

VIENNA BROADCASTS TO SLOVAKIA: 1938–1939, A CASE STUDY IN SUBVERSION. By *Henry Delfiner*. East European Monographs, 7. Boulder, Colo.: *East European Quarterly*, 1974. ii, 142 pp. \$10.00. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.

This book surveys the daily Slovak-language broadcasts which the Austrian Nazis sponsored from Vienna between September 1938 and late 1939 in order to advance Germany's aims in Czechoslovakia. Out of a total of 170 broadcasts, the author has assembled the texts of 51, which, with his commentaries, occupy two-thirds of the volume. Running through the texts are predictable diatribes against the Prague government, Slovak Catholic clergy who accepted converted Jews, Panslavism, and above all the Jews themselves. According to Delfiner, the anti-Semitism in these broadcasts was unusually virulent, partly because of the pathological hatred harbored by their director, L'udovit Mutňanský, a disreputable journalist and sometime member of the extreme right wing of the Slovak People's Party, but mainly because anti-Semitism "supplied the cement" that linked German propaganda with Slovak grievances. Mutňanský's writings, the *Handakten* Seyss-Inquart, and "sound documents" of the original programs are among the author's chief sources. Portions of several broadcasts, for example, the one of October 30, 1938, are rather effective statements of economic nationalism from the viewpoint of an underdeveloped Slovak nation, a nuance which escapes Delfiner, who sees in them only resemblances to anticapitalist "modern Marxist propaganda techniques."

The basic questions in this reviewer's mind are whether the subject deserved book-length treatment and whether the treatment is adequate. To both questions my answer is no. The broadcasts were regional affairs, went virtually unnoticed abroad, and formed only a fraction of the propaganda campaign conducted during the Nazi overlordship in Czechoslovakia and East Central Europe. The initial Nazi aim in launching the broadcasts—to accelerate the decomposition of the Czechoslovak state—was achieved remarkably quickly; hence the need for transmissions from Vienna dwindled as Slovak radio stations adopted pro-German stances. Also, the impact of the programs is unclear on the basis of the author's limited evidence. We are never told the effective range of the transmitter. With only one Slovak family in eight owning a radio receiver at that time (compared to one family in three in the Czech lands), a truly mass audience for daily broadcasts lasting five minutes must have been rare indeed, yet Delfiner writes of their effect upon "the vast masses of Slovakia." The book bears many signs of haste in production. The writing abounds in vague qualifiers, and not even an enclosed list of dozens of errata catches all of the mistakes in an enterprise that might better have been condensed into a journal article.

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POLITICS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By *Otto Ulč*. Foreword by *Jan F. Triska*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1974. xiv, 181 pp. Illus. \$9.00.

Professor Ulč has written a refreshing survey of Communist politics in Czechoslovakia since 1948, drawing upon a wide assortment of primary sources. The discussion is organized around important political topics such as policy making, participation, recruitment, and political socialization. Especially noteworthy are the

chapters on adjudication—a particular interest of Professor Ulč's—and political communication. In the latter, for example, we find a brief but illuminating treatment of the language of Communist officialdom, its metaphors and euphemisms. In all, Professor Ulč brings to the task a detailed knowledge of his subject matter and presents his coherent, if not entirely objective, analysis with sophistication and wit. (His use of political jokes and cartoons is commendable.)

One must inevitably expect some shortcomings in a work so ambitious and yet so concise. Ulč assumes on his readers' part a considerable prior knowledge, both substantive and conceptual. This is understandable. But in his further zeal to get to the point, he leaves a number of important facts unexplained (for example, the rise and fall of Novotný) and some traditionally vexatious concepts inadequately clarified (Stalinism, ultraleftism, liberal and conservative Communists). The penultimate chapter, "The Resulting Political Culture," is notably unsatisfying, both because of its brevity and for its implication that a political culture is only the result of policy rather than a conditioning factor in mass and elite patterns of belief and behavior. Further, Ulč reflects a far greater sympathy for Czech culture than for Slovak, and his gallant attempt to deal with the problem of Slovak integration falls short because Slovak nationalism is treated as a political phenomenon divorced from its profound cultural basis.

These problems notwithstanding, *Politics in Czechoslovakia* is a valuable addition to the literature on contemporary Eastern Europe, and one might hope for more books of this type.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1968–1969: CHRONOLOGY, BIBLIOGRAPHY, ANNOTATION. By Zdeněk Hejzlar and Vladimír V. Kusin. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1975. iv, 316 pp. \$28.00.

Ideas are more difficult to uproot than governments. Politically, the Prague Spring disappeared under the pressure of a long, hot summer of confrontation, followed by what for many luckless Czechs and Slovaks (who had put their political and professional careers on the line) has been an unrelieved winter of discontent. The intellectual core of the Czechoslovak experiment in reform communism remains, preserved (or buried) in a growing mountain of documentary collections, journalistic accounts, economic, sociological, and political analysis.

Hejzlar and Kusin have performed an important service by putting order in this increasingly unwieldy body of source material. Their contribution is a useful reference for students of Eastern Europe, and an invaluable timesaver for historians, sociologists, and political scientists attempting to use the Czechoslovak case for purposes of comparative analysis.

The book offers a painstakingly compiled chronology of events for 1968–69. It directs readers to the main documents on the Prague Spring available in English; provides a bibliography of Dubček's speeches, articles, and interviews; and gives a selected list of Czechoslovak newspapers and periodicals for 1968–69, a bibliography of Czech and Slovak articles relating to the reform from 1968–70, and a world-wide bibliography of books published from 1968 to 1974.