

In addition to the challenges posed by the different circumstances within each of the states, there was also the question of the USSR and its attitude to the Balkans. Stefanidis provides a clear picture of the difficulties of balancing positive coverage of Soviet achievements with attempts to win Romanian hearts and minds when the latter had such a fear of Soviet intentions. The influence of the USSR on British perceptions of the situation in the Balkans is brought clearly into focus, as is the effect this had on attitudes to propaganda, particularly when looking to the possible postwar situation.

Each chapter has a section on “black” propaganda and also on the BBC’s broadcasts to the Balkans. Stefanidis aptly notes the variable quality of the broadcasts and the battles that this could produce, with accusations of (often left-wing) bias, not uncommon from within the countries themselves, from the governments-in-exile, and from other British organizations such as the Political Warfare Executive and the Foreign Office, both of which felt that they should control propaganda. The content of BBC broadcasts to Yugoslavia were especially contentious when the British were attempting to back both communist and noncommunist resistance forces (while the two were in fact waging civil war on each other), and Stefanidis details some of the rows and compromises that accompanied the process. Eventually, he concludes, despite the many challenges and the difficulty in calculating its effect, “British propaganda can be considered a qualified success” (306).

Stefanidis provides copious footnotes, citing every source, but it is difficult to understand why some key documents, such as the March 1943 Chiefs of Staff Directive to the Special Operations Executive, with its enormous implications for Balkan guerrilla warfare, are quoted from secondary sources rather than in the original. Occasionally, some figures, events, and ideas mentioned in passing in the text would have benefited from an explanatory line or two in a footnote—for example, Vuk Branković, the role of the western Allies commemorated on Transylvania Day, or the Sobranje. I would have also liked to have seen a more generous index, which would have been extremely useful in a work of this scope. That said, it is a work of scholarship, based on considerable in-depth research, that provides a useful comparative study of the subject, and it will be of interest to historians and students.

HEATHER WILLIAMS  
*University of Southampton, England*

***Revolution with a Human Face: Politics, Culture, and Community in Czechoslovakia, 1989–1992.*** By James Krapfl. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013. xxi, 260 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Chronology. Index. Photographs. Figures. Tables. Maps. \$45.00, hard bound.

This ambitious monograph assesses the meaning of the Gentle Revolution to Czechoslovak citizens, from the initial 17 November 1989 “massacre” of the student-led marchers in Prague to the country’s division along national lines in 1992. The experiences of Czechoslovak citizens, rather than the dissident elites, are the centerpiece of this social and cultural history. James Krapfl argues that through their experience of the revolution, Czechoslovak citizens formed a new community that was engaged in transforming society, as was evident in the collective action of the November 27 general strike and subsequent community expressions. Students were initially at the center of this new community, but as Krapfl demonstrates, they were joined by thousands of citizens who introduced the real changes in the universities, workplaces, and communities in regions and towns throughout Czechoslovakia. Krapfl’s approach il-

illustrates the initial Czechoslovak nature of this revolution. Yet by 1992 the Czech and Slovak supporters of the civic associations seeking to continue their engagement in the transformation of society shifted their support to new populist parties with more nationalist programs. This shift resulted from tensions between the local associations and the centralizing efforts of the coordinating centers in Prague and Bratislava.

Krapfl's research is supported by extensive analysis of documents from the citizens' associations that began forming in each region immediately following November 17. He conducted research not only in the larger state archives but also in more than two dozen regional archives throughout the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The primary source base includes flyers, proclamations, declarations, manifestos, bulletins, and speeches produced by citizens engaged in regional and local associations of the Civic Forum (Občanské fórum, OF) and the Public against Violence (Verejnost proti násiliu, VPN). The monograph presents a systematic analysis of these materials that offers a previously unseen picture of how Czechoslovak citizens engaged in the revolution. His findings are extremely interesting, illustrating the local nature and diverse concerns of citizens in each town and region and capturing the idealism of participants. For example, several local civic associations' bulletins and letters illustrate that copious efforts were made by their members to function as mediators for citizens addressing officials with their problems and concerns. The associations responded to every letter, investigated the problems, and followed up on the outcomes of their mediation.

The Czechoslovak-wide approach reveals a more complicated interrelationship between OF and VPN, which many studies present as Czech and Slovak articulations of one another. Krapfl shows a very different early history of these associations, one in which local associations using some variation of the name "Civic Forum" could be found in three-quarters of the districts in Slovakia in the first weeks of the revolution. Krapfl suggests that Slovaks perceived OF to be more open to citizens than VPN, which appeared oriented toward academics and cultural producers. The realignment of OF and VPN by June 1990 along national lines and the subsequent pressure placed on some civic associations in Slovakia to reorient themselves toward VPN introduced a national orientation to both bodies that had not existed initially.

The monograph is organized into six main chapters that thematically guide the reader from the fall of 1989 to the end of 1992. In chapter 1 Krapfl explores how Czechoslovak citizens were conscious of the narrative of the revolution that they were shaping; chapter 2 focuses on how this narrative provided political legitimacy and a justification to construct a new society. Chapter 3 explores the primary sets of ideals articulated by the citizens after November 1989 which included nonviolence, self-organization, democracy, fairness, humanness, and even socialism. In chapter 4 he discusses how initially marginalized nationalists began increasing their support in 1990. Chapter 5 examines how citizens pursued building the new society at the local level. In the final chapter he discusses how these citizens' disillusionment regarding how to best represent the will of the people led to a shift of their support, beginning in fall 1990, toward Václav Klaus and Vladimír Mečiar as perceived advocates of citizen engagement and direct democracy.

*Revolution with a Human Face* is recommended for regional specialists and scholars of social movements and revolutionary periods as well as graduate and upper-division undergraduates studying this history.

DAVID DOELLINGER  
Western Oregon University