

SLOWAKEI UND FASCHISTISCHE NEUORDNUNG EUROPAS, 1939–1941. By *Hans Dress*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972. 199 pp. OM 25.

This is the first full-size study on wartime Slovakia in any major European language, written by a trained historian. Other larger works in English and French were composed by political émigrés and suffer from partisanship. Unfortunately the book bears the taint of the author's biases and is cast in heavy East German Marxist vocabulary and phraseology. The title is misleading. The writer carried his story up to 1945, dealing with many matters, including close attention to the deeds of the Communist Party. Among the main topics, one counts the Slovak-German political, economic, and military relations during the war. Although Dress had good access to Slovak archives, the results are disappointing. The study relies considerably on secondary and published primary sources. An exception—and Dress's only original contribution—is the chapters discussing the Slovak economy and its ties with the German counterpart. However, even in this field he is not a pioneer. The author has not seen the great bulk of documents captured and micro-filmed by the Allies (today deposited in the original in West Germany), which are essential to the understanding of the Slovak state and its connections with the Third Reich. Neither did he consider works in English based on these documents. The selected bibliography does not include important works by Slovak wartime economists such as Vojtech Krajčovič and Viktor Pavlík. Also neglected are L'ubomír Lipták, Ladislav Lipscher, and other leading students of the annals of modern Slovakia.

Dress's book leaves much to be desired. It hardly can fill the gap in scholarly works on the Slovak state.

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DIPLOMACY OF DOUBLE MORALITY: EUROPE'S CROSSROADS IN CARPATHO-UKRAINE, 1919–1939. By *Peter G. Stercho*. New York: Carpathian Research Center, 1971. xxiii, 495 pp. \$15.00.

After Czechoslovakia accepted the Munich Agreement as well as a separate Polish ultimatum, both of which brought her territorial losses (in favor of Germany and Poland), the remaining part of the state underwent an immediate political transformation. On October 7, 1938, the acting president (Prime Minister General Jan Syrový) appointed the first government of autonomous Slovakia, and four days later Subcarpathian Ruthenia, soon to be renamed Carpatho-Ukraine, received its regional government. The unitary Czechoslovakia became a "trialist" Czecho-Slovakia.

Dr. Peter Stercho feels that the literature on the Czechoslovak crisis of 1938–39 has neglected the problem of Ruthenia; also "the participation of Hungary and Poland in the liquidation of Czecho-Slovakia has hardly been investigated." It would seem, therefore, that his is a study in diplomatic history, concentrating on the issue of Ruthenia, and on the role of Poland and Hungary (both of which were interested in Ruthenia) in the Czechoslovak events of 1938–39. Indeed, much of the book deals with such problems as Hungarian revisionism between the two world wars, the Vienna award of November 1938 (which resulted in Hungary's acquisition of parts of Slovakia and the major urban centers of Ruthenia), and the Hungarian and Polish activities directed against Carpatho-Ukraine, and Czecho-

Slovakia at large, from the Vienna award to the destruction of the state in March 1939. However, the author's interest is not that of a historian, who attempts to reconstruct past events on the basis of documentation as full as possible, as well as the secondary works of others. Rather, Stercho speaks as a moral critic determined to show the world that the governments of Hungary and Poland behaved unethically with regard to Czechoslovakia, and in particular plotted surreptitiously to detach Carpatho-Ukraine from Czechoslovakia. The bibliography reflects his concerns. The works of Jörg K. Hoensch and Anna M. Cienciala, for example, do not appear in it at all, and Stercho has not made use of the East European literature related to his subject. These may not have been necessary to form his conclusion that it was the "un-Christian and un-Democratic approach on the part of interested surrounding powers" that led to Czechoslovakia's ultimate disintegration.

This broad condemnation, though Stercho extends it to Nazi Germany, does not properly recognize the special role of Germany in the sequence of events culminating in the German occupation of Prague and the simultaneous Hungarian invasion of Ruthenia. It was because of Germany that Slovakia could become "an independent state under protection of the Reich," while an identical declaration of independence by Carpatho-Ukraine failed to be respected by the Magyars. For Germany, the problem of Ruthenia was just an aspect of a much wider Ukrainian problem, which it treated in the framework of relations with Poland and the USSR. Accordingly, when Ukrainians appealed to Berlin for protection, they were told not to resist the Hungarian army. This was the best advice anybody could give them at the time, but the Ukrainians disregarded it, and hundreds of young men went to certain death in battle and before Hungarian execution squads. Besides Germans, Poles, and Hungarians, Stercho is critical of the Czechs, who in 1919 had promised to grant autonomy to Ruthenia but did not keep their word. The Czechs may have been resorting to a hypocritical excuse when they argued that the people of Ruthenia lacked a capacity for self-government. One wishes that instead of assuming the contrary, Stercho had paid more attention to social, economic, political, and cultural conditions in the province before 1938. It would have been interesting to learn, for example, why the Communists were the strongest political group in the area. When they entered Czechoslovakia, the inhabitants of Ruthenia not only had no experience in self-government but even lacked a sense of national identity. They made great progress under the Prague regime, but unfortunately the author has not given us a full account and analysis of those nation-building processes which took place between 1919 and 1938. Equally regrettably, he has passed over the actual work of the Ukrainian autonomous administration, its goals, methods, and accomplishments. One hopes that Dr. Stercho, who is well qualified to cover this particular story, has reserved it for another book.

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RUDOLF II AND HIS WORLD: A STUDY IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY, 1576-1612. By *R. J. W. Evans*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973. xii, 323 pp. \$24.00.

This volume is a tremendous achievement, for it provides both an intensely perceptive interpretation of Rudolf II as ruler, patron, and occultist and a brilliant