CONTENTS

GDAŃSK

INTRODUCTION. - German claim - examples of Germanized 3 districts elsewhere not claimed -German character of Gdańsk not 3 decisive - neither historical nor economic claims possible -3 Gdańsk belonged to Poland fo seven centuries - to the Teuto-4 nic Order for 146 years - to Prussia for 126 years - chief mo-4 - tive of the partitions of Poland - necessary reparation of that 4 . crime - struggle for Gdańsk dominates the whole rivalry be-4 tween free Poland and despotic Prussia - a Polish Gdańsk 4 secures freedom for Poland, Lithuania, Bohemia - unanimity of 4 ' Polish public opinion on that point. 5

I. GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMICAL CONSIDERATIONS, 5-11.

The basin of the Vistula greater than that of any German river : 5 exceptionally well irrigated - unique extent of the basin for 5 a length of 1.125 km., and a distance from source to mouth of only 5 530 km. - important artificial waterways - Vistula connected 6 6 with the Niemen, the Oder, and the Dnieper - more canals can. easily be constructed - 4.120 km, navigable waterways in an area 6 of 198.510 squ. km., an unique proportion - development im-6 possible without political unity - the three partitioning states 6 subordinated the interests of the Polish nation to such distant centres 6 as Hamburg, Bremen, Vienna or Moscow - examples of economic 6 anomalies - wealth wasted on foreign railways - coal ne-6 glected — tribute to Prussian coal mines — export 7 of 7 oil - Polish emigration sent to German ports - Losses of 7 Gdańsk after the first partition - two alternatives: either Gdańsk 8 Polish, or Poland German - Growth of German ports compared 8 with decay of Gdańsk - Growth of other Polish cities -8 Vanishing importance of Gdańsk for German trade - Gdańsk 9 a third rate port — another destiny awaits it in a free Poland : 9 internationalization or neutralization dangerous - the basin of the Vistula is a delicate instrument, not to be used by different 9 states - no natural limits between Poland and Germany or 9 9 Russia --- but the whole of the basin of the Vistula must belong to one state - this is required by the interests of the world's 9 trade --- Bismarck's opinion that Gdańsk more indispensable 10 than Posen to a Polish state - How the Hakatists interpret 10 Wilson's points - rise in the prices of the houses in Gdańsk -10 if different nations owned the basin of the Vistula they would have 10 to form one state-the conflict is between more than twenty millions 10 of Poles and a few hundred thousand Germans - other German 10 cities in Poland— Gdańsk would become Polish — if the 10 Poles living around Gdańsk were allowed to settle in the city: 10 how the Germans acted towards Poland — necessity of full 11 reconstitution of the unity of Poland. 11

II. HISTORICAL FACTS..... 11-18

Strangeness of the case - almost incredible - Poland in 11 the xith century - in the xiith century - Conrad of 11 Masovia and the Prussians - unlucky advice of St Hedvige, a 12 German princess - the Teutonic Order - rapid growth: 12 Gdańsk still Polish in the xIVth century - the will of Mes-12 twin - Przemysław and Lokietek - Sudden aggression in 13 1308 - feast of St. Dominic + violent Germanization - Great 13 Master in Marienburg - vain appeals to the Pope and succession 13 of wars - peace of Kalisz - Lizard Union- Grünwald - a 14 partial umpire - Prussian delegation to the Polish Diet - Jan 14 Baysen - pacifist bishops - war of liberation - final defeat of 15 the Teutonic Order --- solemn obligation of the Great Master ---15 increase of the trade of Gdańsk - prosperity of the port parallel 15 to the prosperity of Poland - prices of wheat - Growth 15 of trade and population in the XVIth c. - Gdańsk and England 16 Polish feelings in Gdańsk — fidelity to Leszczyński — resistance 16 to Friedrich II - protest against annexation - exile of 17 Schopenhauer - two sieges in 1807 and 1813 - last will of a free 17 town - Polish spirit in Gdańsk - Polish papers - Polish 18 churches and schools. 18

III. STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS...... 18-20

Future wars — a German Gdańsk prevents the communication 18 of Poland with the Allies — use for the condemned warships -- 19 — Kashoubs good sailors — The Baltic must not become a 19 German sea — only Poland can resist the Germans — Polish navy 19 needed. 20

IV. ISOLATION OF EAST PRUSSIA FROM GERMANY. 20-22

East Prussia as an Alsatia - not really separated from Germa-21 ny - territorial connexion recent - the Junkers of East 21 Prussia — a very special caste — a Prussian contagion — no 21 national feeling for East Prussia - Prussia discredited - the 21 ambition and greed of a dynasty led to the partitions of Poland -22final refutation of Prussian theory and practice - a free Poland 22 means the disintegration of Prussia - Prussia's fate well 22 deserved. 22 •