TRANSFORMATION OF THE HUNGARIAN SPATIAL VIEWS
CONCERNING THE DANUBE REGION IN THE PERIOD
AROUND THE END OF WORLD WAR II AND THE START
OF THE REARRANGEMENT, 1944–1948

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INTRODUCTION

The frequent changes of state territories and state borders, and the often disputed existing state borders, are among the historical, economic and social characteristics of Central Europe, including the Carpathian Basin, and this issue is also one of the (usually hidden) political problems for certain social groups in several countries.

State borders allow separation, segregation/closing in, but they can also improve multilateral inter-state, inter-regional and cross-border inter-municipal cooperation. The state-security, political, economic and social objectives and interests have been determined during the course of history and were later reinforced.

The changes of the state border throughout history and also during the 20th century were a reflection of the given military power positions and territorial objectives of the neighbouring states - existing next to each other. Borders were carriers of many elements (economic, military and political) and as such – borders synthesized various conditions and values, as well as correlations between those elements.

This basic situation means that each territory in Central Europe is historically, emotionally and politically attached to several states or peoples. In the course of history it has become evident for the nations living in that part of the continent, that the repeated violent spatial rearrangements never solved the most fundamental problems of either of the respective nations or of the population in the border regions.

Between the two world wars the borders of Hungary were given new content, different in each section of the border. Before and during World War II it was only the Hungarian-Austrian section of the border that remained unchanged (the integration of Austria into Germany resulted in a major change, but did not entail the change of the state border), while all other state borders were changed. The repeated defeat of Hungary in the war led to the loss of the “territorial gains”, and
the Paris Peace Treaty (in 1947) restored the border drawn in the Trianon Peace Treaty, in addition to the detachment of the three villages of the “Bratislava bridgehead”.

After the World War II the whole territory of Hungary was under Soviet military occupation. Within the newly born and later - further developing (internally, but also in terms of external relations) Socialist block, the functions of the borders went through significant transitions. The most important change was the Yugoslav–Soviet split which took place in the summer of 1948.

The development of Hungary after World War II resulted in a new, formerly unknown function of the Hungarian–Austrian border, which gradually became a border “separating two world systems”, with all of its consequences that were changing at times, but remained basically negative throughout the following decades.

The Hungarian society, and also the Hungarian academic and political elite was looking for possibilities of creating a new spatial community (communities) of small states, both in the final phase of the war (when the defeat of Germany and its allies was certain) and right after the war (when it was not clear yet that the zone occupied by the Soviets would be integrated into the power space of the Soviet Union). In this process, historical and political elements were dominant, while geographical features only had a secondary role, and the idea of the “co-existing or nations living next to each other” was of tertiary importance. Historians, geographers, economists etc. did not think of the development strategies, concepts, programmes etc. in the long-term in the first place (although such elements also appeared in terms of improvement of the transport networks and conditions), but were rather focused on exploring possibilities of how to move ahead together.

The recent past had determined the efforts of the Hungarian authors of various scientific fields to only attributing a selected role to Hungary as a country of central location, in the process of shaping spatial community frameworks.

DEFINITION OF DIFFERENT SPATIAL CATEGORIES
AND ASSESSMENT OF CO-EXISTENCE POSSIBILITIES IN HUNGARY
IN THE PERIOD 1944–1948.

The history of Hungary in the first half of the 20th century is actually a story of war conflicts and peace treaties closing those conflicts, as well as concomitant spatial arrangements and rearrangements. The state territory “pulsed“ almost constantly from 1920 to 1947 (Fig. 1).

At the end of 1944 nearly all members of the Hungarian political elites with realistic thinking knew that Hungary would lose the war again, and sought a way out in cooperation rather than generating of conflicts. Several spatial categories (Central Danube Basin, Carpathian Basin, Danube Region, Balkans, Inner Europe, East-Central Europe and Central Europe) were contemplated when assessing the new possibilities of co-existence. In the current paper we first of all analyse the “Danube-related” approaches.
CENTRAL DANUBE BASIN

From a chronological point of view, the starting point for this spatial term was the book published by Lajos Jócsik in 1944 (Jócsik, 1944). Lajos Jócsik (1910-1980) - an economist and a left-wing politician, started to reconsider the situation of Hungary and the spatial positions of the country in the light of the almost certain awareness of the defeat of Germany. In his words, “Plans proliferate now like mushrooms after rain, plans just for the new arrangement of the future of our region, the Central Danube Basin” (Jócsik, 1944 p. 6.). According to Jócsik, the Hungarian nation – in spite of its probable war defeat – must be very active in the assessment of the affairs and of the development possibilities for the Central Danube Basin, just for the sake of their own interests and for the promotion of co-operations.

The Central Danube Basin designated by Jócsik (Fig. 2) did not fully coincide with the historical Hungary existing before 1918, but it was associated to that during the analysis in most respects, and that was considered a kind of framework for the co-existence and development.

A dominant historical feature of the Central Danube Basin was the fact that almost throughout all its historical development the Central Danube Basin was a structural conflict zone between “eastern and western imperialisms”. The large power actors changed, but the Central Danube Basin failed to strengthen its position among
them. As a result of the historical processes: “The fate of this region was the fate of a ball that is passed from one external power to another one” (Jócsik, 1944, p. 415.)

From 1933 the Central Danube Basin, and gradually the whole of the Danube Valley, was under German influence. The whole region was subordinated to the “growing impact of Germany”. Western relations almost completely ceased to exist, “western imperialisms were pushed out of the region”. Hungary and the whole region were integrated to Germany in accordance with its political, military and consumption demands. At the end of the war Germany wanted and was only able to secure its position by the presence of its armed forces, that is – by direct occupation.

Jócsik paid attention mostly to the issue of Slovakia. In order to understand this we have to know that he was born in Hungary, before the Treaty of Trianon (in Érsekújvár, what is nowadays – Nové Zámky, Slovakia) in 1910, and he became a citizen of Czechoslovakia in 1920. He graduated from school passing exams in Czechoslovakia, and was later a recruited soldier of the Czechoslovakian army. As a citizen of Czechoslovakia he finished law school in Paris, then further trained himself in Prague where he became a doctor of legal sciences. In addition to the legal and political studies, he also expanded his skills with training in economics. Lajos Jócsik became a Hungarian and Czechoslovak left-wing politician with a wide intellectual, European horizon and open-minded international outlook.
In the autumn of 1938, Érsekújvár was annexed to Hungary, and Lajos Jócsik himself became a citizen of Hungary again. Because of his left-wing political activity in Czechoslovakia, after the state border changes which were made according to the First Viena Decision, he was initially under police supervision in Hungary and was later arrested.

In regards to its relation to the Danube River, the most important chapter of his book is the one called “A balance sheet and perspective” (pp. 413–416). The author saw two forces which determined the development of the Central Danube Basin: a) – the basin was atomised from the aspect of political spatial division and b) – the political atomisation also atomised the territory of the basin – against one another.

Lajos Jócsik accepted the political atomisation as a necessity (both large and small nations have their right of a sovereign national existence), but at the same time he thought that the economic atomisation was not necessary: cooperation could maintain the unity of the basin. As Jócsik commented: If the confederation of small nations cannot be seen as a necessity, the possibilities of federation must be preserved. Provided that there is mutual intention of co-existing of the peoples “… a unit could be born in the valley of the Danube River that could always counterbalance the blocks of the large powers” (Jócsik, 1944, p. 415.). The author was very optimistic when he wrote, just before the final defeat of the Germans, that “… if the Danubian peoples wanted, they could solve their greatest issue: the purification of the region from the large power conflicts so that they could develop on their own and in freedom” (Jócsik, 1944, p. 416.).

The author did not mention the name of the Soviet Union in his analyses of the future (the book was published in 1944!), but it was clear that all his statements refer to the increasing influence of the Soviet power. Jócsik was a member of the European left-wing movement and was not a supporter of the Soviet dictatorship.

Preparing for the peace talks after the World War II, Jócsik wrote and published in Budapest his study called “German Economic Influences in the Danube Valley” (Jócsik, 1946). Even after the war he tried to be correct in the analyses, keeping his style built on arguments and not instigating hatred.

CARPATHIAN BASIN

The book called “Geography of the Carpathian Basin” was written by Bulla and Mendől (1947). Both of them were born in what is now present-day Hungary, after the turn of the 20th century and before the Trianon Peace Treaty, so they had no direct experience of the “loss of motherland”. However, they both experienced the loss of the larger part of the historical Hungarian state territory, similarly to the majority of the Hungarian society. Their book was completed in parts before the end of World War II, and it was supposed to be published in 1944. However, the book only came out in 1947, and the authors had to explain why they had written the geography of the Carpathian Basin instead of Hungary or Central Europe. In their opinion, the Carpathian Basin (Fig. 3) was the smallest territorial unit within the frameworks of which it was possible to analyse the issues of the Hungarian nation and the coexisting neighbouring peoples. (The fact that the maps of the book featured a Carpathian Basin of different sizes was partly due to the findings of former researches and because of the political uncertainties.)
Both Béla Bulla (author of the chapters on physical geography) and Tibor Mendöl (who wrote the parts on social and economic geography) saw and illustrated, that within the basin it was the Hungarians who were in charge – partly because of their historical role, and on the other hand - because Hungarians organized the peaceful coexistence of different ethnic groups.

The approach of the two authors, both being university professors and geographers, was of course a fundamentally geographical approach, but they made it clear that the future processes of the region would not only be influenced by geographical factors, and that in fact those factors would probably not even be primarily ones.

CENTRAL EUROPE

The notion of Central Europe was not universally acknowledged in both – Hungarian geography and Hungarian society, between the two world wars. Gyula Prinz (1882-1973) – an author of German mother tongue and to a large part – of German academic background – considered this new concept as a “greenhouse product” of the German science, and therefore – considered its application inappropriate in Hungary.

Others, including the Transylvanian-born András Rónai (1906–1991) – who was a disciple, colleague and follower of Pál Teleki, the faithful keeper of Teleki’s memory after 1941 and the continuer of a large part of Teleki’s work – believed that the Central European concept was suitable for grabbing the real geographi-
Rónai, a researcher and university professor, did not become part of the war propaganda during World War II. His studies, made during the war years, were not “written for the moment” – he was a long-term thinker. Rónai was able to analyse the situation of Transylvania in a way that he looked further than North Transylvania returning to Hungary in 1940, but nevertheless - he did not become a supporter of any political instigation of hatred. Besides serving the nation, it was important for him to keep his own personality and autonomy.

The results of the two decades of studies carried out in the institute led by him - the Institute of Political Sciences, were summarised in the “Atlas of Central Europe” (Rónai, ed., 1945/a). It is not accidental that Rónai considered, even in war conditions, the completion of the work on the atlas and its publishing necessary (despite fleeing from the surrounded Budapest to Balatonfüred, Rónai and his co-workers continued the editing of the atlas.). The large-scale atlas was actually made as part of the preparation for the peace talks which were to conclude the war.

The Atlas of Central Europe, with its correct data processing and maps of political geography (we have to emphasise the map showing the stability of the borders in Central Europe, done in several versions – Fig. 4 – and the one demonstrating the spatial processes of the European empires changing in time), is considered a monument to the professional achievements and political correctness of Rónai.

![Fig. 4. Map of the stability of borders in Central Europe](https://example.com/fig4map.png)

*Source: Edited by Rónai, A. 1945*
The atlas was made within tragic historical conditions, but the authors refused to discuss daily political issues with a journalist’s ambitions. Their goal was to create a product, based on a correct database, which all of the co-existing nations would be able to successfully use.

After the “categorisations” following the war, Rónai was unjustly accused, although his reservations against Hitler’s Germany and especially its ideology were already evident after the spring of 1941. He did not become a member of any political movement and he openly declared in his academic works that he had a different opinion on the most important issues. The most comprehensive description of his political attitude could be that of “national conservative”. Long-range historical-continuity thinking was more important for Rónai than adaptation to the new ideas. Until 1948 he was able to keep his position as a university professor and head of department, but he was not favoured by the new power.

Rónai participated in the preparation of the peace talks after World War II, but did not become a dominant person in those preparations. He joined the activity of the “Danube Region Working Community” and as the editor of the books called “Dunatáj” (Danube Region), Elemér Radics emphasises in his forewords “András Rónai contributed to the supplementation of our work with his geographical essays and data …” (Radics (ed.) 1946, Vol. I. p. IV.), but if we look at the details of the three books, we can see that the role of Rónai was very important in this venture: a great deal of the maps were from the “Atlas of Central Europe” and he was also the editor of several new maps showing the region. After the war, earlier existed spatial categories became “delicate issues” – something which Rónai had sensed as a political geographer. He clearly saw that within the given circumstances Central Europe could not be an “official” category for Hungary. The concept and spatial content of the “Danube Region” appeared in a slightly different way for Rónai.

His participation in the Danube Region Working Community was important because it clearly proved Rónai’s ability to perform correct academic analyses within the new circumstances, as well as his ability to cooperate with people of different political views.

In the early 1947 Rónai was a nominated member of the Hungarian Peace Delegation in Paris, but was not considered real expert of the Hungarian peace talk delegation, as the issues of the peace treaty had already been settled by then. Rónai was asked to stay in Paris and (he was invited by the Sorbonne University,) but he was neither able, nor willing to leave Hungary. With his own walk of life, he can be considered an example for accepting possible difficulties.

In 1947 he summarised the political geographical and spatial problems of the changing and transforming Central Europe (Rónai, 1947). This brief paper demonstrated once again his ability to keep the correct analysing attitude even in those tense political circumstances.

Rónai clearly stated the political spatial development disparities between the “East” and the “West”. In the West, the “fight for the borders” was also frequent in history, but it was even more fundamental in the Eastern territories.

Rónai’s analysis and map featuring the historical territorial changes (the largest expansion of the German, Russian and Ottoman empires in the territory of Eastern Europe, until the beginning of the 20th century) was an indication that the smaller na-
tions of the region had to continuously face challenges which were the same in many respects.

In his study on “Territorial issues in Central Europe”, Rónai stated that a basic historical and political-geographical issue was that “the natural geographical frameworks and the disharmony of the ethnic relations lead to the Czech–German, the Hungarian–Slovak and the Hungarian–Romanian problem” (Rónai, 1947, p. 69.).

In his analyses of the respective countries and ethnic groups, Rónai tried to be correct and quantifiable; the study is void of any offensive remarks. His maps featuring the common problems of the region (e.g. the map demonstrating the peripheral situation of the capital cities of the small states) indicate that no community or state is able to solve their problems on their own, without cooperation with the others.

THE DANUBE REGION

The “Danube Region Working Community“ was founded right after World War II world, with the objective of contributing to the solution of the tragedies which occurred during and after the war, and joining in the formation of the Hungarian standpoint for the upcoming peace talks. The engine of the Working Community was Elemér Radisics (1884-1973) - a lawyer, political thinker, journalist, newspaper publisher and editor, and an analyst of foreign politics. From 1931 to 1940 he worked at the department of public information of the General Secretariat of The League of Nations in Geneva; he actually made a link between The League of Nations and the Hungarian government. After 1943 he was an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was allowed to keep his job in the ministry in the period 1945–1947 where he worked as a staff of the archives and scientific division.

The numerous studies published in his edition under the title “Danube Region“, consisting of three volumes (Radisics, ed., 1946, I-III), were written during his activity in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as such does not appear in the books (it is possible, however, that the authors were given a considerable assistance by the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the preparation for the peace talks was underway).

Authors of those three volumes of the book were some of the outstanding Hungarian historians, geographers, economist, sociologists, statistical experts etc. of that time. The authors of the respective chapters were not specified by names, because the edition did not publish individual opinions but the common viewpoint of the “Danube Region Working Community“.

The authors leave us in no doubt with regard to the designation of the research area: “The middle of the European continent is the Danube Region, i.e. the Carpathian Basin and its environment” (Radisics, ed., 1946, I., p.1.). The Carpathian Basin is not featured in isolation but as part of “Inner Europe” which both have many common features in their historical development, culture and economy. The Carpathian Basin and its environment is almost exactly the geometrical centre of Inner Europe.

Inner Europe has many transitory features – it is a mixture, a place of mutual impacts in almost all respects (density of population, settlement system and network, languages, ethnicities, religions, level of education, agriculture development level,
the grade of industrialisation etc.) between the Western European and the Eastern European areas, and also between Northern Europe and Southern Europe.

The biggest concern of the authors is as follows: “The most recent geographical and political literature still does not use the term “Central Europe” for this specific area; instead, terms such as “East-Central Europe”, “Southeast Europe“ etc. are applied.” A very frequently used phrase in the book goes like this: “the Danube Region, i.e. the Carpathian Basin and its environment …” (Fig. 5).

There are significant disparities also among the countries of the Danube Region (Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Romania); nevertheless they can be considered as a territorial group, or as a spatial unit.

The Danube Region was determined mostly on the basis of its geography (because of its objectivity; András Rónai’s “Atlas of Central Europe“ was used as a dominant academic base, although the authors of the book themselves, also created some of the original maps).

The starting point of the analysis is the demography of the region. The book gives us an overview of the population and population processes (pp. 1–90) as well as a comparative analysis of the fundamental demographic structures. The processing of the demographic issues includes the description of the populated locations (settlements) as well. The demographic features showed significant disparities by countries,

Fig. 5. Geographical designation of the Danube Region
Source: Edited by: Radisics, 1946, I.
spatial and national characteristics. Cities and villages develop in accordance with
the development of the respective country. The proportion of urban population varies
a lot across the countries - Austria and Czechoslovakia had outstanding positions in
this respect.

The maps and tables analyse basically six countries (Austria, Bulgaria,
Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia) but some of them also feature
Albania as a country of the Danube Region, so a total of seven countries were studied
in certain respects. The group of the six countries was not only designated as “Danube
Region” but was also referred to as “Danubian countries” (which also entails that the
authors of the book consciously omitted the defeated Germany, under the occupation
of the large powers at that time, from the Danubian states. Nor did the authors think
that the Soviet Union could be regarded as a Danubian state.)

One of the most important complexes of historical but also modern-day issues is
the “linguistic nature of the Danube Region” (pp. 91–114). During the examination
and analysis of the national language issues, those elements that were formerly the
ground of conflicts, were avoided in the book.

The chapter called “Development of the literature on the Danube Region“
(pp. 115–157) was written in order to illustrate the mutual impacts of the literatures
of the co-existing nations on each other on one hand, and - although not explicitly
- the issue of the “Danube regional identity” raised through literature, on the other.
The Danube River has an outstanding position not only in the literature of all nations
concerned, but also in their overall folklore culture.

The chapter called “The Hungarian ethnic issue in the light of acts and regula-
tions (1790–1918)” does not seem to organically fit in the book (pp.158–320). This
rather long part would have served better the preparation for the peace talks, provided
that the authors had analyzed more deeply the regulations of that kind in the other
discussed nations as well.

The part called “Ethnic statistics” (pp. 321–330) might be the most delicate
common issue of the countries in the discussed region. In terms of number of popula-
tion, the largest nation in the Danube Valley was the Romanian (14 million people
at that time), followed by the Hungarian (12.7 million people). Yugoslavia had ap-
proximately 12 million people, with 7 million Serbs, 3.5 million Croats and 1.3 mil-
lion Slovenes. The number of the Czechs was 7 million, of the Slovaks 2.6 million,
so together they approached 10 million people (those calculations did not take into
consideration the German minorities).

The introduction to the “Party formations” (pp. 331–339) gives the reader an
overview of the common processes of political organisations, formed on the basis of
social, economic etc. characteristics and similarities. Despite the lack of full similar-
ity between the Danubian countries in that aspect, each of the regarded nations was
able to comprehend the structures of the existing parties at that time in the other
countries in the region.

The description of “Agricultural production” is precise as far as the common
problems were concerned, but the analysis of the significance of agriculture as a sec-
tor is relatively brief (pp. 340–386). According to the authors the Danube Region is
large enough, so that physical-geographical factors have significant impact on agri-
cultural production, in addition to historical and socio-economic factors.
The chapter on "Mining and metallurgy" is a decent work built on precise statistical data (pp. 387–415). In this chapter the reader comes across several times with the expression "west-to-east industrialisation slope", i.e. that Czechoslovakia and Austria were much more industrialised compared to the rest of the countries in the discussed region.

The elaboration of the chapters called "Energy" (pp. 416–424), "Industrial policy" (pp. 425–429) and "Industry" (pp. 430–460) is done with implementation of classic economic-geographical methods. In the respective chapters the authors suggest the so-called "natural interdependence" and actually propose the conscious organisation and deepening of cooperation between the countries in the future.

If we look at Volume I with a critical eye, we have to say that the connections among the respective chapters are occasional; there are logical breaks in the structure.

Volume II (p. 280) however is of outstanding significance for the examination of spatial processes, and above all, their economic and state political aspects. In addition to discussing financial issues (such as development of the international credit affairs, finances, insurance etc.) of the countries, this chapter also deals with foreign trade.

The authors defined in a peculiar way the content of the chapter devoted to the "power and the credit policy" of the countries in the Danube Region. Both world wars of the 20th century were a common tragedy for all the countries in the region, regardless of the outcome of the wars for each specific country: "In the worldwide conflict of the forties they finally all suffered from the methods of the German imperialism, they all had to face exploitation, the German attack destroyed the lives and assets of all of them, and they all became war fields and supply areas during the Soviet Russian military action sweeping away the German attack" (Radisics, ed., 1946, II. p. 1.).

Among the sub-systems of infrastructure, the authors paid special attention to the transport infrastructure. The frequent changes of the state territories almost continuously reassessed the transport networks. The opportunity of closer cooperation can be created by the integration of the transport networks. In this relationship, especially in cargo traffic, a special role is played by the Danube River.

It may be surprising that right after the war analysis and introduction of tourism processes were also concerned in the book. The analysis of the tourism sector starts with a slightly peculiar statement: "In regards of the endowments of tourism, Southeast Europe is an especially good area." (Radisics, ed., 1946, II., p. 134.) The significance of tourism was indeed growing in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary in the years between the two world wars.

A logical break is made in the structure of the book, by the chapter which summarises the history of the "periodical press" (pp. 142–196). The detailed analysis was acceptable, taking into consideration the fact that the appearance of periodical press coincided with the establishment of a large number of printing houses, and that the press also played a role in the spread of innovations.

In the detailed regional analysis we find the "Introduction to the neighbouring countries" of Hungary (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania). The authors of the book did not consider the Soviet Union as a neighbour of Hungary as of 1946. Their opinion was that the territorial belonging of Transcarpathia was not finally settled yet (although the Soviet Union was already featured as a neighbouring state of Hungary in the first map of the book.)
The appendix of maps is extremely rich in depiction of both - historical and recent processes.

The statistical database of the book actually analysed the period between the two world wars, rather than the years after World War II. Nevertheless, both periods were analysed and the figures described the characteristics of the Danube Region in a very diverse way (as far as the administrative division was concerned, the maps were “cartographically up-to-date” as they featured the situation at the beginning of 1946.)

Fig. 6. The central location of the Danube Region in Europe
(Source: Edited by: Radisics, 1946, II.)
Modern transportation (aviation) concerned in that chapter appreciated the central role of the Danube Region in Europe (Fig. 6). The map of air accessibility – with Budapest in the centre -suggested that new possibilities would be available after the war.

Volume III (p. 626) describes the countries of the region (Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Serbia and Croatia, Poland, Hungary and Romania (Romanians of Transylvania), and looks back to the world history, with comprehensive chronological tables. A newcomer in the circle of the countries was Poland, whose changes were organically linked to the processes of the countries of the Danube Region.

Volume IV was also completed, as indicated in the list of references of Volume III. It discussed the history of diplomacy in the region, the Hungarian, as well as the foreign plans for cooperation between Danubian peoples, efforts in the field of arts, social-political development, chronology of cultural development, as well as the biographies of the intellectual elite of the neighbouring states. The volume also contained an overall bibliography and indices. The book however could not be published for financial and political reasons.

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ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ НА ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННИТЕ ВЪЗГЛЕДЕ
В УНГАРИЯ ПО ОТНОШЕНИЕ НА ДУНАВСКИЯ РЕГИОН В КРАЯ НА
ВТОРАТА СВЕТОВНА ВОЙНА И НАЧАЛОТО НА РЕОРГАНИЗАЦИЯТА,
1944–1948 г.

З. Хайду

(Р е з ю м е)

Към края на Втората световна война и непосредствено след нейното при-
ключване дипломацията е ангажирана до голяма степен със създаването на нова
териториална структура (разделянето на Европа на два политически лагера). За
мирните преговори са изготвени множество „официални“ анализи, включител-
но и такива, отнасящи се до териториалните проблеми.

Унгарската география, историография, икономическа наука, социология, за-
конодателство и т.н. са се опитвали да интерпретират ситуацията и историческия
процес, както и стопанските процеси между двете световни войни в макроре-
гиона и страните от Среднодунавския басейн (Карпатския басейн, Централна
Европа) и Дунавския регион като цяло единствено от научна гледна точка. Това
се е налагало както поради самото желание на учените от различните области
на познанието, така и поради подготовката за мирните преговори. Ето защо
не са били изготвяни масшабни стратегии и концепции за развитие, а главно
анализи, на базата на които народите от региона биха могли да се опознаят
по-добре.

Представителите на научната гилдия в Унгария по това време не са взели
предвид факта, че Унгария ще бъде на страната на губещите в края на войната,
nито пък са взели под внимание обстоятелството, че Чехословакия, Румъния и
Югославия вече са били поели по пътя на т.нар. социалистическо развитие по
времето, когато обсъжданите в статията научни трудове са били публикувани,
dокато в същото време Унгария изостава по отношение на този процес в срав-
нение с гореспоменатите страни.

Ако се погледне на процеса на вземане на решения по това време, нито
една от рамките за съвместно съществуване и общи ценност и интереси, по-
сочени от страна на унгарските учени, не са били фаворизирани. Въпреки това
извършената от тези учени работа не е била напразна или в невярна посока.
След 60-те години на ХХ в. териториалните концепции на страните от региона
eволюират – както в Унгария, така и в другите страни от Централна Европа.