of 1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of vessels</td>
<td>Net reg. tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danzig:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals</td>
<td>2,767</td>
<td>1,935,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailings</td>
<td>2,758</td>
<td>1,911,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gdynia:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals</td>
<td>1,374</td>
<td>1,179,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailings</td>
<td>1,361</td>
<td>1,185,341</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|          |                        |                      |                        |
| Danzig:  |                        |                      |                        |
| Arrivals | -50                     | 27,443                |                         |                     |
| Sailings | -43                     | 38,456                |                         |                     |
| Gdynia:  |                        |                      |                        |
| Arrivals | +409                    | 290,498               |                         |                     |
| Sailings | +413                    | 304,139               |                         |                     |

III. Passenger Traffic (exclusive of Local Traffic).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First six months of 1931</th>
<th>First six months of 1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danzig:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>1,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailings</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>19,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gdynia:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals</td>
<td>2,385</td>
<td>2,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailings</td>
<td>3,542</td>
<td>8,215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|          |                          |                          |
| Danzig:  |                          |                          |
| Arrivals | -1,079                   |                         |
| Sailings | -18,587                  |                         |
| Gdynia:  |                          |                          |
| Arrivals | -20                      |                         |
| Sailings | -4,673                   |                         |

IV. Goods Traffic in Tons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First six months of 1931</th>
<th>First six months of 1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danzig:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports</td>
<td>349,868.9</td>
<td>514,925.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports</td>
<td>3,530,302.1</td>
<td>3,347,324.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,880,171</td>
<td>3,862,250.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gdynia:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports</td>
<td>273,606.7</td>
<td>202,362.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports</td>
<td>2,022,199</td>
<td>1,404,453.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,295,775.7</td>
<td>1,606,816.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|          |                          |                          |
| Danzig:  |                          |                          |
| Imports  | -165,057                 |                         |
| Exports  | +188,977.5               |                         |
| Total    | +23,920.5                |                         |
| Gdynia:  |                          |                          |
| Imports  | +71,244                  |                         |
| Exports  | +617,715.1               |                         |
| Total    | +688,959.1               |                         |
V. Imports in Tons during the First Six Months of 1931.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice, unhulled</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>42,265.8</td>
<td>30,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>1,092.1</td>
<td>3,961.2</td>
<td>2,252.8</td>
<td>121.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuts</td>
<td>276.6</td>
<td>349.5</td>
<td>336.8</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrap-iron</td>
<td>4,794.3</td>
<td>18,917.9</td>
<td>173,667</td>
<td>95,505.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>327.7</td>
<td>598.6</td>
<td>2,022.6</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artificial fertilisers</td>
<td>42,120.7</td>
<td>89,432.5</td>
<td>34,044</td>
<td>28,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw sugar</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rye</td>
<td>33,476.1</td>
<td>79,724.3</td>
<td>18,002.1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>1,794.5</td>
<td>11,406.5</td>
<td>25,588.2</td>
<td>223.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham, sausage, etc.</td>
<td>988.3</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>3,406.5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>396.9</td>
<td>1,958.4</td>
<td>1,845.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>1,584.1</td>
<td>760.5</td>
<td>211.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw sugar</td>
<td>65,392.3</td>
<td>94,488.9</td>
<td>65,434.2</td>
<td>64,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinc</td>
<td>3,893.4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>9,586.1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VI. Exports in Tons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rye</td>
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</tr>
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<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>28.3</td>
<td>1,584.1</td>
<td>760.5</td>
<td>211.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw sugar</td>
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<td>94,488.9</td>
<td>65,434.2</td>
<td>64,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinc</td>
<td>3,893.4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>9,586.1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix V.

LETTER FROM THE DANZIG SENATE TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

[Translation from the German.]

Danzig, July 2nd, 1931.

The Senate desires, in view of the steady increase in unemployment, which constitutes a menace to economic life in Danzig, to inform you of the following facts, with the request that some action may be taken in the matter.

The seasonal relief of the Danzig labour market expected during the summer has unfortunately not been very noticeable this year. There are still 20,000 unemployed in Danzig—i.e., about 5,000 more than during the corresponding period last year. There is every indication that the unemployment figures for this year have reached their lowest point, and that, during the rest of the year, there will probably be a steady rise in the number of unemployed.

This state of affairs involves one extremely unfavourable financial consequence for Danzig—namely, that the budget allocation of 12 millions of gulden for unemployment relief will probably be exceeded, so far as can be estimated, by 2 or 3 millions of gulden. No further evidence is needed to show that a small State like Danzig cannot permanently support such burdens. The Senate has already done everything that was possible to lessen the burdens and has taken drastic measures with this object. It has supplemented the legal provisions in the matter by stipulating that, after a certain time, the subsidy for unemployment relief shall cease, and has also laid down that certain categories of unemployment relief shall be temporarily discontinued. It is hardly possible to institute any further restrictions, unless the unemployed are to be deprived of the barest necessities of life.

In the circumstances, the Senate can offer its own citizens no justification of the fact that the Danzig labour market continues to be flooded with Polish labour. The number of Polish workers now in Danzig, apart from 8,000 to 10,000 seasonal agricultural workers, is somewhere about 11,000. Since the beginning of the year alone, upwards of 7,000 employment permits have been issued to Polish nationals. The majority of the latter had no doubt come to Danzig before January 1st last. Since then, however, according to the police registers, 1,800 Polish workers have arrived in Danzig. In consequence, an equal number of Danzig nationals have been excluded from the Danzig labour market and been left without a means of livelihood, the result being that the State and communes have had to incur additional expenditure to the amount of one and a-half million gulden for the year.

While in principle the Danzig authorities issue employment permits in Danzig to Poles—including newcomers—the Senate has decided that, in the case of other foreigners, the greatest discretion shall be exercised in granting admittance to the Danzig labour market, and that permission to take up employment shall be refused in the case of all foreigners, including Reich nationals, arriving in the Free City.

Unless something can be done promptly to prevent the influx of Polish labour also, the Senate will be unable to fulfil its main duty of bringing order into the finances of the Free City of Danzig and balancing the budget.
The Senate is fully aware that the question of the so-called regulation of the Danzig labour market is bound up to some extent with the interpretation of Article 33 of the Paris Treaty. The Senate feels, however, that it cannot accept responsibility for any postponement of the decision as to the question of admitting Polish workers to the Danzig labour market until the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague has given judgment and the Council of the League of Nations has taken a decision. The Senate feels, on the contrary, that it is essential for the matter to be settled in a manner favourable to Danzig before the beginning of the winter, if serious injury is to be avoided in very different directions.

The Senate requests, therefore, that steps may be taken to enable Danzig in the near future and, in any case, before the winter to prohibit the immigration of Polish workers into Danzig.

(Signed) Dr. Ziehm.

Appendix VI.

LETTER FROM THE POLISH DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

[Translation.]

Danzig, August 8th, 1931.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated July 9th, No. 23 B. 105/2, together with the annex containing a letter from the Senate, dated July 2nd, with regard to unemployment in the Free City of Danzig.

I beg to thank you for this letter and to state at the outset that the figures given by the Senate in regard to Polish workers employed in the territory of the Free City of Danzig are not confirmed by the data in my possession. If importance is attached to these figures, I propose that the material in the possession of the Senate should be jointly examined by the Senate and my representative. I would point out in this connection that the question of purging the Danzig labour market of Polish workers put forward by the Senate merely touches the fringe of the much deeper problem of unemployment at Danzig, which is explained by the general policy of Danzig. The establishment of a connection between the number of Poles employed and the number of unemployed at Danzig is not in accordance with the facts, since the Danzig unemployed belong to another category of workers than the Polish workers employed at Danzig.

For purposes of comparison I would point out that the analysis of the occupations of Polish nationals at Danzig submitted by the Senate during the Warsaw conversations in January 1930 showed that, among the 17,939 Polish workers employed in the territory of the Free City, which was the figure given by the Senate at that time, there were 4,490 persons belonging to the category of domestic servants and 10,620 agricultural workers. These two categories, which together amounted to 15,100, could not then be regarded, in view of the economic needs of Danzig, as a burden on the Danzig labour market. For this reason, they were completely exempted at the time of the conversations between Poland and Danzig from any restrictions which, had they been imposed, would undoubtedly have caused serious prejudice to the Free City of Danzig. It is an undisputed fact that the proportion between these two categories of persons and the total number of persons employed in Danzig territory is much the same to-day as it was in 1930.

In view of the fact that the Senate complains in the letter which it sent to you on July 2nd of the financial burden of unemployment relief, I feel bound to mention the Polish proposal, which was so warmly supported by you but was not accepted by the Senate, to the effect that the system of compulsory unemployment insurance should be introduced in the Free City with the financial help of the Polish Government. If this scheme had been carried out, it would have contributed—and will contribute, if effect is given to it in future—to a greater extent than any other measure towards lessening the financial charges of the Free City.

I well know with what care and devotion you presided in February 1930 over the negotiations between Poland and Danzig in the affair of the purging of the Danzig labour market, and the great importance that you attached to the favourable issue of these negotiations. I can thus understand that you still express the hope that an agreement may be reached between Poland and Danzig on the lines of the Protocol then adopted, on February 8th, 1930.

I must point out that, on the basis of this Protocol, the negotiations between Poland and Danzig were successfully terminated on March 25th, 1930. The final text of the agreement was jointly prepared and was to be signed by me after submission to the Polish Government. But as early as March 26th or 27th, owing to a disagreement within the Senate which had concluded this agreement with me, the members of the German Liberal Party, and later of the Socialist Party, withdrew. The new Senate asked for the modification of the principles of the Protocol of Warsaw, and for the introduction of a definite legal distinction between Danzig and Polish nationals, confining the introduction of the system of permits to foreigners, amongst whom Polish nationals were classified. When I did not consent to a change in the essential principles of the Protocol of Warsaw, the Senate passed a law contrary to that Protocol and, in my opinion, to the laws in force.
I therefore desire to emphasise that Poland had always been ready, and is ready, to sign the agreement on which an understanding was reached on March 25th, which agreement is in conformity with the Warsaw Protocol. The fact that it has not been signed is not attributable to the Polish Government.

However, when the Senate by issuing the Law of June 27th, 1930, had made it impossible to conclude an agreement with Poland on the lines of the Warsaw Protocol of February 8th, 1930, I endeavoured to clear up the legal situation and to obtain from the organs of the League a decision on this subject and on other questions concerning the rights of Polish and Danzig nationals. For this reason on September 30th, 1930, I transmitted to you the Polish Government’s application for a decision in regard to Article 33. I, on my side, suggested that legal and technical experts of the League should be asked to come to Danzig to give an urgent opinion on the questions raised, and therefore on the question of the employment of Polish nationals in the territory of the Free City of Danzig. But this proposal obtained neither the support nor the approval of the Senate. It was decided to send the whole matter to the Hague Court. In view of the high authority of that body I could not object; but the decisions awaited have thus been considerably delayed.

At present, the Senate of Danzig, attaching great importance to a limitation of the labour facilities for Polish nationals in the territory of the Free City, demands that this matter should be decided before the settlement by the Hague Court and the Council of all the questions arising out of Article 33. The Senate, however, does not on this occasion express the wish that the other questions—of the greatest importance for the Polish people and Government—relating to Article 33 should be settled at the same time. For instance, the simple matter of the school certificates, although I laid special stress upon it in view of the interests of the Polish population at Danzig deprived of medical and legal assistance and although you were good enough to intervene personally with the Senate, was not appreciated by the Senate, which refused to take the matter up. The Senate’s demand that the only question which interests it—namely, the occupation of Polish nationals in the territory of the Free City—shall be detached from all the questions relating to Article 33, involves at the same time, I fear, a postponement to a distant and indefinite future of all the other matters connected with that article.

This is, moreover, in accordance with the constant tendency of the Senate to demand various sacrifices from Poland and the Polish people while definitely refusing to comply with the humblest wishes of the Poles. Such tactics, however, place the representatives of the Polish Republic in an extremely difficult situation. The Commissioner-General of the Polish Republic is obliged constantly to submit to Warsaw the claims of the Senate, and on his side he is unable to secure the acceptance by Danzig of the most modest requirements of the Polish population.

The question of the employment of Polish nationals in the Free City has lately become more acute owing to the removal from the post of Director of the Labour Department—who decides such matters—of the representative of the Socialist Party, who was a guarantee that labour and national questions would be treated with a certain objectivity; also by the appointment to a highly important post in this Department of a representative of the Hitlerite Party, well-known for his anti-Polish activities. At the same time, M. Förster, head of this party and delegate of the German Reich, at the meeting on June 19th last, proclaimed as one of the points in his programme the removal from Danzig of all the 30,000 Poles employed there, meaning thereby both Polish nationals and Danzig nationals of Polish origin.

I therefore beg you to be so good as to exert your influence in order to induce the Senate to change its present attitude. At the same time, I draw your attention to the fact that, in order to prove to you my keen desire to meet your wishes and to demonstrate the benevolent attitude with which the Polish Government in this case also treats the interests of workers in the Free City of Danzig, I addressed to the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare a request that he would take temporary administrative measures to limit a possible influx of Polish workmen into the territory of the Free City of Danzig. I will not fail to inform you of the details of these instructions.

(Signed) Henryk Strasburger.