## REVIEW

## Zoltán, Novák Csaba, *Epoca de Aur? Ceaușescu și maghiarii. Politica Partidului Comunist Român față de minoritatea maghiară în perioada regimului Ceaușescu*, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2020, 297 p. + 33 – Bibliography, Name index

The work of the historian Novák Csaba Zoltán, *The Golden Age? Ceausescu* and the Hungarians. The policy of the Romanian Communist Party towards the Hungarian minority during the Ceausescu regime, published in Romanian, offers a synthetic and coherent image of a special relationship, that between the Romanian state and the most important minority. As stated in the introduction, the paper does not want to be a "catalogue of resentments" or a "political and institutional history of Hungarians in Romania." The proposed objective is achieved, at the end of the 300 pages of analysis, developed around important topics for the bilateral relationship mentioned above. The paper benefits from a substantial and current bibliography (including studies previously published by the author), an index of names as well as suggestive images, inserted in the text.

The nine chapters of this volume represent as many topics for debate: I. Background. From Stalinist integration to the policy of independence from Moscow (1944-1964); II. The policy of "independence" and the consolidation of Ceausescu's power in the period 1964-1967; III. Years of openness and possibilities. 1968 and the echoes of the Prague Spring; IV. The small "cultural revolution" and its effects in the first years (1971-1974); V. The national problem and the COMNM emptying by its content (1974-1984); VI. Ethnocratic state socialism and the crisis of dictatorship. The restriction of the institutional system of minorities (1984-1989); VII. The issue of nationalities in the Romanian-Hungarian bilateral relations and the international public opinion; VIII. The Hungarian political and cultural elite in Romania and the political power in the "Ceausescu era"; IX. Politics towards the Hungarian minority, as a matter of national security.

Historians and public opinion can find, in this volume, approached in the manner mentioned above, the main developments within the Hungarian minority. Specifically, the analyzes of the administrative reform of the 1960s, the community institutions integrated into the socialist organization chart, the reporting of Hungarian political and cultural elites (and their efforts to maintain identity), and the younger generation of the 1980s, to the regime's policy towards minority are one of the most important topics deal with it. Likewise, the talks on Hungary and the relationship - which became trilateral - between the two states and the Hungarian minority, especially in the 1980s, when it was obvious that the latter no longer acted as a bridge of cooperation between the two countries, as previously proclaimed their leaders. From the coexistence of the 1960s to the

hostility of the 1980s, the Hungarian minority-socialist state relationship is analyzed, detaching the initial aspects of convergence and subsequent conflict areas, caused by increased ideological pressure and the application of a social and economic policy in total dissonance with the tendencies in Europe (and even in the socialist bloc) and with the expectations of the whole society (the author mentioning, in several places, the generality of the new vision of the regime, after 1971, for Romanians and minorities alike). Not coincidentally, the title of the paper is under question, the approach starting from the hopes and illusions maintained by the party and its leader, and embraced by the Hungarian political elite in the mid-60s (with representatives in the highest party forums and state).

The volume is an important achievement. Future sequential studies, on the issues mentioned here, will have as mandatory reference the work subject to the above assessments.

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