

to the Press, which the Chief of Police later agreed to during the election campaign, without making any distinction between the parties.

A copy of the Senate's reply to the Centre Party's protest against the action of the Chief of Police is attached.<sup>1</sup>

The repeated confiscation of the *Danziger Volkszeitung* against which the Centre Party protests was rendered necessary for the maintenance of public peace and order. I need only refer to the Senate's decisions with regard to the protests in question, which I have already transmitted to you.

4. It has not been shown that members of the Centre Party have been penalised for their political opinions. The transfer of the workers Kass and Skubba to other posts was necessary according to official statements by the competent Landrat, for the maintenance of industrial peace, and the dismissal of the locksmith Landsberg was due to the same reasons. The dismissal of five forest workers, to which objection is taken, was due to restriction of the work. The official authorities concerned vigorously deny that the dismissals were based on the considerations put forward in the Centre Party's petition.

The dismissal of the Senate official Thiede, employed in the Revenue Administration, was withdrawn when it was proved that the charge on which it was based—that Thiede had agitated against the Government in a manner inconsistent with his duties as an official employee—was untrue.

5. It is not a fact that official authorities endeavoured before the election to prevent members of the Centre Party from engaging in party activities. The master-saddler Klein, who is referred to as assessor to the returning officers in Alt-Weichsel, was not (according to his own explicit statement taken when he was examined on May 3rd, 1935) forced by the head of the commune to resign his office of assessor. Similarly, the charges made against the Amtsvorsteher in Stangenwalde have been proved to be unfounded.

V The incidents during the election campaign are being carefully examined by the police and by the courts. Until they have been completely cleared up, it is not possible to pronounce on particular cases. That no election campaign in which political passions are aroused is without excesses goes without saying. I might refer in this connection to the incidents which, according to Press reports, have just taken place in Czechoslovakia. In the elections to the Danzig Popular Assembly so far as can at present be ascertained, no really serious incidents occurred.

The Centre Party's assertion that their adherents in the campaign were not afforded adequate police protection must be rejected as inconsistent with the facts. The excesses, which, in certain cases, were directed against members of the Centre Party, are being vigorously enquired into. In all cases which have come to the knowledge of the authorities, criminal proceedings of enquiry have been set on foot with the object of ascertaining and punishing the offenders. Some of these enquiries have already been concluded and the papers of the cases have been handed over to the Public Prosecutor. Up to the present, it has been possible to determine the offender or the parties suspected of the offence in seventeen cases. If, on various occasions, there were excesses directed against the person of Catholic clergy, or damage done to Catholic Homes for Young Persons, or posting of insulting inscriptions on Catholic churches, these are cases which the Senate very greatly deplures. But it must not be forgotten that certain Catholic clergy have not known how to draw the line between their pastoral office and their political activities, and that very intelligible indignation has been induced in the population thereby. A great deal of material on this subject is in the possession of the Senate.

In conclusion, I may point out that it is not reasonable to make the members of the National-Socialist Party responsible, without further enquiry, for all incidents directed against members of the Centre Party. In many cases, there is no indication whatsoever as to the person of the offenders. It may be observed in this connection that there were also a number of excesses in the course of the election campaign directed against members of the National-Socialist movement. In particular, a large number of election posters of the National-Socialist Party on the kiosks were damaged and smeared with dirt again and again. The manner in which this was done will be seen from two photographs which I attach.<sup>1</sup>

I must not make any observation on the Centre Party's assertion that irregularities occurred in connection with the actual voting, as the matter is under consideration by the Danzig Supreme Court. The high impartiality and acknowledged expert attainments of this independent body, the highest judicial authority of the Free City, affords an unquestionable guarantee that a just decision will be given with regard to the charges made against the validity of the election under Article 10 of the Danzig Constitution..

(Signed) GREISER.

### III. ELECTIONS TO THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY OF THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG, HELD ON APRIL 7TH, 1935.

C.205.1935.VII.

LETTER, DATED MAY 6TH, 1935, FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE LEAGUE OF  
NATIONS AT DANZIG TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.

Danzig, May 6th, 1935.

I have the honour to report for the information of the Council of the League of Nations that the Volkstag of the Free City of Danzig was dissolved on February 21st and the polling took place on April 7th.

<sup>1</sup> Note by the Secretary-General. — Preserved in the archives of the Secretariat, where they are at the disposal of the members of the Council.

The reasons given by the Senate asking for the dissolution of the Volkstag were connected with the negotiations which President Greiser undertook, at the meeting of the Council in January, to conduct with the Centre Party and the Catholic Priests, regarding complaints as to alleged breaches of the Constitution. In his letter to the National-Socialist Parliamentary Party proposing that new elections be held, he said.

" At the last League of Nations meeting held at Geneva in January,<sup>1</sup> the two petitions submitted to the League of Nations High Commissioner in Danzig by a section of the Catholic priesthood in Danzig and the Danzig Centre Party respectively, and transmitted by the High Commissioner to Geneva for consideration by the Council, played a part of some importance. When these petitions came before the Council, I announced, in agreement with the members of the Council, that the Senate of the Free City had decided to remove all grounds for the petitions through direct negotiations with the petitioners themselves in Danzig. After my return from Geneva, I duly carried out this decision and negotiations were opened with the petitioners' representatives.

" The negotiations hitherto conducted with the representatives of the Catholic priesthood justify the conclusion that, in regard to the controversial points on which their petition is founded, our differences may be smoothed out and a settlement reached. The negotiations have not yet been concluded and are still proceeding. On the other hand, it will not be possible to reach any agreement with the Centre Party representatives which could meet the wishes of the majority of the people. Throughout its work of reconstruction, the Senate has enacted laws in keeping with the wishes of the National-Socialist Party as represented in the Popular Assembly (Volkstag) and therefore with the wishes of the majority of the people of Danzig. The Senate considers that it could not yield to the Centre Party's desire for the amendment of a whole series of laws without damaging its own work of reconstruction and sabotaging the wishes of the majority of the Danzig population.

" Such being the case, the Senate considers it essential that the wishes of the people of Danzig should be unequivocally announced to the entire world through new elections to the Popular Assembly "

The Volkstag decided to dissolve by forty votes to twenty the opposition parties having opposed the holding of new elections on the ground, amongst others, that the points at issue between the Senate and the Centre Party could not be decided by a popular vote. In his speech, President Greiser declared that the elections would not be a vote in connection with the status of the Free City, but ordinary elections as provided for in the Constitution and desired by the majority of the population. He added that the secrecy and liberty of the elections would be guaranteed as well as public order and security. In this connection, I draw the attention of the Council to Appendix 1, letters exchanged between the President and myself regarding the scrupulous observance of the Constitution during the election period, and also again drawing his attention to the fact that the petition from the Centre Party which was still under consideration, dealt with the conditions under which an election would be held.

Before the sitting of the Volkstag adjourned, proposals were put forward by both the Centre and Social-Democratic Parties providing for certain changes in the present laws (mostly of recent date) and aiming, according to the promoters, at establishing a position of equality between the various parties. They claimed, for example, that the law of special protection for National-Socialist organisations should be extended to cover the organisations of other parties, or else be abolished for the National-Socialist Party.

During the campaign, it was emphasised by the President and other members of the Senate, as well as by the leaders of the National-Socialist Party, that the election was being fought, first, to render the minority parties insignificant in numbers; to show that, by complaining to the League of Nations about alleged breaches of the Constitution, they did not represent the people of Danzig; and also to show the League of Nations that complaints about the Constitution were not to be taken as of any importance. In this way the League of Nations and its organs were made to figure to some extent in the campaign.

Public complaint was made of the High Commissioner by Gauleiter Forster that he received members of the opposition parties, that he listened to their complaints and that even on occasion he forwarded such complaints to Geneva. President Greiser, on March 23rd, made a speech in which he expressed what he said was the view of the population that the only function of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations was to act as arbitrator between Poland and Danzig, and he also complained that the High Commissioner received leaders of opposition parties and listened to their views. The suggestion seemed to be that the High Commissioner was unduly influenced because he listened to the Opposition complaints. I immediately protested to the President of the Senate against this interpretation of the High Commissioner's position and against the inferences contained in his speech. (This matter is dealt with elsewhere.)

It is to be noted, also, that the decision of the Senate to hold an election took place while a petition from the Centre Party challenged, as unconstitutional, some of the important conditions under which the election was to be held, and that this petition would have been submitted to the Council of the League at its January meeting if the President of the Senate had not undertaken to endeavour to settle the matter by direct discussion before the May meeting. The Centre Party's

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Journal*, February 1935, page 139.

petition was presented to the High Commissioner subsequent to a partial local election held in November of last year.

On February 23rd, the Senate decided to prohibit the collection of funds by all parties for purposes of election propaganda. The object of this decree was stated to be that the operation of the Winterhilfswerk should not be interfered with. (The Winterhilfswerk is not a State organisation, it is organised by the National-Socialist Party under a member of the Senate described as State Commissioner, but is declared to be used to assist the poor without distinction of party or religion.)

On March 16th, M. Forster (leader of the Danzig National-Socialist Party and also a member of the Prussian State Council) issued a proclamation to his supporters declaring that they would carry on their propaganda with the greatest discipline and in absolute calm. He gave as the *mot d'ordre* of the election: "Kämpft die Separatisten und bleibt Nationalsozialisten!" In two other proclamations M. Forster emphasised that the fight for National Socialism was not merely a party matter, but concerned all Germans separated from their mother country. In one of the proclamations he stated that there must be no breach of discipline by the members of his party as this would give the Opposition leaders an opportunity to carry complaints to the High Commissioner, and that any member guilty of indiscipline would be put out of the party and its organisations.

The greatest assembly of the election was that held on March 16th by the National-Socialist Party when thousands of uniformed men marched through the streets to a meeting which was addressed by President Greiser and M. Forster. The former, in his speech, pointed out that the German people recognised to-day only one political factor, the National-Socialist Party. Only in Danzig certain organisations who were protected by an out-of-date Constitution, which did not conform to the sentiment of the population, attempted to deceive the League of Nations and foreign countries in saying that the National-Socialist Senate did not reflect the wishes of the people. They had seen these attempts and these activities on the part of anti-German elements go on until the time came when the Government believed they could no longer take responsibility *vis-a-vis* the League of Nations for these acts of the Opposition. The League of Nations must and would see that the Danzig population in its very great majority was on the side of the National-Socialist Party and that the complaints presented by the opposition parties found no support amongst the people. Those who opposed them in this fight would show that they were opposed to a German Danzig.

President Greiser was followed by M. Forster, who, in the course of a long speech, said that the opposition parties had not been ashamed to go to the High Commissioner and to distort the situation in telling him things which were injurious to Danzig. In doing that, they pretended to act as the best representatives of the people, but in truth they were what in the west of Germany had been defined as traitors and separatists. Those who did not vote for National Socialism on April 7th would put themselves in opposition to Adolf Hitler and to the German Reich. Those who acted in that way detached themselves from the community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) and were thus separatists.

In concluding the meeting, President Greiser paid a tribute to the German Reichskanzler Hitler and said that the meeting that day was rendered historic by the fact that there had just been published the Leader's declaration on the subject of conscription.

In view of the constant use of the words "traitor" and "separatist" and other indications, I considered it well to suggest to the Senate the issue of a public proclamation pointing out that the elections could not in any way affect the status of the Free City and again assuring the population that the Constitutional provisions would be ensured by the Government. As will be seen from Appendix 2, the Senate promptly responded by accepting this suggestion and the following proclamation was issued.

"With a view to dealing once and for all with misleading rumours circulated by interested parties, the Senate of the Free City of Danzig unanimously proclaims to the people of Danzig and to all foreign countries that:

"1. The election to the Popular Assembly to be held on April 7th, 1935, will be an act of an exclusively internal political significance which the Senate desires as a means of clearly demonstrating the mutual confidence existing between the National-Socialist Government and the people of Danzig. The election has nothing to do with the statute and international legal position of Danzig and is not a plebiscite regarding that statute.

"2. The Senate will do everything in its power to ensure that the election is both free and secret, and itself fully guarantees that it will be carried out in the manner prescribed in the Constitution of the Free City of Danzig."

M. Forster also made a statement to the Press, in which he said that talk of "revision" (of frontiers) was "stupid talk"

Various meetings were held by the Opposition (about eight Centre and eight Social Democrat). In a number of cases these passed off in complete calm. Some were dissolved by the police on the ground that illegalities had taken place and others were disturbed by their opponents, members of the meetings being attacked as they left the assemblies.

I must draw the attention of the Council to the suppression of the only Opposition daily newspaper (*Danziger Volksstimme*) on a number of occasions during the election campaign. The bi-weekly organ of the Centre Party was also seized on several occasions by the police. The Senate took these actions on the ground that the law of June 30th, 1933, had been violated. This matter

is also dealt with elsewhere. The *Feldgrauer Alarm*, a small publication issued in the interests of some ex-service men who participated in the elections as a political party (*Freie Frontkämpfer*), was also suppressed on March 12th for five months.

The National-Socialist Party claimed to have held about 1,000 meetings. Some of these took place in the public streets, while public parades of the uniformed members of the National-Socialist Party organisations were frequent. The only non-National-Socialist parade was that of the Polish Party. Permission of the police is necessary for the holding of street demonstrations in the case of non-National-Socialist organisations. The broadcasting service was exclusively used by the National-Socialist Party and the flag of this party was displayed on some municipal and State buildings, as well as used to decorate the municipal tramway cars. Some of the election streamers in public streets referred to Jews, as well as the Centre and Social-Democratic Parties, as, for example: "The Jews are our misfortune" "The Centre and Social-Democrat Parties are traitors and separatists"

Several parliamentary candidates of the Social-Democratic Party were taken into Schutzhaft (see Appendix 3) and one was dismissed from the State service.

Speakers of the National-Socialist Party addressed meetings of officials and State employees. On March 21st, Senator Huth addressed a meeting of the officials connected with the judiciary. The meeting was held in one of the law courts, which was decorated, according to the papers, with the National-Socialist Party's flag.

In his speech, Senator Huth said that those who did not go with them must know that in future they would be treated as separatists. They must continue to fight as long as there existed one of these ruffians. Right is always on the side of the strongest, and that was why it was important to prove on April 7th that they had become still stronger.

The Press organ of the National-Socialist State officials reports that, at a meeting of officials held on March 11th, M. Forster, who is not a member of the Government, said in the course of his speech that the party and the people are to-day identical. He who as an official serves social democracy helps the Centre or the Deutschnational Party in this way undermines the union of the people and acts as a separatist; such a man has no right to be an official. He who does not accept the National-Socialist Party does not accept Germany

The opposition parties, rightly or wrongly felt themselves to be subjected, especially in country districts, to a certain amount of intimidation in spite of the proclamations of the Senate, and there was certainly a weakening, so far as the opposition parties were concerned, in their confidence in the police force. In this connection I draw attention to letters exchanged between President Greiser and myself in November last (Appendix 4).

I take the liberty to remark that the Danzig police individually and corporatively are well trained and to the best of my observance have the characteristics of a fine police force. It would be a pity (if not, indeed, a danger to civic life in the Free City) if they should not continue to have the complete confidence of all sections of the population in carrying out their sometimes difficult work in accordance with the constitutional principle of equality of all citizens and all political parties.

It will be understood that I have not the means of personally investigating to confirm or refute the extent of truth in all the allegations of terrorism. The President of the Senate, as will be seen from the annexes, gave me full assurances before the election campaign opened, and as the campaign proceeded I considered it desirable to remind him of the responsibilities of the Government. In conversation with me on the subject of acts of violence, President Greiser remarked that there was much less activity of that kind during that election than in previous cases in Danzig.

In any election where feeling runs high, a certain number of incidents may be unavoidable. One of the National-Socialist newspapers had published a report of some attacks on National Socialists (*Danziger Vorposten* of March 30th), for which three persons were sentenced to imprisonment; but, in spite of a public proclamation by the leader of the National-Socialist Party (Appendix 5) as well as the Government's proclamations, it would undoubtedly seem that the opposition parties were subjected to a great deal more physical violence and other forms of intimidation.

As I have said, a certain number of disturbances may unfortunately be inevitable in a hotly contested election. It is, however, to be regretted that excitement in the ranks of one party was maintained by constant denunciations of the Opposition as being traitors to their country and separatists. Although these expressions may not have been intended as incitements, the mildest term which can be used concerning them is that they were highly regrettable. (Incidentally, it is to be noted that, in the conditions of the law existing at the time of the elections, the use of similar expressions by the Opposition regarding the leaders or members of the National-Socialist Party would have rendered the speakers who employed them liable to arrest and punishment of some kind, if not imprisonment.)

As to the question of intimidation, there was a number of formal protests from the Polish diplomatic representative to the Senate regarding alleged interferences with persons or property and with the election propaganda of the Polish Party and the incidents were referred to by the Polish Minister as acts of terrorism. The following is a summary of these complaints: assaults on persons, 59 damage to and illegal entry into houses, 35, other offences, including verbal insults, threats, removals and thefts, etc., of Polish flags, 126 total, 220.

It is well to note that, on this occasion, Polish interests were not made an issue to any extent in the election, and that Government speakers on a number of occasions emphasised their goodwill towards Poland.

In the case of the other opposition parties, I also received copies of many complaints of violence, etc., formally addressed by them to the Senate.

While reporting the fact that these complaints were made, I am not (as I have previously indicated) to be understood as confirming that all these complaints were of equal importance or that all could be justified. It is of importance, however, to ascertain to what extent the police and other authorities were able to make aggressors amenable to the law in such complaints as had substance, and with this in view I asked the Senate if they could supply me with information on this point.

I asked the Senate if, in giving me this information, they could distinguish between action taken as a result of the Polish complaints and as a result of the complaints made by other opposition parties.

In reply the Senate gave me information also of a general nature as to the measures taken to prevent disturbances. It is stated that, for thirteen Polish meetings, the police arranged for adequate protection, as well as in the case of the Polish procession. The police force had been augmented and patrols were constantly on duty. As to the number of aggressors made amenable in the case of the Polish complaints, it was stated that those alleged to be guilty of an attack on a Polish family had been brought before a court and the proceedings had not yet been terminated. The statement concluded with a reference to a great deal of provocation, especially during the last three days of the election.

With regard to the complaints lodged with the Senate by the opposition parties, in a number of which the names of the persons alleged to have been guilty of aggression had been mentioned, emphasis is laid by the Senate on the number of cases in which protection was given to Opposition meetings and in a number of individual cases to Catholic priests and others. Enquiries had been or were being made in all cases in which complaints had been made, but the number of serious cases was said to be relatively small. It is maintained that the police had taken action in all cases of which they were aware and these had been placed before the Prosecutor. In no case, however, had there yet been a decision to institute a prosecution. The statement adds that in both the Polish and the other opposition parties' complaints the police found in many cases that there was not only exaggeration but a conscious distortion of the truth. The Senate add that 114 cases of incidents directed against National Socialists came to their knowledge, of which ten are specifically mentioned. These include the two cases in which imprisonment was already mentioned in this report.

During the last week of the election, the campaign was made notable by the importation of a number of speakers from other countries. More than a dozen well-known speakers from Germany participated in the election on behalf of the National-Socialist Party. These included Herr Streicher, editor of *Der Stürmer*, the anti-Jewish newspaper of Frankfurt, who delivered a violent attack against the Jewish people, who under the Danzig Constitution enjoy equal rights with other citizens. This visitor also denounced the former President of the Senate, Dr. Rauschnig, as a "traitor" which led Dr. Rauschnig to disclose publicly that his resignation a few months ago was due to violent disagreement as to policy with M. Forster. Herr Bürckel was announced in the newspapers as "the liberator of the Saar". The Prussian State President Hermann Göring, Reichsministers Hess, Göbbels and Rust, and many other leaders of the German National-Socialist Party, also took part in the election campaign.

The visiting Reichsministers, who were received with formality, parades of honour being provided by armed police, made speeches in support of the Danzig National-Socialist Party. In some quarters it was held that the principal members of the German Government came to Danzig in their capacity as "leaders of the National-Socialist movement". An election in Danzig is a purely internal affair (subject only to constitutional and treaty rights), and, in view of the position of Danzig as a Free City under the guarantee of the League of Nations, I feel bound to draw the attention of the Council to this aspect of the election campaign.

A member of the Polish Government came to Danzig and made a public speech in a hall on the day following the visit of Reichsminister Göring.

President Greiser, in welcoming M. Göring in April, pointed out that Danzig was spiritually united with the National-Socialist movement and with their German motherland, and it was therefore possible for Danzig, without in any way infringing the international treaties, to welcome M. Göring as a faithful servant of their Leader, of the German race and of German ideals.

Some of the remarks made by the distinguished visitors will be of interest, and, as extracts may not always be regarded as satisfactory, I have deposited with the Secretary-General the full published texts of some of the speeches.

In his public speech on April 4th, M. Göring said that it was not a question of the National-Socialist Party obtaining a few additional seats. Danzig would show the world that it was National Socialist, and to-day the words "National Socialism", "Adolf Hitler" and "Germany" were absolutely inseparable. The essential thing, he added, was not that Danzig belonged to-day to the organisation of the Reich: that which was important was that Danzig should be German in character. The whole world must understand that only illegal pressure had been able to obtain the separation of Danzig from Germany. Germany had no need to occupy Danzig by violence. It would never do so, because the natural law would triumph of itself. Some time the rest of the world would recognise the justice of that natural law. National Socialism

claimed at the same time sacrifices. Danzig must say "First the great Germany, and then Danzig" M. Göring then referred to German foreign policy, including the Polish-German Treaty, declaring that the two peoples desire to maintain peace and that Germany would show she was a loyal and sincere contracting party. He concluded by saying that, if Danzig wished to remain German, it must be National Socialist, and that it was the call of the Führer they would answer on the voting-day.

On April 5th, Reichsminister Hess, who is also the Stellvertreter of Herr Hitler in the German National-Socialist Party, visited Danzig and made a public speech which dealt to a considerable extent also with German foreign policy. The great question was whether the people would follow the example of Germany. By giving their votes to National Socialism, the Danzig people would show the world the relations existing between Danzig and her great mother country, Germany.

"In helping to give National Socialism a brilliant victory in Danzig, you will strengthen, not only the party but the credit of the German nation in the eyes of the world. You will strengthen the bonds uniting all Germans to their loved, respected and armed motherland, and so strengthen your own credit. The National-Socialist victory for which you are fighting in Danzig is a national victory."

On the same day M. Lechnicki, Under-Secretary of State for Finance in the Polish Government, came to Danzig and made a speech in support of the Danzig-Polish Party. In the course of his speech, M. Lechnicki declared that Polish interests in Danzig would continue as long as the Vistula flowed into the Baltic Sea. Some days previously a Danzig-Polish meeting was also addressed by General Gorecki (retired), who is not a member of the Polish Government.

The German Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Göbbels, on reaching Danzig, reviewed a company of the Schutzpolizei, who presented arms. Speaking on April 6th, Dr. Göbbels said that he brought to this German city the salutation of the German Reich and of the German people. Because, he continued, I am not before you as the representative of a parliamentary party, I speak as the representative of the entire nation. Eternal Germany had raised herself above the confusion of parties and they could to-day recognise it without any shame. If the Treaty of Versailles has separated Danzig from Germany, that had not been done to preserve peace. The fathers of the Treaty of Versailles had only the intention to create with these separated territories a form of eternal discord between the peoples. Those who to-day in Danzig acted to safeguard the so-called independence of Danzig were only mercenaries of the Versailles Treaty. An old proverb said that the people were always wiser than those who believed themselves superior to the people, and that proverb would be found to apply in Danzig also.

Of the German relations with Poland, Dr. Göbbels said they were ready to make sacrifices for peace. They were ready to have an understanding with other peoples also. As to the election, if in this city 90% of the population felt German, then he desired that these people should follow Germany and not the charlatans. No one could doubt that, if Danzig wished to declare for Germanism, it must also declare itself for National Socialism. That had nothing to do with any intention to modify the frontiers by force; that they did not wish, that they would not do, but they wished to show the world what were the sentiments in this city and what the people felt.

Dr. Göbbels also mentioned the names of Opposition leaders (including Dr. Ziehm, a former President of the Senate). Some people who followed these leaders exercised the right to address themselves to the League of Nations in the name of the Danzig population—an action which was contrary to the German principle. After the elections they would only be able to do that in their capacity as private persons; they must no longer speak in the name of others. That was why, in voting, they would not only give a judgment on the work accomplished by the Danzig Government, but also a judgment on the German sentiments of the city. Dr. Göbbels also referred to Dr. Rauschnig, the previous National-Socialist President of the Senate, and to the latter's "open letter" to the Press. When Dr. Rauschnig had said that National Socialists thought he deserved to be shot, he (Dr. Göbbels) could only say that it was not necessary to kill a man who had already morally committed suicide. In Germany they had got rid of different political parties, and the hour had come when Danzig would do the same thing. Just as in the Saar, the people of Danzig had an opportunity in the eyes of the world to declare for Germanism and to serve the peace of Europe.

The following table shows the state of the parties at the time of dissolution and the state of the parties as a result of the election.

Party	After 1933 election	Before dissolution	After 1935 election
National Socialist	38	41	43
Social Democrat.	13	12	12
Communist	5	5	2
Centre	10	10	10
Deutschnational	4	2	3
Freie Frontkämpfer	—	—	—
Poles	2	2	2

The following table shows the number of votes cast for the respective parties in the election of May 1933 and the election which has just been concluded.

Party	May 1933	April 1935
National Socialist	107,331	139,423
Social Democrat.	37,882	37,729
Communist	14,566	7,916
Centre	31,336	31,522
Deutschnational	13,596	9,805
Freie Frontkämpfer	—	373
Polish Party	4,358	8,294
Polish Party (Dr. Moczynski)	2,385	
Number of electors	233,842	237,016
Number of voters	215,341	236,832
Number of invalid votes	1,213	1,770
Number of <i>valid</i> votes	214,128	235,062

It will be noted that the National-Socialist Party has gained five seats as compared with 1933, and three as compared with the situation immediately before the election. The Deutschnational and the Communist Parties have lost respectively one and three. The voting showed that the National-Socialist Party had the support of nearly 59% of those who voted.

For the first time in the history of the Free City, Danzig residents abroad were enabled to vote as a result of the Decree issued by the Senate on July 7th, 1933. It was estimated by the National-Socialist Party that about 7,000 voters in consequence came from Germany, and in Polish circles it is estimated that between 450 and 500 came from Poland. Special arrangements were made for the free transport of voters over the German State railway system. As the names of these non-resident voters were not on the list of electors, special administrative arrangements had to be made. There were nearly 20,000 more votes than in 1933, and these non-resident voters may account for about 7,000 to 8,000 of the difference.

The new Volkstag met on April 30th, when the Senate was confirmed in office by a vote of confidence, no changes being made in its composition. Senator Huth was nominated Vice-President of the Senate.

President Greiser, addressing the Volkstag, said that prior to the elections the National Socialists had only 51 per cent.

“The opposition parties must now admit that they are no longer entitled to appeal to the League of Nations in the name of the Danzig population to support their political designs and that, above all, they have no longer the right to assert before international authorities that the Danzig population is not behind the National-Socialist Government.”

“After receiving the vote of confidence of the people,” continued President Greiser, “the Senate saw no reason to change its policy in any way. The Government would still respect scrupulously the limits of the Constitution, which gave enough scope to enable them to satisfy the wishes of the population in conformity with National-Socialist ideals.”

“In internal politics, the course followed will not be confined to the lesser spheres lying well within the ambit of the Danzig Constitution, but—as the result of the folly of the Opposition—will even sometimes be obliged to make a wider sweep to the very limits of what the Constitution permits.”

“But even though the extreme limits of the Constitution are thus reached without ever being actually transgressed, there will nevertheless be an immediate outcry and protestation from those who find themselves affected by such action. In thus following an internal political course which carries it to the extreme limit of what the Constitution permits, the Danzig Government has, however, so good and quiet a conscience that it will confidently leave such loud-voiced protests and any controversy in regard to them to be dealt with, not only by its own, but by the most highly qualified lawyers in the world.”

Speaking on the religious questions, President Greiser said he believed all men should have complete freedom to find their own way to God. Clergymen must, however, respect the division between politics and religion. Every church, every religion and every priest who would respect that division would enjoy the respect and protection of the State to which he was entitled, but if any priest or religious organisation endeavoured to struggle under the mantle of his office against the State or its institutions under which they lived, no one would be surprised that the powers of the State would be used to bring about a reasonable situation. Regarding the relations with Poland, President Greiser announced that there would be no change in the Government's policy of friendship and understanding, and he trusted that their relations with Poland would still further improve.

In conclusion, the President of the Senate said he awaited with complete tranquillity the settlement of questions at present under discussion by the League of Nations.

In concluding my report of the elections, I may point out that I have very largely refrained from the expression of opinion and have confined myself to describing events. This is due partly

to the fact that some of these matters will be considered by the Council as a result of petitions concerning the observance of the Constitution, and, secondly that I have been informed that legal proceedings with regard to the validity of the elections will be instituted before the Danzig courts.

I shall be glad if you will be good enough to bring this report before the Council of the League of Nations for its information.

(Signed) Sean LESTER,  
High Commissioner

#### Appendix 1(a).

##### LETTER FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, DATED FEBRUARY 16TH, 1935.

I wish to thank you for a copy of the letter addressed by you on February 12th to the National-Socialist Parliamentary Party proposing that a general election should be held for the Volkstag. I have also read in the newspapers that the President of the Volkstag, Herr von Wnuck, has convoked the Volkstag for the 21st instant, when the question of its dissolution will be decided.

According to your letter and the statement by Herr von Wnuck, it appears that the reason for this decision is that the negotiations with the representatives of the Zentrum Party, undertaken in accordance with declarations made by you to the Council of the League of Nations, have not been successful, as an understanding was impossible which would in your view conform with the wishes of the majority of the population. You say that in this situation you consider it necessary for the population of the Free City to show their wishes (*Wille*) before the whole world.

No doubt the Senate, in asking for new elections, have fully considered all the facts, including those to which your attention was drawn on January 8th—*i.e.*, that the petition of the Centre Party referred to you by the High Commissioner for your observations on December 21st "raised many questions as to the conditions under which elections are held at present in Danzig."

In view of all the circumstances, I must, as has been done in previous cases, draw the attention of the Senate to the fact that, if the elections to the Volkstag should take place in conditions which are not in all respects scrupulously and strictly in accordance with the Constitution, the results of the elections might be declared invalid.

(Signed) LESTER.

#### Appendix 1(b).

##### LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER, DATED FEBRUARY 20TH, 1935.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 16th.

When I laid my proposal for new elections before the National-Socialist group in the Danzig Popular Assembly, the decisive consideration in favour of such a step was that, unless the wishes of the people were first ascertained, no decision could be taken on a number of the Centre Party's demands.

The Government of the Free City of Danzig is fully aware of its obligation under the Constitution to guarantee the freedom of the election. In view of the heavy tasks with which it is faced, it itself regards it as of the utmost importance that the wishes of the people should be reliably expressed. It will therefore take all such steps as may be necessary to ensure the attainment of this end. It goes without saying that, in so doing, it will give the most careful consideration to the questions to which you drew the Senate's attention in your letter of January 8th, 1935.

In this connection I also venture to refer to Article 10 of the Danzig Constitution, which provides that the validity of the elections to the Popular Assembly may be examined by the Supreme Court. The independence of Danzig's highest tribunal affords a further sure guarantee that the composition of the shortly to be elected Popular Assembly will be in keeping with the actual wishes of the people.

(Signed) GREISER.

#### Appendix 2(a).

##### LETTER FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, DATED MARCH 9TH, 1935.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 20th, conveying the assurances of the Senate with regard to the pending elections.

As you will no doubt be aware, certain apprehensions are expressed in various quarters in Danzig, and, whatever value should be attached to such apprehensions, the Senate will, perhaps,

consider the desirability of a public proclamation that the Constitutional guarantees as to liberty of opinion, secrecy of voting, freedom of meeting, protection, etc., would be ensured by Government action, and further restating that the international status of Danzig cannot be affected by the results of the election.

(Signed) LESTER.

Appendix 2(b).

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER,  
DATED MARCH 14TH, 1935.

In reply to your letter of the 9th instant, I have the honour to send you herewith a copy of a Proclamation upon which the Senate has this day decided. This Proclamation will be reproduced in all daily newspapers and will be broadcast every day for a week by the Danzig station, as well as being officially posted up.

I believe that in this way the apprehensions of which you speak in your letter will be completely set at rest.

(Signed) GREISER.

Appendix 2(c).

PROCLAMATION.

With a view to dealing once and for all with misleading rumours circulated by interested parties, the Senate of the Free City of Danzig unanimously proclaims to the people of Danzig and to all foreign countries that:

1. The election to the Popular Assembly to be held on April 7th, 1935, will be an act of an exclusively internal political significance which the Senate desires as a means of clearly demonstrating the mutual confidence existing between the National-Socialist Government and the people of Danzig.

The election has nothing to do with the statute and international legal position of Danzig and is not a plebiscite regarding that statute.

2. The Senate will do everything in its power to ensure that the election is both free and secret and itself fully guarantees that it will be carried out in the manner prescribed in the Constitution of the Free City of Danzig.

Appendix 3(a).

"AIDE-MÉMOIRE" FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
SENATE.

Danzig, March 28th, 1935.

The High Commissioner is informed that reports of many incidents, involving attacks on persons and property arising out of the election campaign (e.g., in Zoppot and Neuteig) have been made to the Senate of the Free City by various political parties and individuals.

He wishes to recall the responsibility which falls upon the Senate to protect citizens, to whatever party they belong, National-Socialist or Opposition, while engaged in exercising their constitutional rights and performing their civic duties.

The High Commissioner is also informed that the police have taken into Schutzhaft several Volkstag candidates belonging to opposition parties.

He will be glad to learn what reasons are given by the Senate for the detention of parliamentary candidates at the height of the election campaign; and if, in the circumstances, the Senate will consider their immediate release.

Appendix 3(b).

"AIDE-MÉMOIRE" FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE TO THE  
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Danzig, April 1st, 1935.

The following is in reply to the *aide-mémoire* of March 28th, 1935:

We venture to express the opinion that any reference by the High Commissioner to the Senate's responsibility in regard to the protection of Danzig citizens, whether National Socialists

or members of the Opposition, was superfluous. Every citizen will be absolutely free to exercise his rights under the Constitution and to fulfil his duties.

Naturally however, this cannot be extended to mean that every citizen will be entitled at election time to contravene the laws and regulations in force in Danzig whenever he may think fit.

Even if the Danzig authorities show unusual lenience in judging offences relating to and committed on the occasion of the elections, popular resentment in regard to such reprehensible conduct is very keen and may easily take such a form that the law-breakers are in danger of attack. Whenever there is a danger that the people's natural sense of right will lead to violence, the police finds itself obliged to make use of its legal powers and to take such law-breakers into protective custody in the interests of their own safety. In the case of such conduct calculated to provoke popular indignation, the police are frequently unable to perceive that those concerned are themselves candidates at the elections.

In this way four such candidates in the elections were recently taken into protective custody by the police in the interests of their own safety. In the hope that, in spite of their behaviour, they will not be molested by the populace, I have, after very serious hesitation, given instructions for those concerned to be discharged from protective custody.

#### Appendix 4(a).

LETTER FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,  
DATED NOVEMBER 8TH, 1934.

The Danzig newspapers of November 3rd report the holding of a meeting of the Fachgruppe Polizeiverwaltung.

At this meeting, which was addressed by a political leader of one of the parties in Danzig, who is not a member of the Government, as well as by you as Acting President of the Senate, it is reported, according to the *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten*, that you, in the course of the speech, said.

“National Socialism having made heavy sacrifices in its struggle for the soul of the German people and hundreds of its supporters having laid down their lives, it is only right that it should demand faithful allegiance from those who are to-day officials of the National-Socialist State and ask them not merely for loyalty to the State but also for a positive attitude to the National-Socialist Party by which that State has been created, in gratitude and common decency it can demand no less and will not rest until every single official in the Free City is a convinced National Socialist. This positive attitude to the National-Socialist State at the same time demands the deliberate rejection of everything which is hostile to it.”

I should be glad, Mr. Acting President, if you would be good enough to inform me if this report is correct.

(Signed) LESTER.

#### Appendix 4(b).

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER,  
DATED NOVEMBER 17TH, 1934.

In reply to your letter of November 8th, 1934, regarding my speech to the Fachgruppe Polizeiverwaltung, I have the honour to inform you that the report in the *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten* is substantially correct. It is a very natural demand (which all previous Governments have also made to the executive departments) that they should endeavour to take a friendly attitude to those organisations which are ready to protect the State in its existence and development. That does not imply differential treatment of citizens or social elements, but merely a request for the maintenance of good comradeship between all those who are ready to support and protect the State.

(Signed) GREISER.

#### Appendix 4(c).

LETTER FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,  
DATED DECEMBER 5TH, 1934.

I have received your letter of November 17th regarding your address to the police officers and in which you have been good enough to offer me some further information.

My interest in the matter is the relationship between the question and the Constitution. An appeal to the police officers by the Senator responsible for police administration, not only to be faithful to the State, but to have a positive attitude towards a particular party, is in my view liable to be misunderstood and is to be regretted.

You are aware, of course, that, according to Article 93 of the Constitution, "officials are servants of the community and not of a party", and that, under Article 73, "all nationals of the Free City shall be equal before the law". If any partisanship were shown by the police in carrying out their duties, strict disciplinary action by the Senate would be necessary to ensure confidence that the constitutional provision mentioned would be respected, and I am confident that this action would be taken by you.

(Signed) LESTER.

#### Appendix 5(a).

(From the *Danziger Neueste Nachrichten*, No. 64, of March 16th/17th, 1935.)

#### APPEAL TO ALL NATIONAL SOCIALISTS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE MOVEMENT.

On February 21st, the Popular Assembly was dissolved. The new elections are fixed for April 7th, 1935. Up to the present, the National-Socialist German Workers Party in Danzig has not conducted any electoral campaign whatever. While our opponents, the other parties, have been engaged for a fortnight past at meetings and in their Press in attacking us National Socialists in the most shameless and irresponsible manner, the National-Socialist movement has made no retort and has remained silent up to the present.

The National-Socialist German Workers Party and its branches have utilised the weeks that have passed since the dissolution for preparatory work with a view to the electoral campaign.

Its preparatory work closed yesterday

To-day Saturday March 16th, 5 p.m., the National-Socialist German Workers Party in Danzig will open its electoral campaign like a whirlwind. All party comrades, male and female, will be present at the opening move in the Stadium.

For three weeks we National Socialists propose to enlighten the people as to the cause and meaning of the elections. No less than over 1,300 meetings will take place in town and country and in the factories.

All the means and resources at the party's disposal will be engaged in order to bring home to the Danzig population the separatist activities of the Social Democrats, the Communists, the Centre and the supporters of Herr Weise in a clear and unmistakable manner.

The same fighting spirit by which we have been animated for years will again find expression in this electoral campaign. The attack will be made with the strictest discipline and with iron calm. Our opponents are not to suppose that we shall allow ourselves to be provoked to any acts of violence or terrorist measures. Considering the greatness of our party and the passion with which our struggle for National Socialism in Danzig is being carried through, we do not need to take any step which might injure our reputation and damage our prospects. Far be it from us to work with those weapons of terrorism with which our opponents made play against us in past years when we were still a small party.

On the contrary I call upon all party comrades and supporters of the party never to have recourse at any time or place to violent action in putting our attitude before the voters.

Every party comrade must realise that he will be treated as injuring the interests of the movement, and will be removed from the party accordingly, if he resorts to terrorist action in spite of my prohibition.

Party Comrades ! National Socialists !

In the next three weeks before the elections you will be called upon to do your utmost for our victory. No sacrifice, no effort, no action which your Leader may ask of you must appear to you too great.

Once again, as in past years, you must be at your posts, men and women.

Be assured of this, that great things are at stake.

Our opponents must lose their influence on the population of Danzig once and for all.

The constructional work which has been begun must be carried further by us.

The German element of this city must be given new strength and force by a National-Socialist victory at the elections.

The watchword for the next three weeks and for April 7th is:

Against the Separatists !

Danzig remains National Socialist !

Danzig, March 16th, 1935.

(Signed) Albert FORSTER,  
Danzig Provincial Leader

## Appendix 5(b).

(From the *Danziger Neuste Nachrichten*, No. 72, of March 26th, 1935.)

National Socialists ! Fellow-Countrymen !

I find myself compelled to refer once more to my appeal of March 16th, 1935, in which I pointed out that we National Socialists will not win the voters to our side in the electoral struggle by resorting, like our opponents, to terrorist measures.

The overwhelming majority of the Danzig population is in any case on our side, and those few who will still be fighting against us as Social Democrats, Centre Party men, Communists or adherents of other tiny groups cannot be won over either by good measures or by bad.

It has happened that members of these tiny groups have provoked and insulted members of National-Socialist formations in the most flagrant manner in order thereby to incite our party comrades and supporters to violent action.

Party Comrades ! Fellow-Countrymen !

Do not forget that these tiny groups are leaving no stone unturned in order by their false reports to bring the High Commissioner of the League of Nations into opposition to ourselves.

Our reply to these separatist and treacherous activities is increased discipline and increased enthusiasm in our efforts to secure on April 7th victory for our National-Socialist attitude on a scale never seen before in Danzig.

Danzig, March 26th, 1935.

(Signed) Albert FORSTER,  
Danzig Provincial Leader

IV PETITION FROM THE "VEREIN DER JÜDISCHEN AKADEMIKER" AND THE  
"VEREINIGUNG SELBSTÄNDIGER JÜDISCHER DANZIGER GEWERBETREIBENDER  
UND HANDWERKER IN DER FREIEN STADT DANZIG"

C.193.1935.VII.

I. LETTER, DATED MAY 11TH, 1935, FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT DANZIG TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, TRANSMITTING A PETITION, DATED APRIL 8TH, 1935, FROM THE "VEREIN DER JÜDISCHEN AKADEMIKER" AND THE "VEREINIGUNG SELBSTÄNDIGER JÜDISCHER DANZIGER GEWERBETREIBENDER UND HANDWERKER IN DER FREIEN STADT DANZIG" TOGETHER WITH THE OBSERVATIONS OF THE SENATE OF THE FREE CITY RELATING THERETO, DATED MAY 11TH, 1935<sup>1</sup>

Danzig, May 11th, 1935.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the petition, dated April 8th, 1935, from the "Verein der Jüdischen Akademiker" and "Vereinigung selbständiger Jüdischer Danziger Gewerbetreibender und Handwerker in der Freien Stadt Danzig", as well as the Senate's answer, which I received to-day

In requesting that the matter should be considered by the Council at its approaching meeting, I beg to refer to the letter, dated June 10th, 1925,<sup>2</sup> approved by the Council and subsequently addressed to the High Commissioner, relative to the procedure to be followed regarding petitions which relate to the danger of infringement of the Constitution of Danzig, placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

(Signed) Sean LESTER,  
High Commissioner

[Translation furnished by the Petitioners.]

PETITION ADDRESSED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

*Introduction.*

A. The Jews living as a minority in the territory of the Free City of Danzig enjoy legal protection in manifold regards:

<sup>1</sup> See page 849.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Journal*, July 1925, page 950.