



POLISH  
DOCUMENTS  
ON  
FOREIGN  
POLICY

24 OCTOBER      30 SEPTEMBER  
1938–1939

EDITORS

Włodzimierz Borodziej, Sławomir Dębski

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
WARSAW 2009

© POLSKI INSTYTUT SPRAW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH 2009

www.pism.pl

TRANSLATION  
Jean-Jacques Granas

COPY EDITOR  
Joanna Sokólska

PROOF READING  
Magdalena Sokólska

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES  
Izabella Mrzygłód

TECHNICAL EDITOR  
a n d C O V E R D E S I G N E R  
Dorota Dołęgowska

ISBN: 978-83-89607-72-0

P U B L I S H E R  
Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych  
ul. Warecka 1a, 00-950 Warszawa

---

Printed by Drukarnia nr 1, 02-521 Warszawa, ul. Rakowiecka 37

## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	V
LIST OF DOCUMENTS .....	XVII
DOCUMENTS .....	1
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	435
INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES .....	437



## INTRODUCTION

In the final months of peace in 1939, the fate of Europe depended on decisions taken in Warsaw as it never had before or since. After the Munich Conference, Hitler set out to subordinate Poland in his drive to ultimately topple the Versailles order. He intended to neutralise the formal French-Polish alliance and to create a 'buffer zone' dependent on Germany, separating the Reich from the Soviet Union. Poland, isolated and discredited by its role in the partitioning of Czechoslovakia, seemed an easy target. Hitler claimed for the incorporation of the Free City of Danzig into the Reich and an extraterritorial motorway through Polish Pomerania linking East Prussia with the rest of the Reich. Hitler's essential demands, however, were not territorial in nature but political: Poland was to join the Anti-Comintern Pact and commit itself to consulting its foreign policy with Berlin. In exchange, Hitler offered Poland peace, a guarantee of its Western boundary and the role of the Reich's vassal in a new European order based on German hegemony. Warsaw was thus expected to renounce one of the foundations of its foreign policy since 1919—the principle of not entering into any alliance with one of its powerful neighbours against the other.

Poland's rejection of Hitler's offer to join the new European order, shaped by Berlin, on a voluntary basis took the German Chancellor by surprise. It not only frustrated his plans of expansion in Eastern Europe in search of a *Lebensraum* for the German nation, but it also meant a risk of war on two fronts in case of an armed conflict in the West. Poland's resistance to Hitler's plans also marked a radical change in European politics, signalling the end of the policy of concessions in the face of German demands (appeasement) and the beginning of cooperation between countries interested in halting the expansion of the Third Reich—the emergence of a *de facto* anti-German coalition. Hence an examination of the steps undertaken by Polish diplomacy

in the final months of peace and of the documents it produced at the time is vital to comprehending the new international constellation that determined the destiny of Europe in the years that followed.

The overwhelming majority of those interested in the subject, including historians and other specialists, have no knowledge of Polish, which explains why Polish documents on foreign policy, with a few exceptions, have been practically unknown, or little known at best, beyond Poland's borders.<sup>1</sup> The same can be said about the work of Polish historians.<sup>2</sup> The present volume includes a selection of Polish foreign policy documents from the period between 24 October 1938 and 30 September 1939 in English or, in some cases, in French.

The volume has been compiled on the basis of *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne* [Polish Diplomatic Documents], a series published since 2005 by the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). It contains a selection of documents already published in three successive volumes of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions include the papers of Polish ambassadors: in Berlin (*Diplomat in Berlin 1933–1939; Papers and Memoirs of Józef Lipski, Ambassador of Poland*, New York–London, 1968), and in Paris (*Diplomat in Paris, 1936–1939; Papers and Memoirs of Juliusz Łukasiewicz, Ambassador of Poland*, New York–London, 1970), published through the efforts of the Polish emigré community in the West, as well as the memoirs of Józef Beck—a source of lesser cognitive value (*Dernier rapport. Politique polonaise*, Neuchâtel, 1951).

<sup>2</sup> For many years, the only fundamental works on the subject known in the West were the monographs by Anna Cieniła (*Poland and the Western Powers 1938–1939; A Study in the Interdependence of Eastern and Western Europe*, London–Toronto, 1968) and by Marian Wojciechowski (*Die polnisch-deutschen Beziehungen 1933–1938, Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas* series, vol. 12, Leiden, 1971). The state of research in the 1990s is reflected in *Historia dyplomacji polskiej, vol. IV: 1918–1939*, P. Łossowski (ed.), Warsaw, 1995, and *vol. V: 1939–1945*, W. Michowicz (ed.), Warsaw, 1999. New findings in Polish historiography during the last decade and new interpretations can be found in: S. Żerko, *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie 1938–1939*, Poznań, 1998; S. Dębski, *Między Berlinem a Moskwą, Stosunki niemiecko-sowieckie 1939–1941*, Warsaw, 2003 and 2007; M. Kornat, *Polska 1939 roku wobec Paktu Ribbentrop-Mołotow*, Warsaw, 2002. It is also worthwhile to mention M. Kornat, *Polityka Równowagi 1934–1939. Polska między Wschodem a Zachodem*, Cracow, 2007. The causes of World War II have been examined extensively in historiography, but the editors decided to skip the vast list of these freely accessible publications.

series.<sup>3</sup> The editors of the present volume did not undertake any research at the source, capitalising earlier archival research conducted by the Editors of the above mentioned volumes of *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne*. The editors of the present volume would like to thank Marek Kornat, Wojciech Rojek and Stanisław Żerko for their permission to use those documents and some of the accompanying editorial material.

\* \* \*

Poland's restoration to statehood in November 1918, following 123 years of partitions, was the result of a synergy of efforts undertaken by Poles in the diplomatic corridors in Paris, London, Washington and Rome, and especially at the Versailles Conference, as well as their own independent struggle back home for a new state and its boundaries.<sup>4</sup> The 'ethos of action' aimed at regaining Poland's independence irrespective of the existing international situation or the decisions of the Great Powers, exerted a strong impact on Poland's foreign policy during the entire inter-war period, resulting in an ambivalent nature of Poland's approach to the Powers behind the Versailles system. The new Polish state was undoubtedly one of the Versailles Treaty's principal beneficiaries. Aleksander Skrzyński, one of Poland's most outstanding ministers of foreign affairs between the two world wars, described the Versailles Treaty as 'Poland's very existence.' He also noted on many occasions that 'Poland held the key to European security—any combination that would attempt to ignore this fact would be doomed to failure from the very outset.'<sup>5</sup> The Polish *raison d'état* necessitated cooperating with Paris and London for the stabilisation of the Versailles system, and this was the objective of the military treaties that Poland concluded with France and Romania in 1921, Poland's strong determination

---

<sup>3</sup> *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1938*, edited by M. Kornat, Warsaw, 2007; *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1939, styczeń-sierpień*, edited by S. Żerko, Warsaw, 2005; *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1939, wrzesień-grudzień*, edited by W. Rojek, Warsaw, 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Among recent works, see *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1918, listopad-grudzień*, edited by S. Dębski, Warsaw, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> P. Wandycz, *Aleksander Skrzyński, Minister spraw zagranicznych II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warsaw, 2006, pp. 47–48 and 141. Skrzyński's successor August Zaleski in turn noted: 'There is nothing for Poland to wage war over,' August Zaleski, *Przemowy i deklaracje*, Warsaw, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 6 and 16.

to work with Great Britain and its consistent support during the 1920s for the institutions of the Versailles system, especially the League of Nations. The Polish political establishment associated Poland's security at the time with close political and military cooperation with France—the principal architect of the Versailles order.

Until 1925, the French-Polish alliance was a natural consequence of both countries' community of strategic interests, but in mid-1920s this alliance began to erode. France and Great Britain, in their efforts to stabilise the Versailles system, began to search for ways to restore full rights to Germany, to include it in the system and safeguard it an equal party status. Poland's role as a French ally and a pillar of the Versailles system to the east of Germany began to diminish as the tendency strengthened to involve Germany in the main stream of European affairs. This trend resulted in 1925 in the Locarno Treaty, which enhanced the security of Western Europe at the cost of Central Europe, whose relative level of security was undermined by the Treaty. The emergence in Europe of two zones with different levels of security drove a wedge into the French-Polish alliance and into the two countries' community of strategic interests.

Warsaw viewed the Western powers' attempts to reform the Versailles Treaty and their policy to involve Germany in European affairs with great reserve. Poland's political establishment feared that this could conceal plans to revise the system at Poland's expense, the more so as suggestions in this vein were raised during diplomatic discussions. In December 1935, Ralph S. Stevenson, a senior official at the Foreign Office, declared in Geneva to representatives of the Polish Foreign Ministry that 'with regard to Germany, one had to choose between two methods: either to buy peace, or to wage war. England will, to the limit of what is possible, pursue the first course [...] In Europe the Austrian question will end either with an *Anschluss* or with a *Gleichschaltung*. This, however, will not stop German expansion, which could unfold in the direction of Czechoslovakia, and perhaps also Poland. England—Stevenson went on—can intervene only in defence of the *status quo* in the West of Europe, but no House of Commons will accept an intervention in defence of the order in Central and Eastern Europe, for instance in defence of



the Corridor [i.e., Polish Pomerania].<sup>6</sup> This fear of the Western Powers' instrumental approach to the security interests of East-Central European countries reinforced Poland's determination to seek for an autonomous and independent foreign policy. Consequently, the main criterion determining Poland's approach to various political projects in foreign affairs during the inter-war era as well as the limits of Polish cooperation with the Western powers was the political impact of those projects on the preservation of the Polish-German *status quo*. As a result of its strive for the greatest possible autonomy and freedom of manoeuvre, however, Poland found itself trapped in 1938, when at the news that a Four-Power conference had been called in Munich to consider German demands towards Czechoslovakia, the Polish authorities decided to act on their own. On 30 September 1938, Kazimierz Papée, the Polish envoy in Prague, submitted an ultimatum to the Czechoslovak government, demanding that it cede to Poland the part of Teschen Silesia known as Zaolzie predominantly inhabited by Poles.<sup>7</sup>

Poland's single-handed step was meant as an act of protest against the idea—revived in Munich—of a directorate of European powers. But, as Polish historians have justly pointed out, 'this diversion from the spirit of Munich' was very convenient for Hitler. 'By undermining Western politicians' preferred method of resolving Central European disputes solely by the Munich directorate, Poland made it possible for the Chancellor to definitely turn his back on the need to consult London and Paris about the Reich's demands—a need that had greatly hampered Germany's freedom of action.'<sup>8</sup> The reasons for Warsaw's reserve about the concept of a directorate of Powers and Poland's efforts to preserve the autonomy of its foreign policy in rapidly

---

<sup>6</sup> Quoted after Marian Wojciechowski, *Die polnisch-deutschen Beziehungen 1933–1938...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 212–213.

<sup>7</sup> See the ultimatum note handed by the Polish envoy in Prague to the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs on 30 September 1938, *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1938*, *op. cit.*, doc. 353, pp. 640–642. Under pressure from Hitler, in 1938 the Western Powers decided to give precedence to ethnic considerations over historical ones in the matter of Czechoslovakia's boundaries. This immediately opened up the problem of equal treatment of all Czechoslovakia's neighbours and of its minorities. In 1919–1920 the Western Powers, by recognising Czechoslovakia's annexation of Teschen Silesia, supported Prague's arguments that this area had historically been part of the Crown of St. Wenceslaus.

<sup>8</sup> S. Żerko, *Stosunki polsko niemieckie...*, *op. cit.*, p. 96. A similar conclusion in S. Stanisławska, *Polska a Monachium*, Warsaw, 1967, p. 263.

changing conditions are easy to understand, yet this does not alter the fact that Poland's policy in September 1938 was misguided. Contrary to the Polish authorities' expectations, it did not improve Warsaw's position. Quite the opposite, it led to its isolation in Europe, significantly complicating its situation when in the second half of October 1938 Poland found itself under pressure from Hitler.

The second factor that affected Polish foreign policy during the inter-war period was Poland's location between two powers revisionist with respect to the Versailles order: Germany and Soviet Russia. Moreover, the Polish state had re-appeared on the map of Europe also as a consequence of the collapse of the two neighbours responsible for Poland's disappearance from the map 123 years earlier. Poland was striving to keep a balance in the face of the revisionism of its two powerful neighbours, although the expression 'policy of equilibrium' used by Polish diplomacy at the time remains controversial even today.<sup>9</sup> Poland's location between the two Powers entailed two mortal dangers: that Poland would become dependent on one of them or that they would once again cooperate against Poland.

In 1919, Józef Piłsudski, one of the co-founders of the restored Polish state and the author of guidelines of its foreign policy, said: 'If we were forced to link our destiny with either Germany or the Bolsheviks, this would mean that our task had not been completed. Poland's civilisational mission would remain unfulfilled.'<sup>10</sup> Poland's Foreign Minister Józef Beck in turn, talking about the guidelines of Polish foreign policy with British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and Lord Halifax on 4 April 1939, observed: 'As far as Poland is concerned, two truths due to its geographical situation are vital, namely for its policy not to rest either on Germany or on Russia. Should Poland make its policy dependent on either of those powers, it would cease being an element of peace, and would become a factor capable of provoking conflict. [...] this principle has vital significance for Poland.'<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> S. Żerko, 'Polska polityka zagraniczna w styczniu-sierpniu 1939 r.,' *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny*, vol. 5, no. 5/27, 2005, p. 22, ft. 5. For polemics with his statements and a defense of the 'policy of equilibrium' see M. Kornat, *Polityka równowagi...*, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> J. Piłsudski, *Pisma zbiorowe*, Warsaw, 1937, vol. 5, p. 111.

<sup>11</sup> See doc. 84, p. 180. See also: doc. 82, p. 166: 'Two things are impossible from the Polish point of view, namely making Poland's policy dependent on either Berlin or Moscow.'

Cooperation between Germany and Russia—two neighbours with a hostile approach to the newly restored Polish state—constituted a threat to Poland's very existence from the very outset. Kazimierz Świtalski, Speaker of the Polish Parliament, noted the following observation made by Piłsudski to his closest collaborators on 7 March 1934: 'During its history, at the time of Catherine [the Great] and Frederick of Prussia, Poland found out the hard way what it meant when two powerful neighbours reached an understanding. Poland was torn to shreds then. This is a permanent danger for Poland. After the Great War this danger diminished because Germany had been beaten by the Entente and Russia by the Commandant [i.e., Piłsudski]. Those two countries were thus less powerful. They did, however, conclude the Rapallo accord which, although not directed against Poland as much as against the entire world, was nonetheless dangerous for Poland.'<sup>12</sup>

The Polish policy of 'resting on neither Germany nor Russia' was always meant to counteract the possibility of anti-Polish cooperation between Poland's two neighbours and, at the same time, to maintain broad autonomy in foreign policy. This required, however, tight cooperation with the Western Powers, France in particular. Given the evolution of British and French policy toward Germany from mid-1920s, this was becoming more and more difficult for Warsaw to achieve. At the same time, there was a danger that the Versailles system would be substituted by a directorate of Powers disregarding the interests of Central European states. The precedent of the Locarno conference of 1925, and especially the so-called Four-Power Pact (embracing France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy) proposed in 1932, reminded the Polish political establishment that such a possibility should not be ruled out.

The situation in Europe changed, however, when Adolf Hitler assumed power in Germany, as his aim was not to revise the Versailles system, but to destroy it altogether. Consequently, he was not interested in Germany's participation in a European directorate of Powers.

In contrast to his predecessors at the post of chancellor, he did not initially aim to 'finish off' Poland unconditionally, and this led Warsaw to view him as a moderate and reasonable politician. In his plans, the Führer first saw Poland in the role of Germany's outpost (*Vorposten*) in the East and as a 'bastion of

---

<sup>12</sup> Kazimierz Świtalski, *Diariusz 1919–1935*, edited by A. Garlicki and R. Świątek, Warsaw, 1992, p. 658.

civilisation' protecting Germany from the Bolshevik threat on the one hand, and from potential French attempts to exert pressure on the Reich on the other. In the long-term perspective, Hitler expected to subjugate Poland and subordinate it to German aims on the international arena. He was preparing first and foremost for a confrontation with France and thus sought to deprive it of potential allies. It was only after a victory in the West that he intended to turn against Russia. In this latter project, he did not rule out collaboration with Warsaw. Hence 'the role of Poland in Hitler's long-term plans in the East depended on the evolution of Germany's relations with the Western Powers.'<sup>13</sup> Warsaw in turn, coming under mounting pressure from the Western Powers to accept a peaceful revision of the Versailles system at Poland's expense, decided to counter the potential threat by seeking to normalise its relations with Germany, if only provisionally.

On 26 January 1934, Poland and Germany signed a Declaration renouncing the use of force that was to remain in force for 10 years. Through this Declaration, Warsaw postponed for several years the threat that the Western Powers might treat Poland as currency in buying peace from Hitler, while Germany was able to escape isolation following its withdrawal from the League of Nations. This Declaration together with the 1932 Polish-Soviet non-aggression pact constituted the foundation of Poland's above-mentioned policy of 'equilibrium' or 'equal distance' during the 1930s.

Commitment to this policy was reflected, on the one hand, in Polish politicians' consistent rejection of Berlin's oft-suggested need for Poland and Germany to cooperate against the USSR and, on the other, in their reiterated readiness to take a stand in defence of the Versailles system should the Western Powers ever opt for such a policy.

The most evident manifestation of this approach was Poland's position on the remilitarisation of the Rhineland. Having heard of the entry of German troops into the Rhineland on 7 March 1936 and following consultations with the Polish President, Prime Minister and Chief of General Staff, Beck declared to the French ambassador in Warsaw that should Paris decide to

---

<sup>13</sup> M. Wojciechowski, *Die polnisch-deutschen Beziehungen 1933–1938...*, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

react, Poland would meet its obligations under the 1921 alliance treaty.<sup>14</sup> France, however, remained passive in the face of the German steps.

Thus, despite the *rapprochement* with Germany after 1934, the Polish authorities consistently held the view that in an armed confrontation between Germany and the Western Powers defending the Versailles system, Poland had to side with the West. In March 1937, during a conversation with Winston Churchill, a staunch opponent of appeasement, Józef Beck made it clear to the British politician that should there ever be war in connection with Germany's violation of the order in Europe, Poland would side with Great Britain.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time, Polish diplomacy anxiously followed all Soviet attempts to enhance Moscow's influence in Central Europe. In May 1938, Waław Grzybowski, the Polish Ambassador in Moscow, warned that Moscow's aim was not to support Czechoslovakia in its conflict with Germany, but to spark off a European war: 'The attitude of the Soviets in the Czechoslovak affair is very similar to their position on the Spanish question. Besides general assurances of allied solidarity and a declared will to cooperate in the peaceful resolution of the Czechoslovak question, the Soviets' true efforts are consistently aimed at aggravating the situation in Central Europe, based on the political calculation that an armed conflict would result and the Soviets could then adopt a wait-and-see attitude.'<sup>16</sup> The opposite scenario was even more disturbing for Poland: should the USSR truly wish to take an armed stand against Germany, this would require the consent of the interested countries to the presence of the Red Army on their territory. In the Baltic States and in

---

<sup>14</sup> See note of 7 March 1936 in: Jean Szembek, *Journal 1933–1939*, Paris, 1952, pp. 166–168. The matter was first mentioned by the then French ambassador in Warsaw, Léon Noël, in his memoirs *L'Agression allemande contre la Pologne. Une Ambassade à Varsovie 1935–1939*, Paris, 1946, p. 125.

<sup>15</sup> J. Beck, *Dernier Rapport...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–128; J. Gawroński, *Moja misja w Wiedniu*, Warsaw, 1965, pp. 391–392. Similar suggestions also appeared two months later in Beck's discussion in London, on the occasion of George VI coronation ceremonies. See M. Nurek, *Polska w polityce Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1932–1938*, Warsaw, 1983, pp. 71–72. See also M. Zacharias, 'Geneza układu o wzajemnej pomocy między Polską a Wielką Brytanią,' in: Z. Błazyński (ed.), *Władze RP na obczyźnie podczas II wojny światowej*, London, 1984, pp. 84–92.

<sup>16</sup> See the report of the ambassador in Moscow on the Soviet position with regard to Czechoslovakia, 25 May 1938, *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1938...*, *op. cit.*, doc. 122, p. 286.

Poland, this prospect was especially alarming, as was best reflected in an observation made by the Latvian Minister of Defence: Should Soviet troops ever be allowed to enter Latvian territory, Latvia would 'never be able to get rid of them.'<sup>17</sup>

An entirely new chapter in these dramatic events began on 24 October 1938, when Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Reich's Minister of Foreign Affairs, confronted Józef Lipski, the Polish Ambassador in Berlin, with the proposal for a 'comprehensive' settlement (*Gesamtlösung*) of German-Polish relations. The documents in the present volume throw light on further developments as seen through the eyes of Polish diplomacy, ending with the establishment in France of a Polish Government-in-exile, whose basic aim was to continue the struggle at the side of the Western allies. Poland, a founding member of the anti-Nazi coalition, remained an integral part thereof from the first to the last day of the war in Europe.

\* \* \*

Of the 233 documents presented below, 226 were published in the *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne* series (see footnote 3). The present volume also contains 7 new documents which, for various reasons, were not included in this series. Footnotes from *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne* were used in part, while other footnotes were written anew, expanded or rewritten with the needs of a non-Polish reader in mind.

The documents which appear in English translation in this volume were not originally intended for publication. Some are rather informal and at times even conversational in tone, while others include comments suggesting a personal friendship between the author and the addressee. As such, they did not present any particular technical difficulty in translation, with the exception of occasional idiomatic expressions, some of them now obsolete, or typically Polish forms of address or valedictions, for which the nearest English equivalent was chosen.

---

<sup>17</sup> This statement is to be found in the report of the Polish envoy in Riga from his conversation with the Latvian Minister of Defense, 28 February 1939, *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1939, styczeń-sierpień...*, *op. cit.*, doc. 61, p. 120. See also S. Dębski, *Między Berlinem a Moskwą ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–243.

Polish geographical names that appear in the original documents were changed to reflect the international historical context. Hence Danzig instead of Gdańsk, Kaunas instead of Kowno, Königsberg instead of Królewiec, Marienwerder instead of Kwidzyń, Memel instead of Kłajpeda, Ratibor instead of Raciborz and Teschen instead of Cieszyn, etc. Carpathian Ruthenia was also adopted as the preferred form for the area also known as Carpatho-Ukraine, Trans-Carpathia or Sub-Carpathia.

The territory known to the Poles as Pomorze Gdańskie and to the Germans as Westpreussen and which is referred to in the documents from 1938–1939 as ‘Pomorze,’ was translated as Polish Pomerania to avoid confusion with the part of Pomerania that at the time was a part of Germany.

A number of documents included in this volume have already been published in English. They can be found in *The Polish White Book*, a selection of diplomatic documents published in 1940 by the war-time Polish Government-in-Exile; and in *Diplomat in Berlin*, a compilation of the diplomatic papers of Józef Lipski, the Polish Ambassador to Germany, which was published in 1968 by Columbia University Press, New York.

The documents published in *The Polish White Book* were translated and published in great haste shortly after World War II began. Moreover, considerable portions of the original documents were omitted in the English edition. As a result, the editors of the present volume decided to retranslate a number of those documents in whole or in part. The documents published in *Diplomat in Berlin* were left in their original form, save for corrections of occasional spelling errors and evident oversights.

The documents in French, largely taken from *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne*, were treated in the same fashion.

The underscored fragments in the text were underlined in the original documents (by typewriter or by hand), passages in italics indicate text that was written or overwritten by hand, including signatures, while ... marks illegible words or passages.

The Index of Personal Names only provides information about the functions held by a given person in 1938 and 1939.

## LIST OF SOURCES

- Bellona—‘Protokoły polsko-francuskich rozmów sztabowych odbytych w Paryżu, w maju 1939/Protocols of the Polish-French General Staff Conferences in Paris, May 1939,’ *Bellona. Kwartalnik wojskowo-historyczny*, vol. II, April–June 1958,
- DBFP—*Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919–1939*, series 3, vol. 5, edited by E.L. Woodward, R. Butler, London, 1939,
- Diplomat in Berlin—*Diplomat in Berlin 1933–1939*, edited by W. Jędrzejewicz, New York–London, 1968,
- Diplomat in Paris—*Diplomat in Paris 1936–1939: papers and memoirs of Juliusz Łukasiewicz, ambassador of Poland*, edited by W. Jędrzejewicz, New York–London, 1970,
- JSJ—Jean Szembek, *Journal 1933–1939*, Paris, 1952,
- PBP—*Poland in the British Parliament 1939–1945*, vol. I, edited by W. Jędrzejewicz, New York, 1946,
- PWB—*Official Documents Concerning Polish-German and Polish-Soviet Relations* (the so-called Polish White Book), New York, 1940,
- PDD 1938—*Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1938*, edited by M. Kornat, Warsaw, 2007,
- PDD 1939/I—*Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1939, styczeń–sierpień*, edited by S. Żerko, Warsaw, 2005,
- PDD 1939/II—*Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1939, wrzesień–grudzień*, edited by W. Rojek, Warsaw, 2007.



## LIST OF DOCUMENTS

No.	Date. Title	page
1	[After 25 October]. Note from the conversation between the Ambassador in Berlin and the German Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . .	3
2	26 October. Report of the Ambassador in Moscow on his conversations with the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs . . . . .	5
3	28 October. Instruction of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Moscow . . . . .	7
4	31 October. Instruction of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Berlin: Position of the Polish government regarding German demands . . . . .	8
5	1 November. Report of the Ambassador in Rome on conversations within the diplomatic corps during the Czechoslovak crisis . . . . .	12
6	4 November. Cable from the Ambassador in Moscow about his conversation with the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs . . . . .	14
7	4 November. Discussion during a meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw devoted to events in Czechoslovakia following the Munich Conference . . . . .	15
8	7 November. Instruction of the Under Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Washington: Polish government's position in the matter of colonies and Jewish emigration from Poland. . . . .	20
9	8 November. Letter of the Ambassador in Moscow to the Minister of Foreign Affairs about conversations with the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs . . . . .	21
10	8 November. Note from the conversation of the Under Secretary of State with the Ambassador of Italy . . . . .	23

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

11	9 November. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on his conversation with the Ambassador of Italy about the German-Italian arbitration in the matter of Czechoslovakia's frontiers . . . . .	25
12	12 November. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on Polish-German relations and German foreign policy . . . . .	27
13	18 November. Unsigned note about anti-Jewish excesses in Germany. . . . .	31
14	19 November. Report from the Ambassador in Berlin on his conversation with the German Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . .	32
15	22 November. Unsigned note from the conversation between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and German Ambassador von Moltke . . . . .	36
16	22 November. Report of the Consul General in Berlin on the situation of Jews of Polish citizenship in Germany . . . . .	40
17	23 November. Instruction of the Under Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Paris and envoys in The Hague and Brussels in connection with Germany's expulsion of Jews of Polish citizenship. . . . .	41
18	28 November. Letter of the Head of the Western Section to the Ambassador in Berlin on the motorway through Polish Pomerania (with an appendix). . . . .	43
19	29 November. Note from the Ambassador in London (on the basis of instructions from the Minister of Foreign Affairs): Guidelines of Polish foreign policy . . . . .	47
20	29 November. Unsigned note on the problem of Jewish emigration. . . . .	50
21	5 December. Note by the Head of the Section for Poles Abroad about planned Polish-German negotiations on minority rights . . . . .	53
22	9 December. Report of the Ambassador in Washington on discussions at the State Department on the subject of Jewish emigration. . . . .	56
23	15 December. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on his conversation with the German Minister of Foreign Affairs on the subject of Polish and German foreign policy. . . . .	58
24	16 December. Letter of the Ambassador in London about Great Britain's policy following the Munich Conference . . . . .	63
25	17 December. Report of the Ambassador in Paris on French foreign policy following the Munich Conference . . . . .	67
26	19 December. Note by the Military Attaché of the legation in Kaunas about discussions with the military attachés of Latvia and the USSR. . . . .	75
27	22 December. Report of the General Commissioner in the Free City of Danzig on the information of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations . . . . .	77

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

28	8 January. Record of the conversation between the Under Secretary of State and the Ambassador in Berlin about Minister Beck's meeting with Chancellor Hitler at Berchtesgaden on 5 January . . . . .	79
29	10 January. Circular of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about Hitler's policy . . . . .	80
30	14 January. Report of the Ambassador in Rome on his conversation with the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . .	81
31	14 January. Report of the Ambassador in Washington about discussions at the State Department . . . . .	83
32	17 January. Draft cable from the Assistant Under Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Bucharest about the possibility of a German-Soviet understanding . . . . .	85
33	23 January. Cable of the envoy in Budapest about his conversation with the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . .	85
34	[After 26 January]. Unsigned note on the talks in Warsaw between the Polish and German Ministers of Foreign Affairs. . . . .	87
35	27 January. Head of the Eastern Section to the Embassy in Berlin about German-Soviet relations . . . . .	92
36	29 January. Consul in Marienwerder to the Embassy in Berlin about the local population's attitude towards Poland . . . . .	93
37	31 January. Circular of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about Ribbentrop's visit to Warsaw. . . . .	94
38	3 February. Letter of the Ambassador in Berlin to the <i>Chef de cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about Hitler's speech. . . . .	95
39	4 February. Note by the Assistant Under Secretary of State on his conversation with the Ambassador of Great Britain . . . . .	96
40	6 February. Note on the Under Secretary of State's conversation with the German Ambassador. . . . .	98
41	18 February. Report of the Deputy Commissioner General of the Republic of Poland in Danzig for the International Organisations Section about the dispute between Polish and German students . . . . .	100
42	18 February. Note by the Assistant Under Secretary of State on his conversation with the Reichsführer SS . . . . .	103
43	22 February. Letter of the Counsellor of the Embassy in Berlin to the Head of the Western Section on the subject of the visit of the Reichsführer SS in Poland. . . . .	107
44	28 February. Cable from the Ambassador in Berlin about his conversation with Ribbentrop . . . . .	110

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

45	2 March. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on discussions with Hitler and Göring . . . . .	111
46	7 March. Unsigned note on the conversation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the German Ambassador . . . . .	114
47	9 March. Cable from the envoy in Prague about the future of Slovakia . . . . .	116
48	13 March. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the legation in Budapest on the conversation with the Hungarian envoy . . . . .	117
49	13 March. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in Berlin on the conversation with the German Ambassador . . . . .	117
50	14 March. Circular of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Poland's position with regard to the expected break-up of Czechoslovakia . . . . .	118
51	14 March. Letter from the <i>Chef de cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Tokyo with an assessment of Poland's position on the international stage . . . . .	119
52	15 March. Circular of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the break-up of Czechoslovakia . . . . .	120
53	16 March. Cable from the Ambassador in Bucharest on his conversation with the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . . .	121
54	16 March. Assistant Under Secretary of State to the Embassy in Berlin about his conversation with the German Ambassador . . . . .	122
55	17 March. Cable of the Ambassador in London on the so-called Tilea indiscretion . . . . .	122
56	17 March. Cable from the Ambassador in Berlin about his conversation with Göring . . . . .	123
57	18 March. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Moscow about Poland's position with regard to the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia . . . . .	124
58	18 March. <i>Chef de cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London in the matter of the so-called Tilea indiscretion . . . . .	125
59	20 March. Letter from the Ambassador in London about the so-called Tilea indiscretion . . . . .	126
60	20 March. Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in connection with the deteriorating international situation . . . . .	127
61	21 March. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on his conversation with the German Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . . .	128

---

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

62	21 March. Cable from the Ambassador in London about his conversation with the British Foreign Secretary . . . . .	132
63	22 March. Personal cable of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London about British proposals. . . . .	134
64	23 March. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London in connection with British proposals . . . . .	135
65	23 March. Letter of the <i>Chef de cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London about British proposals. . . . .	136
66	24 March. Record of the speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs made during a political briefing at his office on 24 March 1939. . . . .	137
67	25 March. Instruction of the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Ambassador in Berlin in connection with the conversation with Ribbentrop . . . . .	139
68	26 March. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on his conversation with Ribbentrop (with appendix). . . . .	142
69	27 March. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris about Polish objections with regard to the British four-state declaration . . . . .	149
70	28 March. Record of the conversation between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the German Ambassador . . . . .	150
71	28 March. Letter from the <i>Chef de cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris in connection with the British proposal and Polish-German relations. . . . .	151
72	29 March. Report of the Ambassador in Paris on his conversation with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . . .	152
73	29 March. Note by the Assistant Under Secretary of State on his conversation with the Italian Ambassador. . . . .	154
74	30 March. Note by the Head of the Western Section on the British guarantee offer to Poland . . . . .	155
75	31 March. Cable from the Ambassador in London about the British guarantee for Poland . . . . .	156
76	31 March. Cable from the Ambassador in Moscow about his conversation with the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. . . . .	157
77	1 April. Unsigned note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs' briefing in connection with the Danzig conflict . . . . .	158
78	1 April. Unsigned note from the Embassy in London about the British guarantee to Poland . . . . .	159
79	1 April. Cable from the Ambassador in London about his intervention at the Foreign Office . . . . .	162

---

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

80	1 April. Cable from the Ambassador in Moscow on his conversation with the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. . . . .	163
81	1 April. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in Moscow about Poland's position with regard to the USSR. . . . .	164
82	4 April. Record of the conversation between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the British Foreign Secretary . . . . .	165
83	4 April. Note from the Ambassador in London on his conversation with the British Foreign Secretary . . . . .	174
84	4 April. Record of the conversation between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. . . . .	176
85	5 April. Record of the conversation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the British Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. . . . .	188
86	4-6 April. Record of the visit to the United Kingdom paid by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . .	194
87	6 April. Official communiqué on the visit to the United Kingdom paid by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . .	197
88	6 April. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs (from London) about the conclusion of the preliminary Polish-British agreement on mutual assistance . . . . .	198
89	6 April. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin about his conversation with the Secretary of State at the German Foreign Ministry . . . . .	199
90	12 April. Cable from the Ambassador in Paris on his conversation with the Prime Minister of France. . . . .	201
91	15 April. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London on the conversation with the Ambassador of Great Britain. . . . .	203
92	18 April. Report of the envoy in Kaunas on his discussion with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania . . . . .	204
93	19 April. Cable from the Ambassador in Berlin about rumours on Polish-German negotiations . . . . .	206
94	20 April. Instruction of the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Ambassador in Paris on the interpretation of the Polish-French alliance. . . . .	206
95	20 April. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on the Gafencu-Hitler conversation . . . . .	208
96	20 April. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the envoy in Stockholm: instructions for the meeting with Minister Sandler . . . . .	210

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

97	20 April. Unsigned note about the pronouncements of the Soviet Ambassador in Paris . . . . .	211
98	20 April. Circular of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in connection with rumours about Danzig . . . . .	216
99	22 April. Note by the Under Secretary of State's on his conversation with the Ambassador of Great Britain. . . . .	217
100	23 April. Note from the conversation between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Ambassador of Great Britain. . . . .	218
101	25 April. Cable from the Ambassador in Paris about his conversation with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . . .	223
102	29 April. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on Hitler's speech . . . . .	225
103	29 April. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London in connection with Hitler's speech . . . . .	230
104	29 April. Cable from the Ambassador in Moscow about his conversation with the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs . . . . .	231
105	2 May. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris about the Soviet guarantee. . . . .	232
106	3 May. Note by the Under Secretary of State on his conversation with the Ambassador of Great Britain . . . . .	232
107	4 May. Note from the <i>Chef de Cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the <i>Chargé d'affaires</i> in Berlin on the memorandum for the German government (with appendix). . . . .	235
108	5 May. Speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Polish Parliament . . . . .	240
109	5 May. Circular note of the Under Secretary of State in connection with speculations about a German-Soviet understanding . . . . .	245
110	6 May. Cable from the Under Secretary of State to the Embassy in Moscow about a German-Soviet understanding . . . . .	247
111	6 May. Report of the Ambassador in Washington on his conversation with the Secretary of State . . . . .	247
112	8 May. Note by the Trade Counsellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on his conversation with the Counsellor of the Embassy of Great Britain about Danzig and financial issues . . . . .	249
113	10 May. Note from the conversations of the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the Papal Nuncio and the Ambassador of Great Britain about Vatican's peace initiative . . . . .	250

---

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

114	10 May. Note from the conversation between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs about Polish-Soviet relations . . . . .	253
115	10 May. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London about the British loan for Poland . . . . .	254
116	10 May. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Moscow about Polish intentions with regard to the USSR . . . . .	255
117	10 May. Unsigned note about the declaration of the Secretary of the Japanese Embassy . . . . .	256
118	10 May. Personal letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Rome . . . . .	257
119	12 May. Report of the Ambassador in London on his conversation with the British Foreign Secretary . . . . .	260
120	12 May. Report of the Ambassador in London on his conversation with the British Foreign Secretary . . . . .	261
121	13 May. Circular note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on negotiations with the USSR . . . . .	264
122	13 May. Record of the conversation between the <i>Chef de Cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Ambassador of Japan . . . . .	264
123	13 May. Cable of the Ambassador in Paris about his conversation with the French Prime Minister . . . . .	266
124	15 May. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London on Poland's position towards negotiations with the USSR . . . . .	267
125	17 May. Western Section to the Embassy in Berlin on the flight of Germans from Poland . . . . .	268
126	19 May. Record of talks between Polish and French General Staff representatives . . . . .	269
127	21 May. Circular note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about the incident in Kalthof . . . . .	270
128	22 May. Political report of the Ambassador in Paris on the interpretative protocol to the alliance with France (with an appendix). . . . .	271
129	26 May. Cable of the Ambassador in Paris about his conversation with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . . .	276
130	26 May. Letter of the Ambassador in Berlin to the Minister of Foreign Affairs about his observations . . . . .	278
131	27 May. Declaration made by the Counsellor of the British Embassy to the <i>Chef de Cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about a possible Polish action in Danzig . . . . .	283



LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

132	30 May. Declaration made by the <i>Chef de Cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Counsellor of the British Embassy . . . . .	284
133	30 May. Guidelines from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris for further negotiations with the French government . . . . .	286
134	2 June. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the General Commissioner of the Republic of Poland in the Free City of Danzig in connection with tensions in Polish-Danzig relations . . . . .	289
135	3 June. Political report of the Ambassador in Paris on negotiations with the French government . . . . .	292
136	6 June. Report of the Ambassador in London on his talks with the British Foreign Secretary (with an appendix) . . . . .	295
137	6 June. Letter from the Ambassador in Paris to the Ambassador in London about his discussion with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . . .	301
138	9 June. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London about Soviet assistance . . . . .	305
139	9 June. Ambassador in London on the pronouncements of British politicians. . . . .	306
140	12 June. Report of the Ambassador in Moscow on the state of Polish-Soviet relations . . . . .	307
141	21 June. Note by the Under Secretary of State on his discussion with the Ambassador of Germany . . . . .	309
142	27 June. Report of the Ambassador in Paris on the interpretative protocol to the alliance with France . . . . .	313
143	29 June. Cable from the Ambassador in London on his conversation with the British Foreign Secretary . . . . .	316
144	[June]. Unsigned note on the subject of communications through Polish Pomerania . . . . .	317
145	1 July. Cable from the <i>Chef de Cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London about Minister Beck's discussion with the British <i>Chargé d'affaires</i> . . . . .	320
146	1 July. Note by the First Secretary of the Legation in Riga on his conversation with the Head of the Baltic Section of the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. . . . .	321
147	1 July. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on his conversation with the Ambassador of Great Britain . . . . .	322
148	3 July. Report of the Consul General in Berlin on rumours of a German-Soviet understanding . . . . .	325

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

149	6 July. Letter from the Counsellor of the Embassy in London about a discussion at the Foreign Office . . . . .	326
150	6 July. Information from the Eastern Section about the position of Japan on rumours of a German-Soviet <i>rapprochement</i> . . . . .	328
151	8 July. Note by the Under Secretary of State on his conversation with the Ambassador of the USSR . . . . .	328
152	11 July. The Consul General in Berlin about reports of a German-Soviet <i>rapprochement</i> . . . . .	329
153	16 July. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in London about the loan for Poland . . . . .	330
154	17 July. Cable from the Ambassador in London about his conversation with the British Foreign Secretary. . . . .	332
155	24 July. Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London about the loan for Poland . . . . .	333
156	28 July. Cable from the Chef de Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London about the conversation with the British Chargé d'affaires . . . . .	333
157	2 August. Report of the Ambassador to the Holy See about his audience with the Pope . . . . .	335
158	5 August. Cable from the <i>Chef de Cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London about the submitted declaration . . . . .	339
159	5 August. Cable of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London about the assurances of the President of the Danzig Senate. . . . .	339
160	9 August. Cable of the Chargé d'affaires in Berlin about his conversation with the Secretary of State at the German Foreign Ministry . . . . .	340
161	10 August. Cable of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassies in London and Paris on the Polish-German exchange of declarations about Danzig . . . . .	341
162	10 August. Cable of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London about Danzig. . . . .	342
163	10 August. Note by the Counsellor of the Embassy in Berlin on his conversation with the Ambassador of Great Britain . . . . .	343
164	14 August. Cable of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about the declaration in connection with Burckhardt's trip to Germany . . .	345

---

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

165	15 August. Letter of the Ambassador in Berlin to the Minister of Foreign Affairs about his conversation with the Ambassador of Great Britain. . . . .	346
166	16 August. Record of the conversation between the Under Secretary of State and the Ambassador of Great Britain. . . . .	348
167	16 August. Letter from the Ambassador in Paris about his conversation with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . . .	351
168	16 August. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassies in London and Paris on Minister Ciano's observations. . . . .	352
169	17 August. Report of the Ambassador in Berlin on his conversations with the Ambassadors of Great Britain and France. . . . .	353
170	18 August. Letter of the Ambassador in Berlin to the Minister of Foreign Affairs about a possible meeting with Göring and minority problems . . . . .	357
171	20 August. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassies in London, Paris and Moscow on the possibility of the Red Army's entry into Polish territory . . . . .	359
172	22 August. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassies in London and Paris in connection with the German-Soviet Pact . . . . .	360
173	22 August. Cable from the Ambassador in London in connection with the German-Soviet pact . . . . .	361
174	23 August. Circular note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in connection with the German-Soviet pact . . . . .	362
175	23 August. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London on possible Polish-Soviet military cooperation . . . . .	363
176	23 August. Cable from the Ambassador in London on his conversation with Great Britain's Foreign Secretary. . . . .	364
177	24 August. Report of the Ambassador in London on his conversation with Great Britain's Foreign Secretary. . . . .	366
178	24 August. Cable from the Ambassador in London about the speech of the Prime Minister of Great Britain . . . . .	369
179	25 August. Circular note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in connection with the resolution of the Danzig Senate . . . . .	370
180	25 August. Agreement on Mutual Assistance signed between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Poland . . . . .	370
181	25 August. Secret Protocol to the Agreement on Mutual Assistance signed between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Poland . . . . .	373

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

182	26 August. Circular note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about his conversation with the Ambassador of the USSR . . . . .	375
183	27 August. Cable of the Under Secretary of State to the Embassy in Berlin on his conversation with the Ambassador of France . . . . .	375
184	28 August. Cable from the Ambassador in London on his conversation with the British Foreign Secretary . . . . .	376
185	28 August. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London about the conversation with the Ambassador of Great Britain . . . . .	377
186	28 August. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in Paris on the Polish position with respect to talks with Germany . . . . .	378
187	29 August. Declaration of the Under Secretary of State for the Ambassadors of France and Great Britain on the subject of general mobilisation. . . . .	378
188	29 August. Circular note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the German propaganda campaign . . . . .	379
189	30 August. Circular note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on mobilisation directives . . . . .	380
190	30 August. Unsigned note about the Polish-British exchange of declarations . . . . .	380
191	31 August. Unsigned note on the declaration of the Secretary of the Embassy of Great Britain . . . . .	381
192	31 August. Cable from the Ambassador in Berlin on information from the Ambassador of Great Britain . . . . .	383
193	31 August. Cable from the Ambassador in Berlin about his conversation with the Ambassador of France. . . . .	383
194	31 August. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Berlin for the conversation with the German Minister of Foreign Affairs or Secretary of State . . . . .	384
195	31 August. Reply of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the English Government's inquiry about the possibility of negotiations with the German Government . . . . .	385
196	31 August. Note of the Head of the Western Section on possible Polish-German talks . . . . .	386
197	31 August. Cable of the Ambassador in Berlin about the mediation of Birger Dahlerus . . . . .	387
198	31 August. Cable from the Embassy in Berlin about the conversation between the Ambassador in Berlin and the German Secretary of State . . . . .	387

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

199	31 August. Cable from the Ambassador in London about the British reply to the German note . . . . .	388
200	31 August. Cable from the Ambassador in London about British public opinion . . . . .	389
201	31 August. Report by the Under Secretary of State on his conversation with the Papal Nuncio . . . . .	389
202	31 August. Cable from the Ambassador in Berlin on his conversation with the German Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . .	391
203	1 September. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassies in London and Paris about German aggression. . . . .	392
204	1 September. Cable from the <i>Chef de Cabinet</i> of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in Paris . . . . .	392
205	2 September. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassies in Paris and London [?] on supplies from the USSR . . . . .	393
206	3 September. Cable from the Ambassador in Paris on the declaration of war on Germany by France and Great Britain. . . . .	393
207	3 September. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in London about the peace initiative . . . . .	394
208	4 September. Report of the Ambassador to the Holy See on his discussion with the Pope about the situation in Poland . . . . .	395
209	5 September. Cable from the Ambassador in Paris on the Polish-French alliance agreement. . . . .	398
210	5 September. Cable from the Ambassador in London on military assistance for Poland. . . . .	399
211	8 September. Cable from the envoy in Stockholm relating information from the Polish Ambassador in Moscow . . . . .	400
212	10 September. Final Report from the Ambassador in Berlin. . . . .	401
213	11 September. Cable from the Ambassador in London about British military assistance . . . . .	416
214	11 September. Cable from the Ambassador in Paris about the bombardment of Warsaw . . . . .	416
215	11 September. Cable from the envoy in Budapest about Hungary's refusal to give passage to German troops . . . . .	417
216	13 September. The appeal for assistance by the Ambassador in Paris to the Prime Minister of France . . . . .	418
217	14 September. Letter from the Ambassador in London to the British Foreign Secretary. . . . .	420

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

---

218	14 September. Cable from the Ambassador in Moscow about the situation in the USSR . . . . .	423
219	14 September. Cable from the Ambassador in Moscow on articles in the Soviet daily press . . . . .	424
220	14 September. Cable from the Ambassador in Moscow about an article in <i>Pravda</i> . . . . .	424
221	15 September. Cable from the Ambassador in London: No reply from the British Foreign Secretary to the Polish note . . . . .	425
222	16 September. Cable from the Under Secretary of State to the Embassy in Moscow on Polish-Soviet relations . . . . .	426
223	16 September. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy in Moscow about purchases from the USSR . . . . .	426
224	17 September. Cable from the Ambassador in Moscow on his discussion with the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. . . . .	427
225	17 September. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Consulate in Chernivtsi about the Soviet attack . . . . .	427
226	17 September. Cable from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Embassies in Paris and London about the Soviet attack . . . . .	428
227	17 September. Note of the Ambassador in London to the British Foreign Secretary about the Soviet attack on Poland . . . . .	429
228	19 September. Note of the Ambassador in London to the British Foreign Secretary on the need to transfer the seat of government to France . . . . .	430
229	20 September. Record of the conversation between the Ambassador in London and the British Foreign Secretary about the situation of the government of the Republic of Poland . . . . .	431
230	23 September. Circular note of the Ambassador in Paris on the status of the government of the Republic of Poland in France . . . .	432
231	23 September. Circular note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about measures to be taken in case of withdrawal of recognition by the country of accreditation. . . . .	432
232	30 September. Note of the Ambassador in London to the British Foreign Secretary in protest against the German-Soviet agreement . . . . .	433
233	[September]. Cable of the Ambassador in Paris to legations in The Hague, Brussels and Berne about the registration of volunteers for the Polish Army in France . . . . .	434