

HISTORICAL AND TODAY'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF REGIONALISM IN HUNGARY

JÓZSEF TÓTH

CONCEPTUAL QUESTIONS

Dealing with the questions of regionalism one cannot avoid the conceptual definition of region; only based on this can regionalism be defined. This is the only possible way even if regionalism is examined in general terms, or in a concrete correlation system. 'Region' must be defined first also knowing that this complex, multifold concept can be given a lot of definitions more or less equally valuable in their content and drawn from different approaches. One of these numerous definitions is offered by the author.

According to this latter interpretation, a region is an area in which, as a consequence of the similarities of natural endowment and historical development, settlements reveal similar socio-economic structures. And because of this, the problems of development and growth and the future are the same. Subsequently, when society is normally fulfilling its organizing-developing-operating functions it relies on the region in a useful manner, since it builds on an already formed, existing unit, through which activities are, on the one hand, cheaper, and, on the other hand, significantly more effective. However, the exploitation of these advantageous possibilities is hindered by many factors.

Because a region in the above described sense is a product of the development of productive forces and the development of the division of labour, forming over a long period of time and interpreted by different measures, locally it only very rarely corresponds to the independently and faster changing territories of international sovereign states, especially in terms of military power-relations. Between these two types of socio-economic structures of different origin, nowadays detached more than necessary, there are three possible kinds of relationship:

- (1) in a larger regional territory several sovereign states are formed;
- (2) the territory of a larger sovereign state joins several regions;
- (3) the sizes of the two units are similar but their borders do not meet.

Taking into consideration that regions can also be interpreted on more than one hierarchical level, and that under the level of state territories (administrative division) and above (international integrations) there are territorial formations with organizing-operating-developing functions, the two systems on each level can only be connected through con-

flicts. It is to be noted that power-systems shaped by a centralized model usually do not build—they cannot because they want to keep their power monopoly—on the regions in their organizing-operating-developing decisions, thus they lose all the advantages which come from decisions built on organic development, and, as a consequence, they are also less effective. On an international level isolation, the obsessive attachment to territories obtained, lack of trust and unequal relations can have similar consequences. Opposed to this, stands a more and more real alternative of an international integration consisting of states with democratic inner structures, in which regional relations exist in a natural way and the advantages of the existence of regions can come along undisturbed, can assert themselves.

It is natural that regionalism including the complicated concept of region cannot be easily defined, either. According to the author's interpretation it means an approach, a conceptual system acknowledging the importance of the existence of regions (and their different levels), which is aware of the importance of their roles and proves them, mobilises them for the exploitation of their possibilities. So it is not a disciplinary type of science but an initiative emphasizing the significance of the characteristics (similarities and diversities) of a region (a territory), and considering it equally significant as the shaping of a state territory, the formation of its division or as the actual formation of international co-operations and integrations. Obviously, it is characterized by a multi-disciplinary approach and its interpretation is broader than that of the so-called regional science.

However, the importance of regionalism increases with the development of productive forces in general but at times of historical turning-points, like the present ones in Hungary and in Eastern Europe, it especially grows. The inner reconstruction of the countries involved, the reformation of their relations with each other, in broader terms; gives a better chance than ever to realize the conceptual system of regionalism in a more complete way. To be able to achieve this we have to get rid of the distrust between our countries, and we have to support the integrational processes similar to those in the Western part of Europe. This is a precondition of a somewhat homogeneous development of Europe and thus of the well-being of its countries. Hungary has always been part of Europe despite the awkward demagogue slogan adopted by Western press and also used by the majority of turbulent political forces in our country. We do not want to "return" to Europe; we want to bring down the artificial wall built between the two parts of Europe—for which we are not to blame—to be able to create a homogeneous Europe.

This short review summarizes the opinion of a researcher who is both a Hungarian and a geographer, and thus committed to regionalism for these two reasons. Since the summary deals with the Hungarian aspect, it cannot be complete because naturally it deals with the viewpoints of a geographer, and it cannot include a detailed exposition and argumentation because it is beyond the limits of this research. Several figures will be added to complete the approach presented below.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF REGIONALISM IN HUNGARY

Because of the concept of region, regionalism can only be examined correctly in a

historical perspective. In Hungary this must be done by division into three periods each having different characteristics.

Until the end of World War I

Now disregarding the earlier periods and considering only the fifty years preceding World War I, it can be stated that since the Compromise of 1867, Hungary, which was at that time integrated to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, has reacted to the questions of regionalism in a rather contradictory way. On the one hand, it acted, being a sovereign unit spread out over the total territory of the Carpathian Basin, as a member state of a bigger monarchy, as a country with the strongest presented interests and one that had established legal bases for its relations with Croatia (*Figure 1*); it considered each and every regional process related to the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and especially to the Carpathian Basin as natural. The only disturbing factors were the centralizational efforts within the country, trying to reinforce the role of the city of Budapest as opposed to Vienna. But their importance, however, seemed to be fading for a time.

Figure 1
The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy



1 — national border; 2 — the borderline of Hungary

On the other hand, the situation was different for the regional relations concerning the borders of the Empire as well, the Central and East-Central European relations, since the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy did not "cover" the total continental region of East-Central Europe with its uncertain borders. (Figure 2) In these directions (Galícia-Poland, South Tirol-Italy, and related to Hungary: Transylvania-Romania, Southern Parts-Serbia) the state power, first of all for reasons related to the policy towards the nationalities, was trying to prevent the strengthening of regional relations.

Naturally, the result was to be ambiguous as well. On the one hand, in spite of everything, the processes inducing regional connections strengthened, and, on the other hand, efforts towards uniformity left traces on certain territories later becoming parts of other sovereign units, and these can still be felt. (The case of Poland unified after several divi-

Figure 2
The borders of the East-Central European region by different interpretations

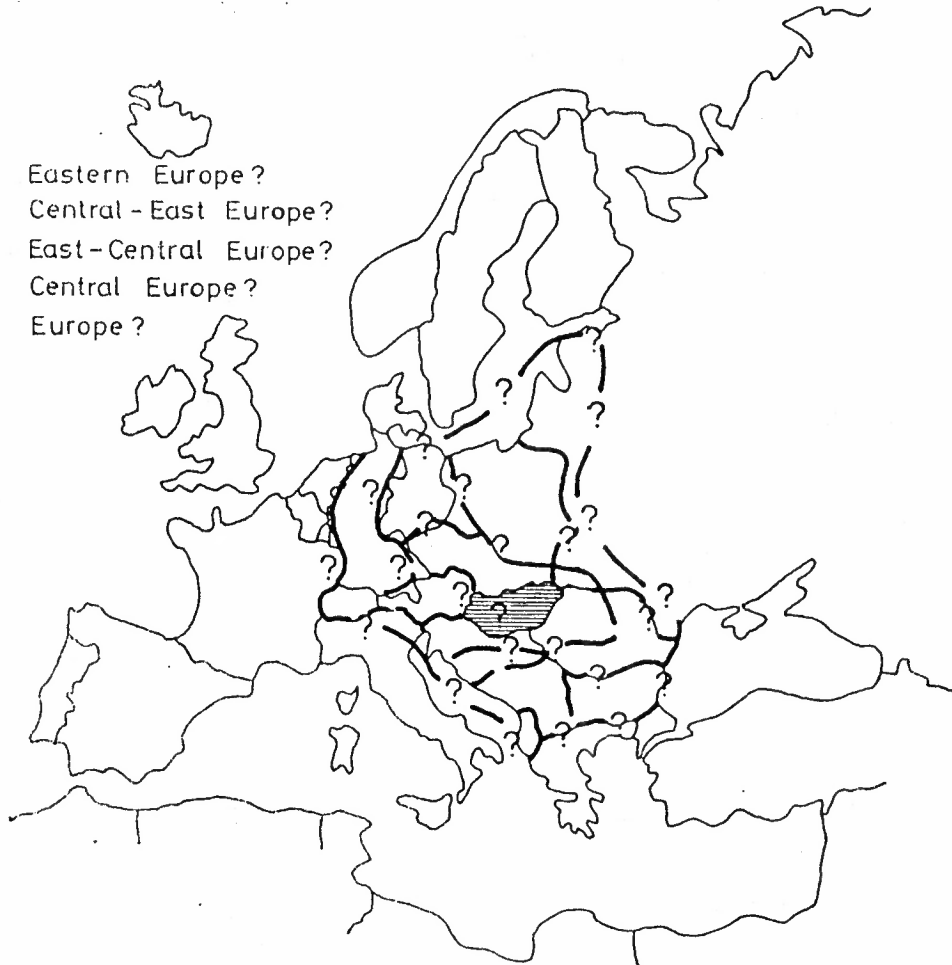


Figure 3
Regional centres in Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century



sions could be a good example: certain regions still preserve significant characteristics due to their past national status during this period.)

However, Hungary in this half a century of rapid capitalization was developing towards unification (industrialization, unified market, railway network, civilian administration, a capital on the way of becoming a metropolis and getting undoubtedly to the top of the settlement hierarchy system etc.) but, at the same time, tendencies towards regional development were present and getting stronger. The emergence and institutionalization of certain regional functions (higher educational, administrative, legal, ecclesiastical, financial, cultural, commercial etc.) launched a regional-centre type development in cities like Pozsony, Kassa, Kolozsvár, Nagyszében, Brassó, Temesvár, Arad, Debrecen, Nagyvárada, Pécs, Szeged, Újvidék and, of course, Záhgráb. Some of these relatively completely, others partially (in a functional division with other centres) fulfilled regional activities. (BELUSZKY, P. 1990) But, on the whole, they were weak as opposed to the capital. The regions in those days were only forming in Hungary, so their centres can only be considered as regional "centre-initiatives".

The edicts of the Trianon Peace Treaty reached the country in this initial phase of regional development. Moreover, according to the treaty, the majority of Hungary's forming regional centres were placed behind the new borders. (Figure 3)

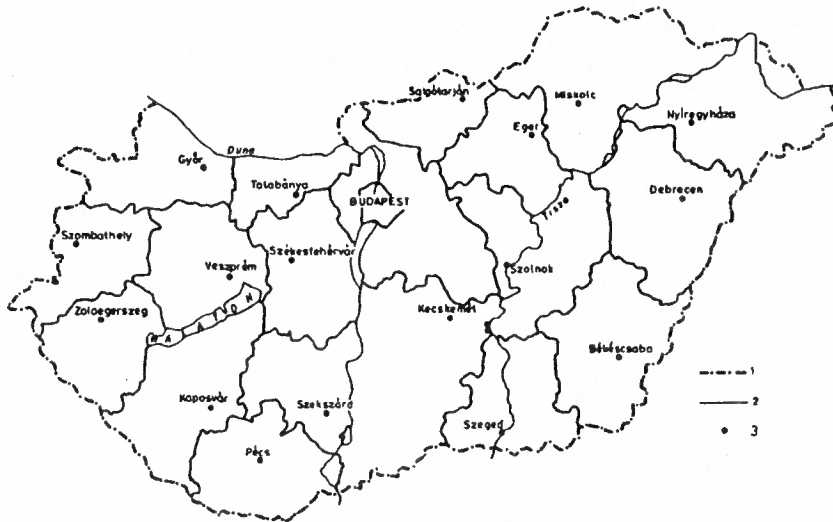
Between the two world wars

Regarding regional development, the quarter of a century between the two world wars was undoubtedly disadvantageous. The new borders cut thousand-year old unities into two, and the predominance of Budapest in the country reduced to one third of its original territory, was becoming overwhelming, while centralization was becoming stronger and stronger for several reasons. However, with the university of Kolozsvár moved to Szeged and the one in Pozsony to Pécs, and with the transfer of other functions, the fields of activities of larger cities remaining inside the country were increased but this could hardly compensate for the loss of their hinterlands. In the Carpathian Basin, which suddenly became international, regional development was also blocked by the fact that both the defeated Hungary and the liberated Successor States were wriggling in the spasms of hate and fear, co-operation was becoming impossible, and series of absurd situations were emerging around the border areas. The leading slogan of Hungarian politics was revenge, and the Successor States, in accordance with the French superpower, the interests of which prevailed in this area until a historical moment, formed the Little Entente which was surrounding and isolating Hungary. As a consequence, the only possibility of regional co-operation remained was towards Austria. As to regionalism, prior to or during the war there was no modification in this situation; the short-lived borderline changes mostly stayed within the confines of national frontiers.

After World War II

In what evolved after World War II, there were some elements which seemed to be leading towards regional co-operation and towards the advance of regionalism in general (for example the Romanian-Hungarian rapprochement under the prime ministry of Petru Groza, the federalism in Yugoslavia, the conquering ideology the phraseology of which later became emptier and emptier, the fetishism of the economic zone theory regarding inner territorial division etc.) but all of these could not exert their effects at the same time, and neither could they prevail for a longer period of time. They were suppressed by strong and, from the point of view of regionalism, disadvantageous elements which characterized the very nature of the forming power of state and alliance system, like centralization, favouritism in relations with the Soviet Union at the expense of contacts with each other. Motivational factors were also such elements—which can be seen as accidental but which are characteristic —, such as the deportation of the Hungarian population from Czechoslovakia under the disguise of a population-exchange, the deportation of the Germans from the whole area, the referendum in Ruthenia whose scale can still today be considered amazing, and, as a consequence, the appearance of the Soviet Union in the Carpathian Basin, the deterioration of the relations with Yugoslavia, following the Cold War the creation of the “Iron Curtain”, the Hungarian-Austrian relations becoming impossible, border areas finding themselves in a disadvantageous position, military occupation, the distrust and mystification approaching the limits of absurdity, but the former ones were the more determining factors.

Figure 4
The counties of Hungary



1 — national border; 2 — county border; 3 — county centre

The effect of centralization was realized in the fact that each and every important decision was made in the capital. Thus in the common affairs of projects located on two sides of the border, at the end of lengthy and in most cases hopelessly bureaucratic processes, positions were taken up by people who knew nothing about local conditions. Thus mutual interdependence or identical interests could not prevail, integrational zones foreseeable earlier and territorially fixed in principle, could not be formed. (ENYEDI, GY. 1978) Similar consequences arose from the efforts of the Soviet Union to promote bilateral relations to attach the 'satellite states' to itself by means of political and economic pressure, spotting a threat in any effort of these countries to strengthen their relations among themselves. This is how a structure was formed within the COMECON which was sharply different from the EEC. It was unquestionably advantageous for the Soviet Union, leaving the other member countries, possessing much less economic potential and unilaterally allied, at its mercy.

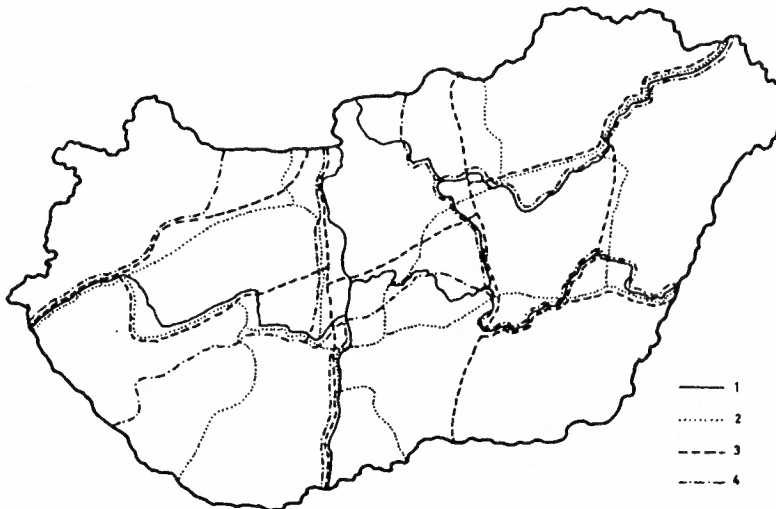
So, on a macro level, during this period of time Eastern Europe was created, isolated from Western Europe by the "Iron Curtain" (even forgetting de Gaulle's call according to which Europe lies between the Atlantic and the Ural), Western Europe was spoken of as Europe, and Eastern Europe was tied to the Soviet Union between whose satellite countries, contrary to principles declared, regional relations were not strengthened actually. The centralized model did not have a good effect on inner regional development either. In spite of the fact that large-scale industrialization, extensive agriculture produced real changes in the localization of productive forces, and the inner configurational consequences of the changed international orientation had effects in the same direction, in Hungary, as opposed to the capital, regional development did not strengthen. It is an interesting and

apparent contradiction that, besides the central power apparatus concentrated in the capital, the counties reorganized" in 1950 became the principal guarantee of centralization. (Figure 4) Since we were talking about territorial units created from above in the centralized model, placed there by the central apparatus and playing a secondary role in redistribution, they had nothing to do with the forming of regions, or even an intermediary form of self-government. As important stabilizing elements of the power structure, they could always prevent the introduction of the otherwise ideologically accepted and supported economic sphere system, and the adjustment of the administrative-territorial system to it.

Though among the great number of rayon-projects (Figure 5) there were some supported by the authorities, they were professionally sound, and their elements can still be accepted today. (KRAJKÓ, GY. et al. 1969)

The rayon-projects were put forward either too early or too late, the counties with small sovereign units in the country remained in possession of their power positions, and hindered the emergence of regionalism and the growth of regional centres. Even today they are nothing more than certain county seats which have developed more than the average.

Figure 5
The major rayon-projects in Hungary



- 1 — planning economic regions by the National Plan Office;
- 2 — proposal by Károly Perczel;
- 3 — proposal by the Karl Marx University of Economics, Budapest;
- 4 — proposal by the Department of Economic Geography, József Attila University, Szeged (Gyula Krajtkó)

REGIONALISM IN HUNGARY TODAY

The situation of regionalism seems to be evolving in Hungary because of internal political changes that began quite a long time ago and accelerated in the last couple of years, and also because of the changed conditions in relations with the neighbouring countries. The evolution of the democratization process and further, the reconstruction of the power structure coming from below through democratic elections, the strengthening of the representation of local interests, the emergence of local authority as a factor, the reformation of the financial system, the decentralized model, the gradual development of the self-governmental system are all supporting regionalism. All the mistakes and omissions made, which accumulated during the operational period of the centralized power structure, exert their effect in the same direction, and so does the will to search resolutions, corrections.

The necessity of a regional attitude became obvious on the most elementary level of territorial development, among the settlements. It became generally accepted that the practically only type of relation form until now, the hierarchical order has to be supplemented by numerous elements of the horizontal relation system. In spite of the still rather strong resistance, the settlement (local) financial basis of regional development built (also) on horizontal relation systems is appearing gradually.

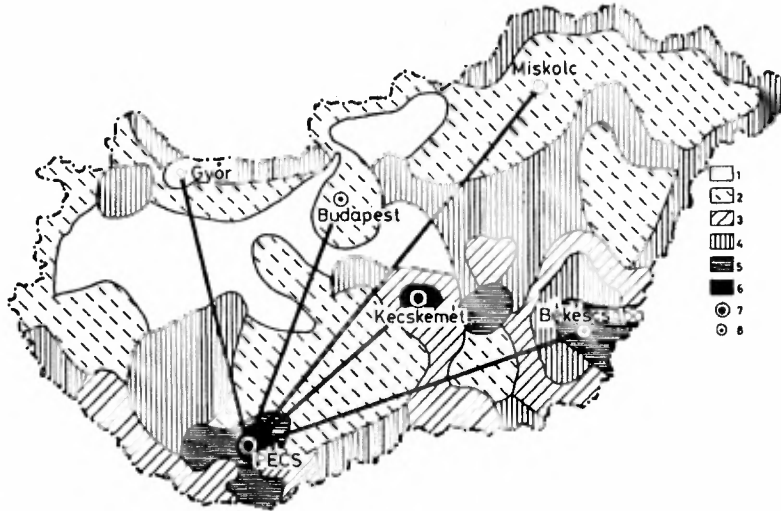
In the new situation the contradiction, which, for a long time, has been present between the units of the next level, different in their origins and functions, the counties and configurational units, emerging as a result of the development of the regional division of labour, inevitably deepens. The essence of the phenomenon is the following: while the counties consisting of heterogeneous configurational elements and having a naturally complex interest structure have institutions for the representation of their interests, these institutions are incapable of functioning in a productive way because of the counties' heterogeneous nature, and therefore regional interests merge into one another. Since the homogeneous interests of configurational units are not represented by an institutional system, they can either become averaged till they cannot be identified any more, or they fall into pieces. Briefly, the unit having an identifiable interest has not got an appropriate representation of it, while where the representation of interests is present, there is nothing to be represented. The best example of this contradiction is the Mid-Tisza region. (BELUSZKY, P. 1981) This area is in a disadvantageous situation for several reasons: it is a homogeneous configurational unit, and its territory is divided among four counties. Hence the interests of this region have never been realized beyond the sphere of scientific research. In the present situation the effort to eliminate, basically reconstruct the county system, and to substitute it for a certain kind of regional system is getting stronger, however, it is very difficult to predict whether the chances of this effort will be realized. A prediction is especially difficult in a multi-party system during the learning (re-learning) phase of the practice of democracy.

In the last few decades, following the "policy of possibilities", we gradually improved our relationship with Yugoslavia, and we were looking for the possibilities of co-operation in the border areas with our neighbours. For years we worked hard on creating an exemplary relationship with the neutral Austria, exemplary in the sense that it happened between two countries with different social systems. We strengthened our efforts to become

economically and politically independent from the Soviet Union, to create a Polish-Czechoslovakian-Hungarian block which could co-operate more intensely within the COMECON, and to intensify the Austrian-German relations. We engaged more and more in the regional actions of the Alp-Adriatic Work Team. We expressed our readiness for regional co-operation with the neighbouring states several times, we proved our openness, in relation to either the large-region and the whole of Europe, or to other parts of the world. To be open is Hungary's national interest: there cannot be a change in the world, no matter how sudden or profound, which would find Hungary unprepared to co-operate.

Figure 6

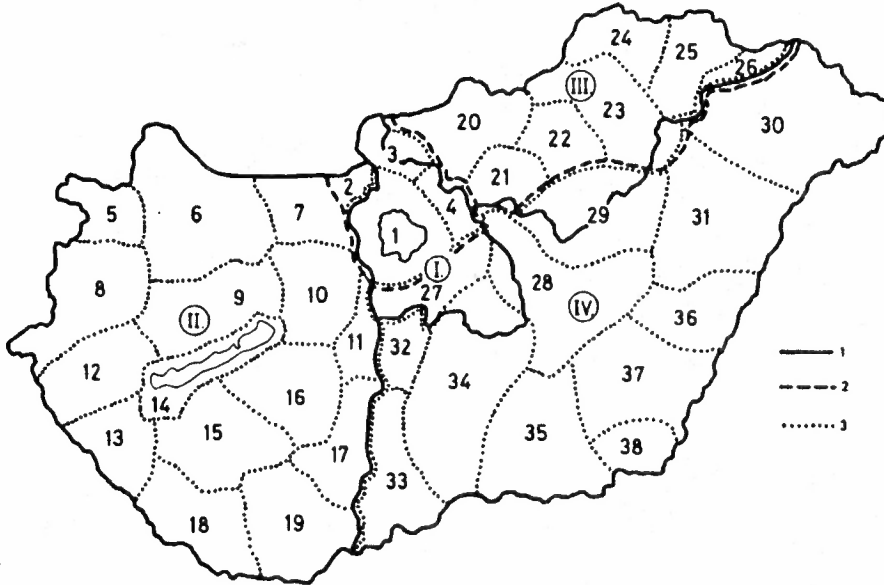
*Research units of the Centre for Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences and areas of Hungary investigated by them, 1990**



- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 — no research; | 5 — researches carried out four times; |
| 2 — research carried out once; | 6 — researches carried out five times; |
| 3 — researches carried out twice; | 7 — centre; |
| 4 — researches carried out three times; | 8 — department |

* In 1992 three new units were attached to the Institute's network of workshops: research teams in Szolnok, Debrecen and Szombathely were set up. A structural change was brought about when, within the framework of the Centre for Regional Studies, the "Alföld" Institute was founded comprising the four department throughout the Great Hungarian Plain. (Editor's note)

Figure 7
The regions and spatial units of Hungary



- 1 – boundary of region adjusted to county border;
 2 – boundary of region close to actual;
 3 – boundaries of units of spatial structure

I. Central region

- 1 – Budapest; 2 – Esztergom; 3 – Vác;
 4 – Gödöllő

II. Transdanubia

- 5 – Sopron; 6 – Győr; 7 – Tatabánya; 8 – Szombathely; 9 – Veszprém; 10 – Székesfehérvár; 11 – Dunaújváros; 12 – Zalaegerszeg; 13 – Nagy-

- kanizsa; 14 – Balaton; 15 – Kaposvár; 16 – Tamási; 17 – Szekszárd; 18 – Barcs; 19 – Pécs

III. North-Hungary

- 20 – Salgótarján; 21 – Gyöngyös; 22 – Eger;
 23 – Miskolc; 24 – Aggtelek; 25 – Tokaj; 26 – Bodrogeköz

IV. Great Plain

- 27 – Dabas; 28 – Szolnok; 29 – Tiszafüred; 30 – Nyíregyháza; 31 – Debrecen; 32 – Solt; 33 – Baja; 34 – Kecskemét; 35 – Szeged; 36 – Sárrei; 37 – Békéscsaba; 38 – South-Békés

**THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCH CENTRE FOR REGIONAL STUDIES,
 HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN EVOLVING THE THEORY
 AND PRACTICE OF REGIONALISM**

The multi-disciplinary, problem-oriented, new-type research institution, the Centre for Regional Studies was created in 1984 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Besides the centre of the institute in Pécs, there are five places of research all around the country.

These altogether cover the whole country with their activities. (*Figure 6*) The Centre for Regional Studies is the basic academical research institute of the regional type related to settlements. However, besides the fact that the researchers themselves experience the problems of certain regions, in its activities the different regional characteristics and interests are manifested because the majority of the research projects of the institute is financed by local and county (regional) agencies.

The Centre for Regional Studies produced a perceivable effect on the formation of Hungarian regionalism; with the conduct of research projects, financed from different sources, with its expert activity, with the presence of its members in different professional and decision-making plenums. This effect can be defined more precisely by the review of the most important research areas in regionalism.

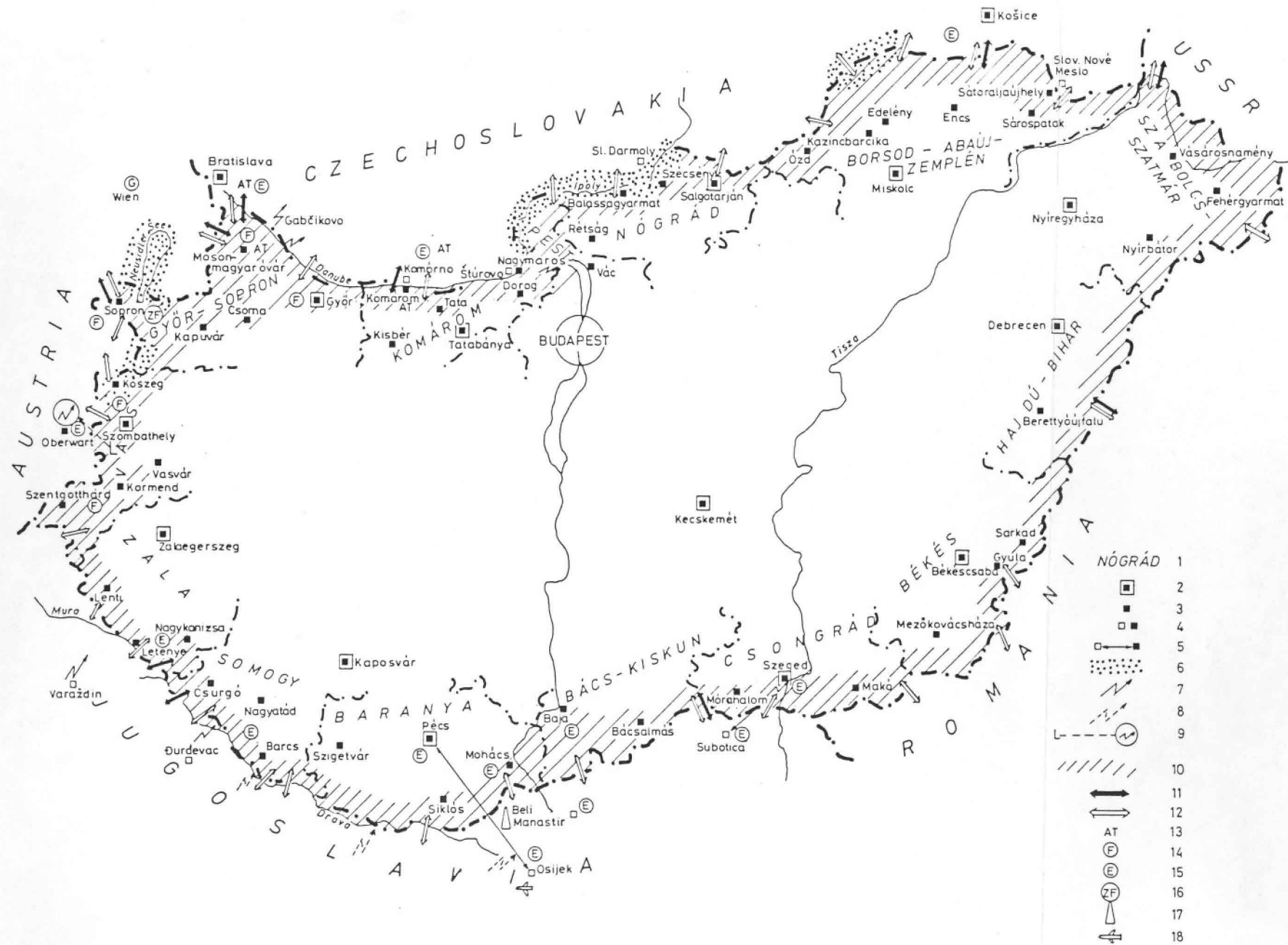
According to the atmosphere of the period and following the institutional traditions, we are continuously researching those political, sociological, legal, administrative and geographical factors of the democratization process, which are related to a settlement, to the local society, and through which the horizontal relations of settlements, the creation of small-region development can be influenced. (PÁL KOVÁCS, I. 1986; CSEFKÓ, F. 1987; KOVÁCS, T. 1988; CSATÁRI, B. 1989) We also emphasize the regional aspects of environmental economy. (FODOR, I. et al. 1981; BENKÓ LODNER, D. 1987)

On the subject of the mid-level territorial division and institution, there are, on the one hand, administrative-historical-geographical and management-political investigations going on, and, on the other hand, there was an experiment which made a regional division of the country in the form of macro-regional and configurational units. (*Figure 7*) The results of this experiment, as educational material, received fairly good publicity. (TÓTH, J. 1988)

For years now we have been dealing with the problems of development in areas which are in a specific situation for different reasons (ERDŐSI, F.-TÓTH, J. 1988), with a special emphasis on the structural characteristics of areas close to the border (*Figure 8*), and on the exploitation of the possibilities of their development. In this research project we make special use of the advantages of international co-operation. (ERDŐSI, F. 1989)

We became engaged in the activity of the Alp-Adriatic Work Team because this international-regional co-operation deals with problems that are most intensively related to us. In this consultative organization, which co-ordinates the regional units (representing different levels of autonomy), we were first of all looking for a possible way for the Western part of Hungary to be re-connected (for the sake of the mutual interests of its population), reviving historical traditions, to the more developed areas. (RECHNITZER, J. 1989)

As to broader connections and the regional inter-dependencies: we arranged a national conference on the problems of East-Central Europe in 1989. Among our more than two dozen lecturers and contributors there were some who were dealing not only with the characteristics and the separation of this European large-region but also with its structural problems, its future, with the influence system of COMECON countries. (ENYEDI, GY. 1989; HANÁK, P. 1989)



1 — county on the border; 2 — county centre; 3 — other town in a border region; 4 — former twin towns now separated by national border; 5 — partner towns with outstanding co-operation; 6 — mutual areas of nature conservation and territorial development; 7 — mutual water-power station; 8 — planned water-power station; 9 — a planned Austrian steam-power station based on lignite; 10 — border region investigated by the complex research activity of Centre for Regional Studies; 11 — railway frontier station; 12 — highway frontier station; 13 — exchange of labour force (daily commuters); 14 — town with tourism and shopping tourism; 15 — the largest centres of shopping tourism; 16 — "duty free" zone; 17 — Yugoslavian food products factory processing Hungarian agricultural products; 18 — planned international airport

**THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC-POLITICAL PROCESSES PROFOUNDLY
REFORMING HUNGARIAN SOCIETY CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS
FOLLOWS:**

- the basis for self-government, the creation of the conditions for free enterprise, the elimination of the centralized power structure. These processes create favourable conditions for regionalism;
- developing regionalism will help society operate more effectively, and by this, it promotes improvement in the quality of life;
- inner changes and the reformation of the conditions of foreign affairs improves chances for international regional co-operation;
- international regional co-operation is Hungary's elementary need; the country does its best to strengthen and develop these connections;
- however, what is not our interest, and I am convinced that the same is true for other countries involved as well, is a regional make-it-even East-Central European co-operation whose members hide behind regional co-operation and they remain isolated from the action centres of world economy;
- an East-Central European co-operation is necessary but not sufficient for Hungary. We are committed to a European co-operation and through this to world economic relations.

REFERENCES

- BELUSZKY, P. 1981: Két hátrányos helyzetű terület az Alföldön: a Közép-Tiszavidék és a Berettyó-Körösvidék (Two backward areas on the Great Hungarian Plain: The area at the middle reach of River Tisza and the surroundings of Rivers Berettyó-Körös)—*Alföldi Tanulmányok*, 5, pp.131–160.
- BELUSZKY, P. 1990: Magyarország városhálózata 1900-ban (The urban system of Hungary in 1900) — In: *Huszonégy tanulmány Enyedi Györgynek* — Ed. Tóth, J. — MTA RKK, Pécs — pp.95–122.
- BENKŐ LODNER, D. 1987: A területiség kérdései a környezetvédelmi igazgatásban (Territorial problems in environmental administration) — In: *Állam, térkapcsolatok, demokrácia. Bihari Ottó emléktűlés* — Ed. Csefkó, F. — MTA RKK-JPTE, Pécs — pp.316–323.
- CSATÁRI, B. 1989: A Tiszazug kistérségi problémái (Spatial problems of a small-region in Szolnok county) — *Szolnok Megyei Tanács, Szolnok* — p.28
- CSEFKÓ, F. (ed.) 1987: *Állam, térkapcsolatok, demokrácia. Bihari Ottó emléktűlés (State, spatial connections, democracy. A conference held in commemoration of professor Ottó Bihari)* — MTA RKK-JPTE, Pécs — p.580
- ENYEDI, GY. 1978: Kelet-Közép-Európa gazdaságföldrajza (The economic geography of East-Central Europe) — *Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, Budapest* — p.292
- ENYEDI, GY. 1989: Hazánk Kelet-Közép-Európában. Előadás a "Magyarország és Kelet-Közép-Európa" c. tanácskozáson (Hungary in East-Central Europe. A paper presented at the conference "Hungary in East-Central Europe") — Pécs, 1989. október 12.
- ERDŐSI, F. 1989: Határmenti térségeink (Our border regions) — *Figyelő*, 1989. június 22., p.5.
- ERDŐSI, F.-TÓTH J. (eds.) 1988: A sajátos helyzetű térségek terület- és településfejlesztési problémái. Az 1986. november 4–5-én Szombathelyen tartott tudományos tanácskozás anyaga (The territorial and settlement

- development problems of backward areas. Papers presented at a conference in Szombathely) — MTA RKK-T/S 2/2 Program Iroda — p.221
- FODOR, I.-KATONA, S.-MOLNÁR, K.-PÉCSI, M.-TÓTH, J. 1981: A KGST tudományos együttműködése a környezetvédelem, a környezetfejlesztés és a természeti erőforrások ésszerű felhasználása módszereinek kidolgozására (The scientific co-operation of COMECON countries for working out the best method for protecting and developing the environment and utilizing natural resources) — *Földrajzi Értesítő*, 1, pp.115–122.
- HAJDÚ, Z. 1988: Településhálózat és területszervezés a Dél-Dunántúlon (The settlement system and territorial planning in the South-West part of Hungary) — *Területi és Települési Kutatások* 1. — Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest — p.171
- HANÁK, P. 1989: Közép-Európa: egy történelmi régió alakváltozásai. Előadás a "Magyarország és Kelet-Közép-Európa" c. tanácskozáson (Central Europe: The transformations of a historical region. A paper presented at the conference "Hungary in East-Central Europe") — Pécs, 1989. október 12.
- HORVÁTH, GY. 1990: A regionális gazdaságszervezés fejlődése és intézményei (The development and institutions of regional planning) — *Területi és települési kutatások* 4. — Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest
- KOVÁCS, T. 1988: Két homoki tanyás község településfejlődése és mezőgazdaságának alakulása (The transformation of agriculture and settlement development in two villages with scattered farms on a sandy territory of the Great Hungarian Plain) — *Az MTARKK Kutatási Eredményei* 7. — MTARKK, Pécs — p.190
- KRAJKÓ, GY.-PÉNZES, I.-TÓTH, J.-ABONYI PALOTÁS, J. 1969: Magyarország körzetbeosztásának néhány elvi és gyakorlati kérdése (Some theoretical and practical problems of regional economic division of Hungary) — *Földrajzi Értesítő*, 1, pp.95–115.
- PÁL KOVÁCS, I. 1986: Zusammenhänge zwischen der Entwicklung des Ungarischen Ratesystems und der Regionalpolitik — *Verwaltung*, 19, 1, pp.101–116.
- RECHNITZER, J. 1989: A térszerkezet és a regionális integrációk. Előadás a "Magyarország és Kelet-Közép-Európa" c. tanácskozáson (Spatial structure and regional integrations. A paper presented at the conference "Hungary and East-Central Europe") — Pécs, 1989. október 12.
- TÓTH, J. 1987: Régiók és/vagy megyék? (Regions and/or counties?) — *Tér és Társadalom*, 2, pp.77–80.
- TÓTH, J. 1988: Urbanizáció az Alföldön (Urbanization on the Great Hungarian Plain) — *Területi és Települési Kutatások* 3. — Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest — p.200
- TÓTH, J. 1988: Magyarország gazdasági körzetei (The economic regions of Hungary) — In: *Magyarország földrajza* — Ed. Frisnyák, S. — Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest — pp.486–575.