

the great man of his century." No one need wonder, says another leader-writer, that the war has taken yet another surprising turn, for it has been full of surprises: "the Sitzkrieg of the first war winter surprised the world as much as did the Blitzkrieg which followed."

A more hopeful theme has been that of Europe's impregnable defences. Its shores have been called as unassailable as those of America, and particular publicity has been given this week to what is called "Bulwark South-East" and even in one agency report the "South-Eastern Wall." The Germans are uneasy about the possibility of a Balkan invasion and are being persuaded to think that politically the Balkan States are determined and able to resist the Allies, and are also militarily reinforced by German and Italian troops and defended by the intensive fortification of Crete.

The second anniversary of the pact with Turkey has evoked a good deal of flattering comment in the German press, which from other evidence available does seem to reflect confidence that Turkey will remain neutral. Dr. Schmidt's expression of this at a Wilhelmstrasse press conference was unusually specific, and drew attention to the recent speech of Saracoğlu, made at a moment of intensive Allied diplomatic effort directed against Turkey. The situation in Turkey is a matter of more solid satisfaction in Germany than the friendship of Japan, although Tojo's last speech was widely interpreted in the German press as a pledge that Japan would fight "shoulder to shoulder" with Germany, Italy and the other allies."

The raids of last week on Bochum and Wuppertal were so heavy that Goebbels visited the areas and attended the funeral of victims. He is a native of Wuppertal, but it is significant that he and Ley are almost the only Nazi leaders who have paid such visits. The absence of Hitler has aroused such comment that the Gauleiter of Bochum had to assure munition-workers that the Führer cared more about them than many people believed. This speech was remarkably frank in many respects and suggested that official revelations may now be thought necessary to counteract the rumours that pass for facts. One example of the "endless rumours" referred to in this speech was the figure of 40,000 casualties said to have been caused by the smashed Möhne dam. The Gauleiter was concerned to defend himself against calumny; he protested that the rations of Party Leaders were not seven times the normal amount, but exactly the same, that he took no time off, not even Sundays, and that he had done right to reveal the Möhne casualties. At Wuppertal Goebbels was less precise about retribution than he has been in other recent speeches. Speaking "as the delegate of the Führer and of the entire German nation," he confined himself to public accusation of a brutal enemy and praise of local heroism.

As German war production is increasingly damaged by air attack, assurances to the contrary become more emphatic. A review of the Anglo-American air offensive issued by *D.N.B.* this week stressed the fact that the bulk of German war industry had been rendered inaccessible to bombing, by dispersion throughout the Reich, by camouflage and by avoiding concentrations of important factories. The move of German industry eastwards, of which mention was made in a recent *Summary*, was not stressed in this review, which claimed that mines and other immobile installations were protected either by being largely underground or by special emergency measures.

The Gauleiter's defence of Party Leaders quoted above is one among many signs of increasing criticism. A remarkable article on "Party members" recently contributed to the *Völkischer Beobachter* argues that the name of "Parteigenosse" implies, not more rights but increasing obligations, among others, that of resisting rumour: "Can we be silent when fears are voiced which can be proved baseless by quoting some facts?" To do this will mean unpopularity and "may require a good deal of moral courage ('Zivilcourage') . . . We are open to censure by the public more than we imagine and along with us the cause which we serve is appreciated or criticised." A typical case of the rift between "Party" and middle-class attitudes is that of the Co-operative Stores. Ley has more than once declared that after the war these must revert to private owners and has hinted strongly that the Party regards the whole Co-operative Movement as a political menace.

Germans are not often encouraged to look ahead and visualise what may happen after the war, but a recent article by Giselher Wirsing warns the smaller nations of Europe that above them hangs the thunder-cloud of a third World War which would be fought out in Europe and would be "inevitable if the British-American-Soviet coalition were to get the upper hand."

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

In a press interview published on the 9th June, K. H. Frank said that President Beneš's political credit with the English had sunk to zero because the Protectorate had been pacified and that large numbers of Czechs reject his collusion with Moscow. "Reich-thinking," according to Frank, is making gradual but lasting progress, and there is a pleasing number of activists, especially among the Czech youth. These opinions do not square with the increased number of death sentences reported of late in the Protectorate press for "crimes committed under cover of the black-out" (which usually means sabotage, black market offences, machinations with vital supplies, and attempted sabotage). Indeed, as has been pointed out in earlier *Summaries*, the evidence is that resistance among the Czechs is growing, and the steadily increasing efforts to discredit Dr. Beneš support the view that his prestige at home is waxing rather than waning.

In Slovakia there is another officially-inspired outcry against the Czechs still resident there, who are accused of spreading false rumours and other anti-Slovak acts. Czechs not possessing Slovak citizenship are deported to Bohemia (*Gardista* reports that 150 were recently handed over to the German authorities), but it is harder to deal with Czechs who have acquired Slovak citizenship. After the earlier deportations the behaviour of the Czechs had improved, but their anti-Slovak activities are now said to have revived. Concurrently, the Slovak press continues to inveigh against Communists, who are accused of arousing discontent and working for the Allies and bolshevism.

At the last meeting of the Czechoslovak State Council in London, Dr. Slávik, Minister of the Interior, gave a survey of political conditions among Czechoslovak émigrés in this country. He expressed his satisfaction with the general solidarity of all groups of Czechoslovaks, including the Magyar and German minority groups. From the latter, however, he specifically excluded Dr. W. Jaksch and his supporters, whom he sharply criticised for their insistence upon a firm pledge of autonomy from the Czechoslovak Government as a condition of co-operation in the struggle abroad. Jaksch's conception, he said, "recalls the activities of the Henleinists," and Dr. Slávik continued: "We cannot rid ourselves of the impression that the present policy of Dr. Jaksch differs little from the so-called Great-German conception of certain Reichsdeutsche and Austrian émigré groups ('ein Volk, ein Reich')." This plain speaking comes at a time when Dr. Jaksch appears to be losing ground among the Czechoslovak Germans abroad—a Socialist group in Sweden recently dissociated itself from him and declared itself in favour of complete and immediate collaboration with the Czechoslovak Government, and, despite Jaksch's advice to the contrary, an appreciable number of Sudeten Germans of military age preferred to volunteer for the Czechoslovak army rather than await conscription into the British army.

A few days ago the Swedish paper *Arbetaren* published an article by an anonymous Sudeten German which criticised the Czechoslovak Government's apparent plans for the solution of the German minority problem. According to the writer, an exchange of minority groups would merely mean the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, since there is no Czechoslovak minority in Germany. The majority of Czechoslovak Germans, he went on, were perfectly loyal to the Czechoslovak Republic, and their general eviction would be contrary to the Allied humane war aims and would create new hatred.

## POLAND.

The *Dziennik Polski* of the 21st June contained a leading article which may be regarded as the reply of the Polish Government to the statement of the aims of the "Union of Polish Patriots" in the Soviet Union which was broadcast in Polish from Moscow on the 18th June and has since been reproduced in the British press. The *Dziennik* considers that there is nothing new in the statement. No sooner had the Soviet Union found itself in the Allied camp as a result of the German attack than the Polish Government and people adopted the principle of a common struggle with the U.S.S.R. against Germany. On many occasions from 1921 onwards both the present and preceding Polish Governments have tried to establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union. It is ridiculous to talk, as does Mme. Wasilewski-Kornejczuk, of the present Polish Government as a