

»THE DANUBE AREA« – OPTIMISTIC PERSPECTIVE
AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The present study deals with a few important points which were made in the three-volume work published as »The Danube Area« in 1946 edited by Elemér Radisics. Within its frames it deals with the optimistic post-World War II perspectives of the countries of the »Danube Area«, the negative equilibration tendency working over the economic development of the region's states as well as its causes. The study examines the changes in the population ratio of the area concerning each country and it also deals with the course of Hungary's population on an international scale. .

Keywords: the Danube area, post-WWII period, economy, population

PODONAVJE« - OPTIMISTIČNE PERSPEKTIVE PO DRUGI SVETOVNI VOJNI

Študija predstavlja nekaj pomembnih ugotovitev iz dela v treh zvezkih »Podonavje«, ki ga je leta 1946 uredil Elemér Radisics. Opisuje optimistične povojne perspektive podonavskih držav in vzroke negativne uravnilovke, ki je vplivala na gospodarski razvoj teh držav. Študija analizira spremembe demografske strukture posameznih dežel s posebnim ozirom na Madžarsko.

Ključne besede: Podonavje, obdobje po drugi svetovni vojni, gospodarstvo, prebivalstvo

Let us imagine that we would like to get some rest by having a voyage down the Danube after the toils of the conference and that we would consult a Hungarian travel agency with our plan. It is suspected that we would sooner be provided with an offer of a voyage on the Geiranger fjord, or perhaps an Adriatic or an Aegean sea-voyage, not to mention the more profitable voyages on the Nile or on Lake Tanganyika. If we are to look for the reasons we can hardly be satisfied with the trend-shaped explanations of consumer-tourism, the reasons should be sought in other fields (as well).

Long centuries had to pass for trade, fishing, royal and everyday mirth, most splendid human feelings¹ all radiating the peace of the Danube not to be hovered by the darkness of armed conflicts generated by the interests of (great) powers. Since even though the Poet would have liked to compare the banks of Ister² (for us it is more commonly known as the ancient Danubia) with the virgins of Helicon crowned with laurel, most probably the virtual ark of Janus Pannonius would have got stuck on the real cordon formed by Turkish sloops at the Lower-Danube region... Our worries are not without proper basis, since it cannot really be considered to be a coincidence that in the beginning of the 17th³ century good old master Houfnaglius had several times put ornamented vessels on his copper-plates illustrating the Danube.

Unfortunately, the peace treaty of Paris putting an end to the Crimean war did not contain clauses concerning the Danube, thus did not bring lasting relief to this area, even though at those times a smaller cult praising the Danube was also emerging. Just think about making Vaskapu pass (Iron Gate) possible to be crossed by ships, the Blue-Danube waltz, »picturesque voyages« authenticated by water-colour paintings or about belles-lettres pieces capturing the River. By that time the power interests of the empire were overtaken by those of nation states, keeping, unfortunately, its conflict-oriented ways of acting in political matters. At those and later times, the birth of all the suggestion-drafts on solving the situation of the peoples living along the Danube in a peace-oriented way was in vain, it is well known that the »realists of power« were thinking in a quite different way.



1 Such post-war feelings are reported by the »Moidle-Schiff«, the story of the »ship of maidens«. Charles Alexander, prince of Württemberg, is said to have sent hundred and fifty girls from Suabia and the Bavarian region to Banat after the peace of Požarevac in 1719, in order to marry the colonists (non-commissioned officers who stayed in the area) living there. (Magris: 1992: 68. p.).

2 Petz: 1902/1: 996. p.

3 For the descriptions and photos of copper-plates illustrating Hungarian towns/castle of Georg (Jaris) Hoefnagel, Houfnaglius in Latin, see e.g.: Közponi Antikvárium (Main Antiquarium): 2002: 38-45.p. for the battles of the Hungarian fleets of the Danube against the Turkish see: e.g.: Szentkláray: 1885: 51-293. p. About the times after the 1428 Galambóc battle, Szentkláray established that since then the Hungarian fleet »is a constant comrade and a faithful follower of our arms operating on the Lower-Danube, whenever the condition of the river lets it« (Szentkláray: 1885: 51. p.)

The illusions that were raised around the time of the First World War were mere phantasms and numerous crucial points of the peace treaties of Versailles – using an expression borrowed from Bibó – all turned out to be »hatchet-raising«⁴. The period between the two World Wars was not sufficient enough to significantly reduce the differences in the structural features rooted in the historical past, the differing regional courses of improvement and the levels of development either, it was not able to bring the peoples of the Danube area closer, and on top of all, soon the waves of the Danube were not carrying trading goods referring to a period of peace, but the corpses of men who were shot and tossed into the river.

The noble, but quite short moments of the peace treaties putting an end to the big wars produce illusions on an assembly line. Things were no different at the time of the Second World War either. Scarce few years had passed after another peace treaty and the nations along the Danube had again found themselves in such power blocks which were mortal enemies of one another. The absurdity of this situation concerning everyday life can be well illustrated by the fact that for some of the inhabitants of countries along the Danube had better chances of seeing the Great Wall of China, and getting amazed by Korean palaces, or for instance drinking koumyss in the Mongolian steppe, then listening to a Mozart opera in Vienna after a fascinating journey...

The hopes of peacefully approaching and getting to know (again) one another were reawakened for a short period of time by the remission and by the fall of communist regimes. Perhaps these were the hopes Claudio Magris⁵ from Trieste – (also) known for struggling to recall/revive the Habsburg-myth – wished to give voice to, when in 1986 he got his educational history book dealing with the Danube published which got translated into Hungarian as well.

But the hope for peace quickly vanished again, so much that the only longer war after the Second World War was fought in this region.

In my lecture I wish to talk about a book which was published in that very short period after the Second World War which was spent in peace. To be even more specific we are dealing with a *three-volume* book which was published in 1946 in Budapest titled »A Dunatáj« (The Danube Area). Its publishers were planning the publishing of further volumes too – we even have information about the planned content of the fourth volume –, but most of the works – most probably due to the well-known historical reasons– did not get published. These volumes contain the research work of the Kisebbségvédelmi Intézet (Institute for the Protection of Minorities) operating with the Statistics Department of Pázmány Péter University



4 See Bibó: 1986/2: 440-445. p.

5 See Magris: 1988.

(Kovacsics: 2006: 3-4.p.). The *editor* of the book is *Elemér Radisics* diplomat and publicist⁶, while other excellent scholarly men and experienced diplomats also participated in this lengthily study. One among the first ones to mention is for instance *Gábor Kemény G.* the outstanding expert of the nationality issue and *László Gáldi*, the excellent scholar of Slavic languages and cultures. The exhausting work of data collection and summarization was controlled by the teacher of the above mentioned Institute for the Protection of Minorities, *Dezső Elekes*. Studies concerning geographical politics were carried out by no less an expert than the editor of the Central-European Atlas, Professor *András Rónai*, thus elevating the level of its quality.

The thematic richness of the volumes deserves to be considered impressive even when regarding that the opus became a torso. Although the subtitle of the volumes promises to provide information »only« on history, economy and geography, this kind of defining the topic can certainly be interpreted on a wide scale. The *first volume* deals with the geographical characteristics, population, diseases and causes of mortality, linguistic and literature-history peculiarities, with the history and the statistics of the Hungarian nationality issue, the formation of political parties, with agriculture and plant breeding, forestry, livestock farming, mining and metallurgy, energy production, industry and industry organization, as well as with home-management.

The content of the *second volume* however is not that diverse at all, but of course it can still be considered to cover a wide range. It is in this volume where the authors are dealing with the issues of countries of the Danube area such as credit cases, the finance and foreign trade, the issues of insurance, the details of cooperative life, the problem of traffic and tourism, and the history of press in some countries. The *third volume* basically deals with the history of certain states in a kind of parallel historical chronology.



⁶ Elemér Radisics's (1894-1972) father was Jenő Radisics (Radisich) art historian, the manager of the Museum of Applied Arts. Elemér Radisics learnt law in Paris and got his doctorate in Budapest. He worked as a solicitor at the Ministry of Finance as well as the employee of the Budapesti Hírlap (Budapest Newspaper). He was connected to foreign policy on several levels: he was a member of the Magyar Külügyi Társaság (Hungarian Foreign Affairs Association), the managing editor of the journal titled »Magyar Külpolitika« (Hungarian Foreign Policy), chairman of the Interparliamentary Union and messenger between the Hungarian government and the League of Nations. After his arrival back home in 1943 he got reactivated as a council at the Foreign Ministry, then between 1945 and 1947 he was working at the Historical Archives department of the Foreign Ministry. In 1951 he had been unlawfully relocated to the countryside, and in the summer of 1956 he emigrated to Switzerland where he worked as a librarian at the Nestlé factory. He received a League of Nations pension. He died in Mont Pélerin, Switzerland in 1972. An author of several books. His other work dealing with nationalities titled »A Népszövetség utolsó órái. A nemzetiségi kérdés fejlődése Magyarországon« (The Last Hours of the League of Nations. The development of the nationality issue in Hungary) got published in 1941. (MÉL: 1981: 653. p.).

The general idea of the work is that the authors should simply focus on representing mere facts only, and true indeed, since various figures, so many graphs and diagrams, and nearly thousand pages of chronology provide basis of this purpose. Nevertheless, it is not epistemological hair-splitting that makes us state that the work has at least another, much narrower layer as well. This layer sums up the basic points of the forewords to certain volumes and the interpretations relating certain thematic chapters, as well as thematizing, from which we can deduce the intention of the authors, but mainly to that of the editor, the reasons of the timeliness of each of the topics.

If we focus on this latter part then we can instantly take a look at the preface of the first volume. This is the part where Elemér Radisics talks about the basic intention that permeated the whole undertaking. After the Second World War nations of the Danube were hoping to have »an honest cooperation«, and friendship even, (Radisics: 1946/1:III. p.) and first of all in order to achieve this the peoples of the Danube area had to get familiar with the history and the present of one another in a matter-of-fact way⁷. Radisics established, based on his diplomatic experiences in Geneva, it was Hungarians how knew much less about the lives of neighbouring countries, and not the other way around (Same)⁸. Thus it is not surprising that the Editor – at least in its Hungarian version – recommended the work as a novelty⁹. As it has been shown above we can clearly see that Radisics did not deal with the deeper reasons of these shortages, and neither therefore with the events of recent times, that is the events of the Second World War concerning the topic. Those readers who are unfamiliar with the historical past might even get the impression that the reason for these shortcomings is a matter of cognitive causes.

Obviously this rather strange solution of not even mentioning Germany (!) among the countries of the Danube area, but mentioning Poland as one of the countries of the Danube several times is not due to the shortcomings of the authors and the editor! We should bear it in mind that this unusual reordering of the above mentioned countries of the area was not caused by a kind of geographic



7 »In the field of politics, as in any other aspect, the primal condition of a true friendship, an honest cooperation is: mutually getting to know the other. Thus, this work, for the same reason, was mainly written for those who wish to deal with the Foreign Policy issues concerning the neighbouring nations, with the wish of friendly approach, with better knowledge than before, aided by an objective knowledge« (Radisics: 1946/1: III. p.).

8 »... no matter how many Czechoslovakian, Romanian or Yugoslavian diplomats, politicians or journalists I have met within ten years, they all knew the issues of Hungarian life better – may it be concerning the past or the present – than usually we, Hungarians know theirs« (Radisics: 1946/1: III. p.)

9 »Since we are dealing with a work that is ground-breaking in many aspects, we ask for an apology in advance for the disproportions, disharmonies, moreover for the shortages that appear several times in some sections. May it be our excuse that the data generations forgot to gather could not have been filled in a few months' time, not even with the most enthusiastic work« (Radisics: 1946/1: II. p.).

ignorance but by the political events of the recent times. The – more or less logical – consequence of this *creative reordering* also turned out to be that the category of »the Danube area« – just like as a sort of synonym – got altered by the notion of the »Carpathian basin« several times.

The fact of a drastic change in foreign policy orientation after the Second World War is noted by a short hint. Concerning this Radisics truly thinks it is a pity that in the past Hungarian scientific reasoning turned towards the West and Byzantium (!), and was being interested more in the political, economic and cultural influences coming from those sources, and »it was only secondarily taking into consideration those effects and influences that are rooted in are national being and are just as important, which are the cradle of human culture itself, coming from the East. The solution for this shortage is also a task to be carried out in the future...« (Radisics: 1946/1: II. p.).

Of course it was far from being easy right after the conflicts of the Second World War to find such a *meta-narrative* that would have been acceptable for all the countries that were not only against each other but even invaded one another as well. Still we cannot expect to think that this meta-narrative can emerge in one of the subchapters – entitled »Common Power- and Credit-political Hardships« - of the chapter dealing with the credit cases of the countries located in the Danube area.

Out of this we get to know that there were three international catastrophes in the twentieth century, all of which were common catastrophes to all the Central- and South-Eastern countries of Europe, regardless of what federation scheme and what conflicts against one another the governments of these states participated in. But it is not only the »victimized history« which is common, but the »victimizer« as well: *the German imperialist aspirations*. Further more, the source of »redemption« is the same too, in the image of the Soviet-Russian manumission. It is worth, however, closely studying the reasoning which also defines the three catastrophes as well. »After the German hegemonic aspirations were blocked by the First World War and Austro-Hungary got divided they suffered all together – viz. the mentioned small states (L. K.) – from the consequences of the muddled withdrawal of borders and the ever growing economic isolation. The failure of a peaceful reconstruction between the two World Wars caused the crisis of international credit relations and that of foreign trade extremely intensively. Eventually, at the time of the world conflict of the forties they suffered together from the methods of German imperialism, they had to abide exploitation together, their lives and possessions were collectively destroyed by the German attack and they all were the theatre of operations and medium at the time of the Soviet-Russian liberating campaign sweeping away the German attack« (Radisics: Danube Area: 1946/2: 1 p.).

From the following it will also turn out how hard the fusion of international politics and international credit politics struck the *small states of the area*. Given that it can be established that all the mentioned states became *debtor* states, even though the structure of their debts differed (Same). »The great powers wanting balance within Europe« were trying to achieve firm stability within the area in vain, the Great Depression – more specifically the phenomenon of international credit deflation coming into being – strongly contributed to a shift in the balance of power. Due to the German hegemonic aspirations emerging parallel to this, the restriction of the sovereignty of the above mentioned small states took place¹⁰, which – according to the author – influenced the credit politics of the Western powers as well. Credit given by the West vanished totally and parallel with this the debtors restricted the interest service. As a further negative result »the German imperialism« even managed to force credit out of these debtor states of restricted sovereignty via clearings (Radisics: 1946/2: 2. p.).

The result of the above described economic process was an equilibration with a negative overtone in the economy of the previously mentioned countries. Namely prior to the First World War the above mentioned »common power- and credit-political hardships« did not exist at all, moreover the Balkan states (Romania, Serbia and Romania) can be considered as being those which were specifically deprived from their privileges, since due to their undeveloped economy they could only get expensive credits within very narrow limit of circumstances. After the First World War, however, these inequalities reduced more and more, when eventually during wartime the »politics of great powers« forced these countries to act against »their truest interest« in the field of credit politics. As for the equilibration process, it had a negative overtone because it »...did not increase in the name of economic development but on the contrary, it decreased compared to the level of Central-European countries in the time of peace, taking place on a lower level (Radisics: 1946/2:2. p.).

There had been *striking differences* concerning economic structure also before the Second World War. These differences are aimed to be grasped in a concentrated way by a well known typology, according to which in Austrian and Czech economy it is the industrial trait, in Hungary it is the agrarian-industrial trait, while in Balkan states it is the agrarian trait that is the most dominant. This observation is confirmed by the distribution of people of a given country according to their branches of activity. The authors took the ratio of the native grower population related to the total population as the main indicator. The



¹⁰ At this point there seems to emerge an interesting comparison with István Bibó's totally different analysis dealing with the history of Eastern-European small states between the two World Wars. (Bibó: 1986/2: 187-265. p.)

methodological reason why the total population was taken as a benchmark is because according to them a statistics which also takes the number of dependants into consideration reflects the population-maintaining ability of certain activity layers »more thoroughly and more precisely« (Radisics: 1946/1: 50. p.). This approach mostly gained its sense for its *native grower population* category, viz. the number of helping family members in the agriculture which »employs« them is very high (Same). Disturbance is caused exactly by the fact that the censuses in most countries do not count them unanimously to the category of providers. Thus in these countries the ratio of people belonging to the native growers could be even much higher.

As for data concerning specific countries, those mainly deal with the same period of time, the first half of the 1930s, except for Hungary, in the case of which, data concerning the period of the growth of the country were also recorded. According to which this ratio in *Austria* is a little bit more than one fourth of the country (27.2%), *Czechoslovakia* it is just slightly more than one third (34.7%), in *Hungary* it is a little bit more than the half (51.8%)¹¹, while in *Romania* and *Bulgaria* it is a bit under tree fourth (the former is 72.3%, while the latter is 73.2%), and in the case of *Yugoslavia* this ratio is a bit more than three fourth (76.6%). (The research also gives data concerning *Albania*: according to which the ratio of native growers is 86%, although the author placed a tiny question mark to the reliability of the data (Radisics: 1946/1: 50. p.). Also in the light of the above data the author labels the Danube area as a *transient region* between the East and the West.

After the First World War the countries of the region tried to improve their economic efficiency with adopting those methods of the twentieth century as well which can be considered as being internationally successful. Reception – independent from the level of economic development – did happen in the countries of the area. The modern factory organization methods were labelled as »rationalization« by the author, which he separated into three trends. The trend of »scientific management« rooted from the United States of America, or its »personified« variant, taylorism that is, the trend that came round in France and Italy, which he calls the »scientific organization of labour«, and rationalization that is indigenous in Germany. (Upon hearing the former we might associate to the name of Henry Fayol, while hearing the latter to the name of Max Weber).

Each of the countries of the area introduced a *different model*. The French trend got introduced in the states which were formed after the First World War, that is in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, in addition in Romania and Bulgaria.



11 This ratio has somewhat increased further after the area growth of Hungary (55,7 %).

The German idea got introduced in Austria, while in Hungary a »mixture« of the Anglo-Saxon and the German system spread.

Rationalization happened within institutional framework, that is, a different institution was established in each country for the preparation and the operation of rationalization. It is interesting to note that all these institutions evolved via a sort of »rationalization wave«, since their establishment can be dated around *the second half* of the 1920s. Thus it must be emphasised that the establishment of these institutions did not spread as a consequence of the Great Depression. When dealing with the efforts aiming to rationalize administration, the book mentions Romania and Hungary only, in the case of the other countries rationalization efforts happened mainly in the field of economy¹².

Germans do not only appear in the role of a scapegoat, they were also discriminated by means of being neglected. After all, in one of the culture-historic narratives the author enlists all those ethnicities who have been sitting around the table of the Carpathian basin – Austrians, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Romanians, South-Slavic people – but the Germans living here did not get a place at this crowded table.¹³

Since the topic in focus is the Danube area the discussion of the *ethnic issues* is unavoidable. If we are interested in the ethnic relations of the area as a whole we are to find out that the *statistics made between the two World Wars concerning nationalities* were not based on a unified set of criteria. There were some countries in the case of which just spoken language, and some where only nationality or both were put into focus during the censuses that were held around 1930. Austria and Czechoslovakia were interested in the mother tongue, while Romania as well as Yugoslavia and Bulgaria wanted to know about nationalities too. (Hungary switched from mother tongue statistics to »the practice of focusing on both issues« in 1941 (Radisics: 1946/1: 321. p.)

The picture gained from the data gathered via a methodology such as this is the following. Among all the peoples of the Danube area the *Romanians* were present in the highest number, with a population of 14 million altogether, we were the next



12 From the Hungarian proportions we can conclude that the author meant the trend of Zoltán Magyary.

13 Although »for thousand years Austrians, Czechs, Slovaks, Polish, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Romanians, South-Slavic people have been sitting around the round table of the Carpathian basin, but instead of making efforts to explore their own common issues, they only focus on the development which takes place beyond their own lands« (Radisics: 1946/1: 115. p.). Still – continues the thought – the only way to truly appreciate the »taste and idea trends« of one another that are rooted from different developments, is to be really familiar with the inner characteristics of the multi-faceted yet the same Danube area« (Same.) The results of culture-historical comparativism focusing on the Danube area can still said to be truly quite meagre, basically only one or two products of the period between the two World Wars are known. As for continuing the work, even the goal is given: »explore the creative spirit of certain Danube area peoples from time to time« (Same.)

ones to come in the line, *Hungarians*, whose population in the Danube valley was 12.7 million. Significantly lagging behind, the *Czechs* were at the third place, having a population of 7.5 million. They are to be closely followed by the *Serbians* with a number of 7 million people altogether. Exactly half of the population of the Serbians, 3.5 million was constituted by the *Croatians*, while the number of *Slovakians* was 2.6 million. According to the statistics the line was closed by the *Slovenians* with their 1.3 million people. It is extremely important to emphasize that these figures are valid concerning the population »of the Danube area« only.

Hungarian nationality regarding its development in numbers was not represented only by a »Danube area« or a »Carpathian basin« perspective by the authors. A detailed chart gives information on *the ratio of the number of Hungarians all across the globe*. The figures are from around 1930, thus they do not yet contain the increase in population that followed the territorial revision. Out of all the data dealing with the number of Hungarians living in the former states of the monarchy, the official figures provide us with information in the case of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania (*See the chart on the following page*).

The ratio of Hungarians with a total number of 11.530.497 people is the following, regarding the Hungarian population the rate of which is of the order of ten thousand.

In the indicated period 8.001.112 Hungarian people were living in *Hungary*, thus almost the tree fourth of all the Hungarians. 1.554.525 were living in *Romania*, thus one sixth of all the Hungarians. 582.451 were living in *Czechoslovakia*, meaning 5 % of the total number of Hungarians, as for *Yugoslavia* slightly more than 4 % (467.658 people). The number of Hungarians living in the Carpathian-Ukraine is 109.472, and they further added the number of Hungarians living in other regions of the Soviet Union – even in *Asia* –, thus the total number of Hungarians living there increased to 129.472. It might be surprising that the next one to come in line is not the neighbouring *Austria* with its 35.000 Hungarian people but *France*, where slightly more than 40.000 Hungarians were living. It is quite an interesting figure for example that in *Sweden*, playing an important role from the aspect of emigration in the period after the Second World War, 90 Hungarians were living, while in the area of the small island of *Malta* there were 32, moreover, 179 Hungarians were living in *Luxembourg*, that is almost twice as many as in *Sweden*. Here we must note that at that time »emigrational fashion« had not yet struck down upon *Scandinavia*, since the total number of Hungarians living in *Finland*, *Sweden*, *Norway* and *Denmark* altogether was less than four hundred, while just in *Spain*, for instance, it was 700. if we add up all the Hungarians living in *Europe* we get a total of 10.845.567, while the number of those living outside the Continent is 684.930 if we consider the whole Soviet Union and whole *Turkey* as being European countries.

The number of Hungarians living around the world in around 1930					
Country	The number of Hungarians	Country	The number of Hungarians	Country	The number of Hungarians..
Hungary	8,001.112	Great Britain and Ireland	2.000	South-Africa	150
Austria	35.000	the Low Countries	2.826	Egypt	1.000
Belgium	6.000	Germany	8.416	North-Africa	1.900
Bulgaria	3.000	Norway	49	The United States of America	580.000
Czechoslovakia 1)	582.451	Italy	7.000	Argentina	10.000
Denmark	130	Romania 3)	1,554.525	Brazil	33.000
Danzig	212	Spain	700	Canada	50.000
Estonia	14	Switzerland	1.427	Cuba	4.000
Finland	45	Sweden	90	Mexico	550
France	40.000	the rest of Europe	49	Uruguay	3.000
Greece	239			the rest of America	3.00
Yugoslavia 2)	467.658	Soviet-Russia (Asia too 4)	129.472	Australia	325
Poland	1.000	Turkey	1.830		
Latvia	61	Japan	23		
Luxembourg	179	the rest of Asia	732		
Malta	32				
				Total:	11,530.497

Note:

1) Czechoslovakian official data 3) Romanian official data

2) Yugoslavian official data 4) together with the Hungarians living in Carpathian-Ukraine

Out of this the population of pre-Trianon Hungary is around 10.750.128 people, out of which altogether 2.749.016 people were living in the detached territories.

When looking at the Hungarian population living outside Europe, the USA is outstanding by far, where, due to emigrations of different periods, about 580.000 people were living. With this sum, by the way, the USA would have topped

Yugoslavia. Only the American continent was able to produce a Hungarian population with the order of ten thousand. And again, it is North-America which topped all, since at that time 50.000 Hungarians were living in Canada while 33.000 in Brazil and 10.000 in Argentina. It is worth noting that on the fifth continent, Australia, only 325 Hungarians had been living at that time

- this figure for example is not even as many as one third of the number of Hungarian people living in the Egypt of those days -, meaning Australia likewise became a significant target for Hungarian emigration after the Second World War. We also get to find out that very few Hungarians were living on the Asian continent, since the number of Hungarians living there did not even reach 800 - if we do not add the ones who were living in the Asian parts of the Soviet Union. The number of Hungarians living on the African continent was higher, 3.050 people altogether. We can immediately add the fact, however, that this number is way less, for example, than the 4.000 Hungarians, who were living in Cuba (Radisics: 1946/1: 467. p.).

Obviously a lot more interesting data, connections could be gained from the volumes which are more than one thousand and five hundred pages long altogether. It is worth mentioning the comparative discussions on the history of journalism that were published here for the first time, or even the realization of the importance of tourism which did not only take place on a verbal level.

However it is not unremarkable either to take a look at what else was planned to be thematically covered but did not get published still. Since we feel it symptomatic that it was exactly the publication of that fourth volume, which got swept away by the dark forces that were to follow the period after the Second World War, which would have dealt with the plans of the cooperation of the peoples living along the Danube...

What else could I finish up my lecture with than a river image? *István Hajnal*, the famous Hungarian historian and socio-historian, has a theory about the relation between »life« and »shapes«. Hajnal demonstrates this conception via the example of the river and the channels, reefs, islands etc. which were formed by the bits of flotsam that were laid down by the river itself. Although these formations were made by the river, after getting solid, they themselves determine the path of the river (Lakatos: 2001: 30. p.).

Even though we cannot really hope that the stream of life will wash away the developmental differences formed by history and will make all the countries located along the Danube equally interesting, perhaps we can still hope that soon enough the wild undulation of the Danube will be transformed by the islands of *Pax Danubiana*.

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