

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