

the heritage of Stalinism. These discussions, among others, culminated in the demand to federalize the state. For both Slovak and Czech historians, the great "comeback" of the uprising was concomitant with the process of their emancipation from the Communist ideology which had restricted the scope of historical inquiry, and which, for over fifteen years, had dictated the approach to, and conclusions of, historical research.

In the early 1970s, a Neo-Stalinist regime was restored, and with it strict control over work in the social sciences. This spelled stagnation for research concerned with the Slovak National Uprising. Moreover, the majority of historians, who had published relevant work regarding this topic in the 1960s, were dismissed from universities and research centers and were not allowed to publish. Consequently, research and publication of works concerning contemporary Slovak history (in which the freedom of scientific work is a matter of principle) have assumed crucial importance.

The greater, therefore, our debt of gratitude to those responsible for the publication of this collection containing recollections and studies of the Slovak National Uprising, which has seen the light of day because of the efforts of an organization of exiled Slovak Democrats.

The collection contains twenty contributions by fourteen authors; twelve of these can be classified as memoirs and were written by people who played a prominent role in the 1944 events either as political protagonists (in the non-Communist camp) or as military commanders and combatants. Each of these recollections yields relevant information for further historical study in this field and for the interpretation and critique of existing sources. In particular, the reflections and recollections by J. Lettrich, M. Kvetko, P. Beharka, and R. Frašťacký merit careful analysis. They are, by far, more informative than their recollections of the uprising published immediately after the war, at a time when they were collaborating with Communists in the National Front.

Of the historical studies, L. Lipscher's "The Participation of the Jews in the Resistance Movement in Slovakia" has brought to light new facts, as have two studies written by M. J. Ličko. One of them, concerned with the question of the aid accorded by the Allies to the Slovak National Uprising, treats one of the most complex questions of the uprising in great detail and with objectivity. Unfortunately, it has drawn only on the archival sources available in Czechoslovakia. Either the author was not aware of the valuable documentary material deposited in the Public Record Office in London, or he did not have the opportunity to make use of it.

Unfortunately, apart from M. Kvetko, the authors have failed to consider the complex of questions and problems arising in connection with the official establishment of the Slovak Republic and the issues within the context of Slovak political catholicism, which, even after the uprising, was an important political factor (as the 1946 elections made evident). It would also have been to the advantage of the collection if a critical review evaluating and classifying the existing extensive literature on the uprising had been included.

VILÉM PREČAN
Munich

WINTER INTO SPRING: THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS AND THE REFORM MOVEMENT 1963-1968. By *Frank L. Kaplan*. East European Monographs, 29. Boulder, Colo.: *East European Quarterly*, 1977. viii, 208 pp. \$14.00. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.

Western students of Czechoslovakia generally agree that Czechoslovakia's communications media, especially the press and cultural periodicals, played a major role in the liberalization process that culminated in the "Czechoslovak Spring" of 1968. In his monograph, Professor Kaplan has gathered solid evidence in support of the above thesis.

In part one of his study, covering the period from the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956 to the Fourth Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers in June 1967, the author traces the uneven course of de-Stalinization in Czechoslovakia: the quest for freedom of expression which characterized the memorable Second Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers and the student *Majales* festivities during the brief thaw of 1956; the regime's repressive countermeasures in 1957–58; the resurgence of the ferment among writers and journalists and their tug of war with Novotný's hard liners over the issue of censorship in the early 1960s; the cessation of the jamming of Western broadcasts (other than Radio Free Europe); and the "gradual transformation of the press into a medium of information" (p. 84).

In part two the author discusses the developments that triggered the 1968 reform movement and did so much to maintain its momentum, such as the rebellious Congress of Czechoslovak Writers in June 1967, the influx of Western periodicals, the abolition of censorship which "unleashed a powerful stream of grievances accompanied by demands for their rectification" (p. 133), the impact of the *Two Thousand Words Manifesto*, and other evidence of the support of the Czechoslovak press and other communications media for the cause of the reform. Finally, in the epilogue, the author briefly reviews the political activism of the media during and after the Soviet invasion of August 1968 and its eventual repression by the Husák regime during the "normalization" era of 1969–72. Appended to the volume are several tables of statistical data about Czechoslovak newspapers and other periodicals from 1948 to 1970 and a select bibliography of books and articles.

Professor Kaplan's basic thesis—that freedom of expression stood at the very center of the democratization process and that "the press eventually became a prominent channel of dissent and, in the case of the cultural press, one of several oppositional forces which developed during the liberalization process" (p. 134)—is well taken; as is his view that "the very condition which was at the heart of the democratization process—an independent and vigorously active press—also represented a major factor in its demise" (p. 133), for it greatly influenced the Soviet decision to employ military force to suppress it. On the other hand, I wonder whether Professor Kaplan is correct when he answers in the affirmative his own question about whether "an uncensored press and a more pluralistic system" was possible "without precariously endangering the KSC's leading role in society" (p. 143). While that may well have been so initially, I rather think that eventually the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia would have been faced with the alternative of either accepting defeat in a free election or reasserting its monopoly of power and thus abandoning the pluralistic system it appeared to have sponsored during the "Czechoslovak Spring."

EDWARD TABORSKY

University of Texas, Austin

TAX REFORM IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LOMBARDY. By *Daniel M. Klang*. East European Monographs, 27. Boulder, Colo.: *East European Quarterly*, 1977. vi, 110 pp. \$10.00. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.

The tax reform, or *censimento*, completed by the Austrian government in 1760, was highly praised by a number of eighteenth-century political economists, including Adam Smith. In the next century, even such pronounced anti-Austrian Italian nationalist leaders as Carlo Cattaneo spoke highly of it. Today, historians still regard the *censimento* as the most important single achievement of Austrian rule in Italy. Yet, although many scholars have written in general terms about this notable reform, up to now no writer has focused his attention on the background and evolution of that