

of terrorism. Germany and Poland undertake to make good economic or other damage done to minorities on either side since the year 1918, or to cancel expropriation, as the case may be, or to provide complete compensation to the persons affected for this and any other encroachments on their economic life.

(14) In order to free the Germans who may be left in Poland and the Poles who may be left in Germany from the feeling of being outlawed by all nations, and in order to render them secure against being called upon to perform action or to render services incompatible with their national sentiments, Germany and Poland agree to guarantee the rights of both minorities by means of the most comprehensive and binding agreement, in order to guarantee to these minorities the preservation, the free development and practical application of their nationality (*volkstum*), and in particular to permit for this purpose such organization as they may consider necessary. Both parties undertake not to call upon members of the minority for military service.

(15) In the event of agreement on the basis of these proposals, Germany and Poland declare themselves ready to decree and to carry out the immediate demobilization of their forces.

(16) The further measures necessary for the more rapid execution of the above arrangement shall be agreed upon by both Germany and Poland conjointly.

(12) TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN, SENT AT 11 P.M., 31st AUGUST, 1939.

1. Please inform German Government that we understand that Polish Government are taking steps to establish contact with them through Polish Ambassador in Berlin.

2. Please also ask them whether they agree to the necessity for securing an immediate provisional *modus vivendi* as regards Danzig (we have already put this point to German Government). Would they agree that M. Burckhardt might be employed for this purpose if it were possible to secure his services?

(13) REPLY FROM HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, RECEIVED IN THE EARLY HOURS OF 1st SEPTEMBER.

Written communication was made to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs early this morning in the sense of paragraph 2 of your telegram.

(14) EXPLANATORY NOTE UPON THE COURSE OF EVENTS TO BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ABOVE DOCUMENTS.

The reply to the German Government of 28th August was, before its delivery, communicated to the French and Polish Governments. The Polish Government authorized His Majesty's Government to inform the German Government that Poland was ready at once to enter into direct discussion with Germany. It will be seen that paragraph 4 of the British reply of 28th August made plain the attitude of the Polish Government on this point. The British reply was handed to Herr Hitler at 10.30 p.m. on 28th August, and he promised to give a written reply the following day. The German reply in writing was handed to His Majesty's Ambassador at 7.15 p.m. on 29th August. Apart from the complete distortion of events