

bouring countries, while (2) the MSZP government (Hungarian Socialist Party, governed: 1994–1998 and 2002–2010) subordinated the whole problem to the policy of integration. In 2004, there was an invalid referendum on dual citizenship of Hungarian ethnic minorities which is considered to be a second spiritual Trianon by the author. According to Vizi, the problem was solved at least at a symbolic and theoretical level in

2010 when the Law on National Unity was passed.

This monograph is an electrifying intellectual quest as the author gives insight into several periods of Hungarian history elaborating the political reception history of the shocking Trianon trauma. His line of argumentation leads from 1920 to the political solution in 2010.

Péter Illik

Václav KAŠKA

Neukáznění a neangažovaní. Disciplinace členů

Komunistické strany v Československu v letech 1948–1952

Praha – Brno: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů –

Conditio humana 2014

ISBN 978-80-87912-02-7; 978-80-905323-1-1, 291 pages

The book *Neukáznění a neangažovaní* written by Václav Kaška, a historian and teacher working in the organization Conditio humana dealing with modern history events in Central Europe, is based on his doctoral thesis,

published at the Faculty of Philosophy, Masaryk University in Brno, appropriately on partial journal studies.* The book is thematically devoted to the first five years of the communist monopoly of power in Czechoslovakia. Specifi-

* V. KAŠKA, „Indoktrinace členů KSČ během I. roku stranického školení (1949–1950). Záměry ústředí a jejich (ne)realizace v stranickém okrese Brno I“, in: J. KOCIAN – M. DEVÁTÁ (eds.), *Únor 1948 v Československu: nástup komunistické totality a proměny společnosti*, Praha 2011, pp. 279–287; V. KAŠKA, „Sítě vazeb a způsoby vyjednávání uvnitř KSČ po únoru 1948. Rekonstrukce osobních kontaktů mezi funkcionáři KV KSČ Brno a OV KSČ Brno I. v letech 1948–1952“, in: J. KOCIAN – Z. KÁRNÍK – J. RÁKOSNÍK et al. (eds.), *Bolševismus, komunismus a radikální socialismus VI*, Praha 2009, pp. 138–173; V. KAŠKA, „KSČ po únoru 1948: zdroje, metody a koncepce výzkumu dějin KSČ“, in: *České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století. Osudové osmičky v našich dějinách*, Ústí nad Orlicí 2008, pp. 267–278; V. KAŠKA, „Plán a prověrka. Z činnosti okresního výboru KSČ Brno I. na přelomu čtyřicátých a padesátých let 20. století“, in: *Časopis Matice moravské*, 2007, No. 1, pp. 141–161.

cally, the author deals with intra-party relations within the period between years 1948 and 1952 and with discipline of members of the Communist Party. As the author admits, the book represents one of the recent attempts in Czech historiography to write a new history of state socialism and the main emphasis is put on the Party itself.

In the introduction Václav Kaška formulated leading research questions: what were the means of power used by the KSČ after the war, when it became a mass political party with more than two and a half million members? How did the Party ruled itself? What were the aims and means of enforcing party discipline? What were the potentials and the limits of the inner rule? For mass Marxist party was discipline of its members one of the basic prerequisites for success, therefore discipline of its own members became a logical prerequisite for controlling the majority of the population of Czecho slovak society and for its transformation into a communist society.

Václav Kaška based his work on extensive heuristic base, it is necessary to appreciate especially his taking into account monographs and studies written by respected foreign authors. However, in view of the subject of the book, the research was logically based primarily on archival sources involved in the activities of party organs at local, regional and national level. The use of archival sources of party provenience presents certain limitations. There are missing completion and knowledge learned from the so-called ego-documents. The

author is aware of this deficiency, but admits that the search for these kinds of sources was not successful. The question is whether their absence could be at least partially replaced with oral-history research. The author failed to fully connect the general synthesizing level of the book with microhistorical approach which would have complemented the picture sketched by sources of official nature and helped to understand the motivations and world view of research actors. Therefore, in some parts the book became a mere party action narration, which makes it more difficult to read, but especially in some parts there is a lack of the author's interpretation of the significant findings, their setting in a broader context or of drawing conclusions.

The book is organised into chapters each centred on one aspect of internal party life and ways of disciplining. After an introductory section devoted to the general view on the issue of discipline in the workers' movements and communist parties with some historical and regional outreach, there are five chapters. The first one is dedicated to the language used by the Communist Party to discipline its members, explanations of basic terms used in contemporary and normative texts. The second chapter deals with the functioning of the party on a daily basis – the composition of the party cadre, hierarchical construction, mechanisms and institutions of discipline. In the third and fourth part, the author deals with specific types of violations of party discipline and the subsequent punishment,

and the measure for the evaluation of the “correct” or “incorrect” behaviour of party members were chosen Communist Party Statutes and organizational rules of the party. Based on them, the most common offenses are considered – from absences from party meetings and non-payment of membership to heavy fraud leading to unfavourable economic balance of some local and regional organizations of the Communist Party. The last, fifth part of the book deals with the general phenomena described in the previous chapter on selected examples, which is particularly helpful to understand the malfunctioning of disciplinary and control committees. As an area of interest set the author South Moravia, specifically area around the cities of Brno and Znojmo. Acknowledging certain regional specifics (rural and agricultural character of the selected districts, location near the border with Austria and experience with large-scale expulsion of the German population), there are described local practices of investigation relating to specific individuals. It is also necessary to emphasize the fact of personal animosity, which played a role in several cases during implementation of party rules.

Dealing with the research, which is locally restricted, as in this case, it is necessary to keep in mind understanding the tendencies of a general nature. Therefore, it was not possible to ignore

the personality of the head secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party in Brno Otto Šling, whose case is an illustrative example of disciplining on the nationwide level. Šling, who headed the Communist Party in Brno during years 1948–1950, was one of the most outstanding personalities in the region and he held party firmly in his hands. On the “case Šling” the author managed to reliably demonstrate the presence of dual motivations leading to his removal from office and to subsequent execution in 1952. Both of external (required purge from Moscow, Šling’s engagement in the Great Britain, his Jewish origin) and internal reasons resulted in his fall – criticism of his party colleagues with his actions and practices. Then, the “case Šling” influenced even the language of the KSČ. The term “šlingovština” as synonyms for dictatorial behaviour became for certain periods a busy spell.

Despite the aforementioned partial or significant deficiencies of the book *Neukáznění a neangažování*, it is necessary to appreciate above all not only the selection of the theme, which has been getting into awareness of Czech historians in the past few years, but also a proven and honest work with the sources that helped reconstruct one of the chapters of the history of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia.

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